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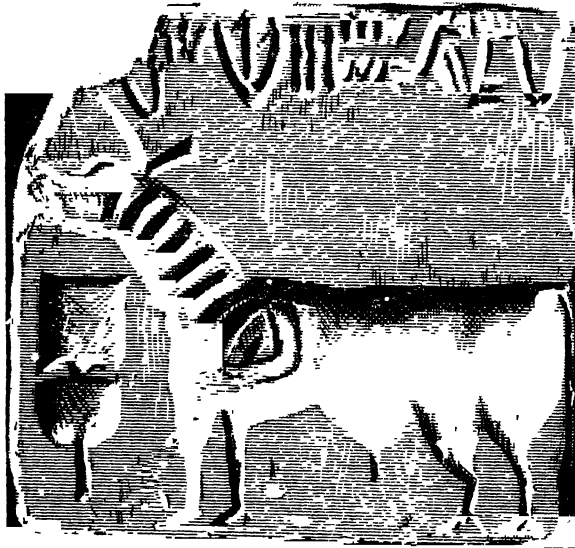
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Pre-Canonical Buddhism

Even a cursory examination of the laws of evidence suggests that it is most improbable that we shall ever attain any accurate knowledge of the doctrines actually taught by the Buddha. In such matters we are compelled to argue from analogy, and it is of course notorious that, though we can fix the date of the founder of the Christian religion with far greater accuracy than we can that of the Buddha, there exists the utmost divergence of opinion as to the meaning and purpose of his teaching. Or again, though we have exact historical information about Socrates, the account of his teaching given by Zenophon and Plato is very divergent, and there has prevailed, without any prospect of final settlement, a controversy as to what Socrates actually taught. Plato himself left written records of considerable extent, and yet the criticisms which were obviously directed against him by Aristotle are such as to render it very difficult to explain how they came to be made. It is hardly possible to accuse Aristotle of mere misunderstanding of his great predecessor, and it is impossible to assume that he deliberately misrepresented him. In more modern times we are all familiar with the disputes which have arisen as to the interpretation of the philosophical works of Kant and Hegel.

In these circumstances it seems practically impossible to accept as coming from the Buddha himself any special set of the remarkably varying doctrines which we find current later. It is true that it has been suggested that in the Pāli Canon we have a record actually formed

within perhaps a century after the death of the Buddha.[1] A century of course is a very long time, but it is very doubtful whether we can accept the evidence in favour of the view that the Nikāyas are to be referred to a period about half way between the death of the Buddha and the accession of Asoka, as suggested by the late Professor Rhys Davids. He admitted that the evidence was conclusive that the Nikāyas were put together out of pre-existing material, and that none of them has any claim to represent directly the views of the Buddha. But his opinion as to their date rests on wholly unsatisfactory evidence. He believed the tradition of the commentators that the *Kathāvatthu* was composed by Tissa at the time of the Council alleged to have been held there in the eighteenth year of Asoka's reign.[2] It is unfortunate that no inscription has yet been found to attest to the truth of this Council, and various explanations, none very convincing, have been adduced to prove that it ever existed. But apart from this no one perhaps will nowadays believe that the *Kathāvatthu* is just what we should expect for a book composed in Asoka's time. It is extremely significant that a profound student and expert in the Pāli literature, Mrs. Rhys Davids,[3] now sees in the Piṭakas compilations of a later period, ranging from the reign of Asoka till the last century B.C., and she admits that there was an indefinite amount of editing. It is indeed clear that, whatever view we take of the date of the compilation of the Piṭakas, we have not, and we cannot have, the slightest certainty as to the nature of the Buddha's teaching. All that we can do is to indulge in the legitimate, if somewhat useless, exercise of conjecturing what part of the doctrines which pass later as Buddhist is most likely to have been his own, having regard to the fact that there must have been something striking in his teaching to secure the success which he attained, and which made the Buddhists prosper while many other teachers, of whose existence the Buddhist texts give us assurance, passed completely away. It is not improbable that we may see his decisive service in his teaching of an attractive moral ideal within the

1 *Cambridge History of India*, I, 191 ff.

2 Cf. Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, pp. 18, 19.

3 *Pathak Commemoration Volume*, p. 58.

capacity of his hearers to understand and carry into practice. We have some idea of the doctrines of his contemporaries; the materialism of Ajita Kesakambalī, and the denial of the reality of human activity which marked the views, otherwise divergent, of Pūraṇa Kassapa, Pakudha Kaccāyana and Makkhali Gosāla were little calculated to attract a substantial following, and there seems to be truth in the tradition that the Buddha rejected the extreme asceticism which could, after all, have attractions only for a select few. We may believe, or at least wish to believe; that the Buddha did teach the doctrine which Mrs. Rhys Davids would wish to ascribe to him, of the possibilities of man's becoming something more and more. Unquestionably her method in her researches is sound. If there were traces of such a doctrine in the texts of the Pāli Canon which teach a much less attractive creed, we might well argue that thus we were recovering the truth. The difficulty so far is that, despite much ingenuity, the evidence assembled is so far from convincing that it may be feared that the real teaching of the Buddha has escaped us for good. It is possible also that there were other elements in the Buddha's teaching. He may have asserted a claim to be more than a mere human teacher, and have claimed for his teaching higher authority than its inherent reasonableness.[4] We cannot on this point prove anything. All that we hear of his super-normal character may be the figment of later tradition.

Quite a different question presents itself, when we give up the unscientific attempt to ascribe any definite doctrine to the Buddha and confine ourselves to the perfectly legitimate question of the development of Buddhist doctrine, without concerning ourselves with the insoluble question how far it can be carried back to the Buddha. Can we trace a definite development of doctrine? Was a system of pluralism developed by the scheme of antithesis into a monism, and then did it pass over into idealism? Is there truth in the doctrine found in the Tibetan sources of three successive Dharmacakrapravartanas? Are Pudgalanairātmya, Śūnyavāda, and Vijñānavāda three consecutive

4 Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, pp. 27 ff.

5 Stcherbatsky, *IHQ.*, X, 739-60.

stages of Buddhist thought,[5] or are they three distinct developments of ideas current in unsystematic form in early Buddhist circles?[6]

The systems which we have are relatively late in date, and they show very different appreciations of ideas which were no doubt strongly held in early Buddhism. The *anātmavāda* is interpreted in very different ways, and is treated as perfectly consistent with the holding of opinions which might well be deemed an *ātmavāda*. Thus the Sāmmitīyas professed the doctrine of the impredicable *pudgala*, and the Anattalakkhaṇasutta indicates the possibility of such an interpretation of the *anātman* doctrine, making it a doctrine asserting the principle of *skandhas*, but not a *skandhamātratāvāda*.[7] That such views should be held indicates that the thinkers who adopted them were not very hostile to the idea of something which might be deemed some kind of soul. The Mahāyāna view, which recognises an originally undefiled and radiant consciousness (*ādiśuddha prabhāsvara ekacitta*) would of course decline to be held to admit an *ātmavāda*, though the similarity of this *citta* to the *ātman* of Brāhmanical speculation is decidedly strong. The Yogācārins, accepting the principle of individual store consciousness (*ālayavijñāna*), declined to admit the charge of being personalists in doctrine. When we have all these views claiming to be compatible with the doctrine of *anātman*, it seems wholly impossible to ascribe to the Buddha the belief in an infinite number of separate evanescent entities in a state of beginningless commotion but gradually tending to quiescence, and to an ultimate absolute annihilation of all life. It would be justifiable to do so only (1) if we could prove *a priori* that this view explains how the other doctrines came into being as logical developments thence, and (2) if we could establish that this was the sole doctrine current when the Nikāyas were compiled. But in fact no such proof is possible. It is quite impossible to prove that the Mahāyāna *dharmanairātmya* is derived as a further step from the *pudgalanairātmya* of the Hīnayāna. It may be argued[8] that Nāgārjuna merely applied the Hīnayāna assertion of the unreality of the self to

6 Schayer, *Archiv Orientální*, VII, 121-32; *OLZ.*, XXXVIII, 401-15.

7 Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Sakya or Buddhist Origins*, pp. 126 ff.

8 Masuda, *Der individualistische Idealismus der Yogācāra-Schule*, pp. 20 ff.

the things of the outer world and thoughts also, but it is a fair rejoinder that to the Hīnayāna also both things and thoughts were unreal; the idea of a chariot is no more real than the chariot itself. We have a distinct doctrine which does not grow out of the Hīnayāna.

Moreover, we have abundant evidence that a very different doctrine was widely current when Buddhism arose, the conception of the Brahman, of the final reality as reality, thought and bliss. Professor Jacobi[9] has called attention to the interest of those passages in which the elements are presented in an order leading from the more gross to the more refined. We find also that, in addition to those who believed in the orthodox five elements, earth, water, air, fire and ether, the Jains knew of people who added the soul to the series, and we have ample evidence from Pāli, Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese sources of the existence in Buddhist thought of a doctrine, the Ṣaḍdhātusūtra, which made personality consists of these five elements and consciousness. The value of this evidence is great, precisely because the series will not fit into the traditional systems. Vasubandhu has to seek to work it in by declaring that the Sūtra merely enumerates the fundamental constituents of the individual (*maulasattvadravya*), so that it passes over the derived material constituents (*bhautikarūpa*) and the derivative mental phenomena (*caitasika*). Moreover he has to assert that *ākāśa* is *rūpadhātu*.[10] On the other hand, Buddhaghosa[11] holds that the sixfold division is to be equated to the sixteen *dhātus*, earth, air and fire being equal to the *phoṭṭhabbadhātu*, water and ether to the *dhammadhātu*, and consciousness to the *sattaviññāṇadhātu*. This treatment of *dhammadhātu* is most unsatisfactory, for Buddhaghosa himself explains the *dhammadhātu* as comprising twenty elements, three *arūpino dhammā*, 16 *sukhumarūpa* including among them water and ether, and the *asaṅkhata*, while the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* includes as *dhammadhātu* nothing but the *arūpino dhammā*, which is the view of the Sarvāstivādins also. It is plain that the series of six *dhātus* as recorded is older than the scholastics, and what is essential is that it points to a definite gradation in which consciousness emerges as one

9 *Die Entwicklungsgeschichte der Gottesidee bei den Indern*, pp. 12ff., 41.
10 *Abhidharmakośa*, 1, 49 ff. 11 *Visuddhimagga*, pp 487 f.

of six essential elements, but more subtle than any other. This is clearly an earlier view than the Theravādin as regards not only consciousness but ether. The Theravāda has advanced to the view that ether belongs to derived matter, while the Sarvāstivādins take it out of contingent reality into the sphere of one of their three *asaṃskṛtas*. But the six *dhātu* list suggests that we have a relic of a view which made consciousness the source whence the elements were derived, each less subtle than the preceding.

There is, of course, other evidence in the Pāli records of the existence of such a view of the primacy of consciousness. The orthodox doctrine repudiates the idea that *citta* should be taken by the unlearned as the soul, since it is in a state of constant arising and passing away in comparison with the relatively enduring character of the body made of the four elements.[12] But the *Visuddhimagga* (p. 554) reveals to us a very different aspect of consciousness as the relatively abiding element which transmigrates, passing from one existence into another just as a man swings himself across a ditch by using a rope tied to a tree, an idea which is certainly to be compared with the *Bṛhad-āraṇyaka* simile of the process of reincarnation of the *ātman* to the passage of a caterpillar from one straw to another. We have further the Mahāsāṅghika doctrine of a consciousness, originally pure, defiled by adventitious impurities,[13] which is well known to Mahāyāna texts, and which, as has been shown, is equally known to the Nikāyas, where the *Aṅguttara* (i. 10) has *pabhassaraṃ idaṃ cittaṃ taṃ ca kho āgantukehi upakilesehi upakiliṭṭhaṃ*. Moreover, there are various canonical passages where we have explanations of Nirvāṇa which echo the ideas of the Upaniṣads regarding the ultimate reality. From these passages we gain, as Mr. Kimura points out,[14] the conception of Nirvāṇa as the eternal reality of cosmic existence which cannot be expressed in positive terms, and must merely be indicated by negations. It is perfectly clear that in the early Buddhist circles the idea of the ultimate reality, as something akin to the Brāhmanical conception of the

12 Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Psychology*, pp. 13 f.

13 Masuda, *Early Indian Buddhism*, p. 30.

14 *Origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, pp. 96 ff.

absolute, was in circulation. From these early speculations in Buddhist schools we may see a natural development direct to the absolute which is developed in the Mahāyāna, and to the consciousness theory of the Vijñānavāda. These two ideas are not ultimately very deeply opposed; the latter emphasises the absolute as consciousness, the former contents itself with an absolute in relation to which it considers that all empirical things lack reality. The essential point is that it is quite unnecessary to attempt to show that the Mahāyāna and the Vijñānavāda develop from Pluralism.

In the same way it is easy to see that the doctrine of *anityatā* is not the whole doctrine of early Buddhism or one that we need trace to the Buddha himself on the score of its universal acceptance. The fact is that the Pāli Abhidhamma differs from the classification of Vasubandhu in the *Abhidharmakośa* in that it treats as *rūpadhammas* the four *saṃskṛtalakṣaṇas*, which the Sarvāstivādins assign to the group of the *rūpacittaviprayuktasaṃskāras*, and thus confines to *rūpa* the characteristics of origination, of maintenance, of growing old, and impermanence (*rūpassa upacayo, rūpassa santati, rūpassa jaratā, rūpassa aniccatā*). There can be no doubt of the fairness of the deduction hence made by Professor Schayer[15] that in pre-canonical Buddhism the elements of *rūpa* alone were considered impermanent. This view is confirmed by the fact that the Mahāsāṅghika, Ekavyavahārika, Lokottaravādin and Kaukuṭika (Kukkuṭika) schools place in the category of eternal non-contingent elements the four realms belonging to the *ārūpyadhātu* together with the two forms of extinction recognised by them. As opposed to *rūpadhātu*, therefore, we have the *dharmadhātu* as the eternal supersensual reality, which like the absolute of the Upaniṣads[16] can be discerned by mind alone, while from another aspect it is the absolute truth, which, beyond the knowledge of the average man, may yet be realised by the *dharmacakṣus* of the omniscient Buddha.[17] It seems that along these lines must be traced the origin of the use of *dharmadhātu* in the Mahāyāna to express the absolute. The same idea explains the Mahāyāna doctrine of the

15 *Archiv Orientální*, VII, 128. 16 *BAU.*, IV, 4. 19.
17 Geiger, *Pāli Dhamma*, p. 69.

dharmakāya as one of the forms of the Buddha, the other, in the older version before the development of the Trikāya doctrine of the Yogācārins, being the *rūpakāya*, the unreal body with which he descended to earth as Śākyamuni. These two bodies correspond to the *paramārtha* and the *saṃvṛti* forms of knowlege. In the Trikāya doctrine we have the *dharmakāya* corresponding to the *pariniṣpanna* aspect of reality, the *sambhogakāya* corresponding to the *paratantra* aspect, and the *rūpakāya* to the *parikalpita*. Here the further refinement of the Yogācāra over the Mahāyāna is clear.

We have therefore clear evidence of a distinction between *rūpa* and *dharma*, but such a distinction is not given in the scholasticism of either Buddhaghosa or Vasubandhu, in which *dharma* is the generic term for elements, while *rūpa* is a category among *dharmas*. But, as Professor Schayer[18] points out, there is a trace of the old antithesis in the fact that in the enumeration of the twelve *āyatanas* and the eighteen *dhātus* the *dharmāyatana* and the *dharmadhātu* contain only non-*rūpa* elements: *vedanā*, *saṃjñā*, *saṃskāras*, *avijñapti*, and *asaṃskṛtas* in Vasubandhu's version, while the *Dhammasaṅgaṇi* omits the last two items. It is certainly legitimate here to suppose that the distinction of *dharma* and *rūpa* was originally clearly drawn.

What that distinction was is less easy to say. Professor Schayer insists on the error of contrasting *dharma* and *rūpa* as immaterial spiritual reality and material reality, on the ground that this version introduces into Indian thought a conception familiar since Descartes' contrast between *res extensae* and *res cogitantes*, but foreign to India, a 'European anomaly', for the idea of a non-extensional being is neither universal nor necessary. From the Āraṇyakas to the Vijñānavāda and the Vedānta Indian philosophy has never conceived the soul, consciousness, psychical phenomena, otherwise than spatially. The true view is afforded by examination of the Buddhist doctrine of the three spheres of the cosmos. The first two, the *kāmadhātu* and the *rūpadhātu* are closely connected, the former being merely a lower and less perfect form of the latter. But the *ārūpyadhātu* is very different; it is composed of four *āyatanas*: *ākāśānantya*, *vijñānānantya*, *ākiṃcanya*, and

18 *Archiv Orientální*, VII, 126 f.

naivasaṃjñānāsaṃjñā, whose common characteristic is infinity; in contrast with the elements of earth etc., the *ārūpya* elements are all-pervading and omnipresent. Hence in the *ārūpya* world there are no storeys one above another; hence too the *ārūpyadhātu* is without place (*adeśastha, asthāna*) that is without localisation in space, but not without extension. Spirituality and extension are not to be regarded as separated in Hindu thought. In the same way, we should not regard *rūpa* as material, because it covers in the Abhidhamma lists things which cannot by any means be brought under the western notion of matter. The Vaibhāṣikas, though they have a simpler conception of *rūpa* than the Pāli Abhidhamma classification, yet include under it not only the sense-faculties but also the sense-data which from the western point of view belong rather to psychic than to physical phenomena. This argument, it must be pointed out, is not wholly convincing, for that sense-data should be regarded as physical rather than psychic seems perfectly natural from the Buddhist standpoint and the Abhidhamma view that *kāyaviññatti* etc., are *rūpa* is an easy enough extension. It is easy also to understand how *rūpa* came to be used in *rūpakāya* to denote that that is impermanent, whether we call it psychical or physical. But we certainly may admit that the Buddhist view of matter and spirit was not that of Descartes. Yet we need not reject the belief of Deussen that in the higher flights of the thought of the Upaniṣads those thinkers who negated all possible predicates of the absolute were groping to express the idea that the absolute was not in space or time.[19]

That early Buddhism recognised the impermanence of things, both physical and psychical, comprehended within the term *rūpa* is clear. But the idea of purely momentary existence was obviously not the first view. The theory of the four general functions (*sāmānyalakṣaṇa* or *saṃskṛtalakṣaṇa*) which are manifestations of elements always present in every moment of the stream of life process, *jāti, sthiti, jarā,* and *anityatā,* held by the Sarvāstivādins is manifestly inconsistent with true momentary existence.[20] It was left to the Sautrāntikas to drop

19 Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda,* II, 521, 522.

20 Schayer, *Ausgewählte Kapitel aus der Prasannapadā,* pp. 83 ff.

the element of endurance *sthiti*, and thus to evolve the doctrine of momentariness in its mature and least intelligible form. Here we have a clear example of the manner in which a simple fact, the impermanence of physical and psychical things, which presumably was insisted on in the first instance as a means of inviting the attention of the hearers to the importance of that which is permanent, is developed by scholasticism into a metaphysical theory of pronounced difficulty.

In the same way we must expect to find that the *dharmas* of Buddhist speculation have arisen from some much less elaborate idea. In the developed scholasticism it is explained by *svabhāvadhāraṇāt*, a thing which supports its own essence. They are ultimate entities which have their own characteristics as their essence, and therefore are quite different from phenomena referred to ultimate substrata. They are not to be understood as things in themselves, whose attributes alone are revealed. Clearly to say that a *dharma* is a quality, not a substance, but the negation of a substance is a misleading use of words. A quality implies in our speech some substance of which it is a quality, and the *dharmas* are themselves the substances while the substances are the qualities. They are essentially simply things, pure reality. The difficulties of this conception are obvious, and the various efforts of the schools to present lists of *dharmas* afford little satisfaction. We have the *asaṃskṛta dharmas* which are transcendental, uncaused, underived; the Theravādins are contented with one, Nirvāṇa, the Sarvāstivādins have three, the Yogācārins, six. Between them and the *saṃskṛta dharmas* there is a gulf fixed, which it is impossible logically to cross. The *saṃskṛta dharmas* themselves present great divergences of view. The earlier and later lists contain elements which are for us neither material nor mental, though the Theravādins classify them under *rūpaskandha*, while the Sarvāstivādins assign them to a group not connected with matter or mind. Thus homogeneity, decay, vitality and birth figure as distinct *dharmas*.[21] Each dharma is ultimate; the sense-organs are composed of atoms, but every *cakṣurindriyaparamāṇu* is homogeneous, so that all together they cons-

21 McGovern, *Buddhist Philosophy*, pp. 104 ff.

titute but one factor. The *dharma* therefore is quite different from a composite thing like the human body, which contains the four *mahābhūtas*, and the sense-organ-atoms and the sense-object-atoms, for the doctrine treats sense-objects as material in the same measure as the sense-organs. The lists of *dharmas* therefore come to be efforts, confused and unsatisfactory, to define ultimate entities which however are admittedly very deep and mysterious. Nothing in reality, it seems, was gained in clearness of understanding by denying that *dharmas* were substances; regarded as qualities which were the only reality they remained wholly unintelligible, just as much as substances.

The purely arbitrary character of the whole construction became aggravated when the doctrine of atoms was taken over, presumably from the Vaiśeṣika school. The adaptation was late, for the early Sarvāstivādin Abhidharma does not accept it, and it appears only in the *Mahāvibhāṣā* and in works later than that. Evidently it gained popularity rapidly, for the *Abhidharmahṛdaya*, translated into Chinese in the 3rd century, contains the theory in a developed form, and it is prominent in Vasubandhu and accepted by the earlier Yogācārins, though it was rejected by Dignāga as inconsistent with idealism. The Sarvāstivādins admit fourteen kinds of atoms, five for the sense-organs, five for the sense-objects, and four for the *mahābhūtas*. But in a sense the *mahābhūta* atoms are primary, for each of the atoms of the sense-organs and objects originates owing to atoms of the *mahābhūtas* and is sustained by them, each atom having with it one atom of each of the *mahābhūtas*. The atoms of the latter, however, are not permanent; like all else, they pass through the cycle of origination, continuance, decay, and destruction on which follows a like process. It is however only by grouping of the atoms that are formed the molecules of which the material universe consists.[22] All this speculation is without scientific basis and is naturally unedifying, leading merely to verbal ingenuity.

What lies at the basis of these doctrines? If we are to accept the view of Professor Przyluski[23] we are to suppose that the first disciples of Sākyamuni had little taste for pure speculation. The existence of the

22 McGovern, *Buddhist Philosophy*, pp. 125 ff.

23 *Journal of Theological Studies*, XXXV, 346 ff.

Questions of Milinda suggests that the spirit of the sons of the Śākyas was sharpened by contact with Greek rhetoricians. But the Buddhist philosophy was essentially original. They seem to have started from a system analogous to Pythagorean arithmology. At first they believed in the reality of numbers, a belief which led them to deny all substances. Everything is in an incessant flux; only the number of elements is constant. In this way appearances go on existing; in this way the illusion of a personal ego endures. There is no essential difference between spirit and matter. The mind and the objects of the senses are formed of elements joined by the law of numbers, a fixed number of which is necessary to form a material of a psychic molecule. A group of these aggregates gives the illusion of an ego and of a sensible thing; but nothing is permanent. All the component parts are dissolved and recomposed again incessantly. There is neither an immortal soul, nor a personality, nor a mind. The very Buddhas are not excepted; their being is illusive, temporal, and unreal.

The sketch of Buddhist views is most interesting, but the prominence given to the idea of number seems not to be borne out by our texts. No doubt there are various indications of the importance attached to numbers, and the numerical enumerations of the Pāli texts attest the fascination, numbers exerted on early thought. But that the philosophy was really based on anything like the Pythagorean arithmology must remain a speculation which, on the whole, seems to have little to commend it.

Another view[24] presents itself in the claim that the *dharmas* are infra-atomic dynamic unities of forces or elements whose interdependence according to causal laws constitutes the illusive objects of our phenomenal life. It is suggested that we may seek for their prototypes in the Sāṃkhya system, which before Buddhism held the idea of *anātman*. It is true that the Hindus regard Sāṃkhya and Buddhism as sharply contrasted. But this is because in the Sāṃkhya all is eternal, since it represents the permutations of unchanging matter; though the manifestations are constantly changing (*nityapariṇāmin*), they remain one in their material cause (*kāraṇāvasthāyām*). In Buddhism, on the

24 *IHQ.*, X, 756 ff.

other hand, there is no eternal matter, but momentary *dharmas* appearing in functional interdependence (*pratītyasamutpāda*). The antithesis is explained, because here as always the history of philosophy evolves by contrasts. Every new departure starts in opposition to reigning ideas, but it creates the new on the basis of the old. The Buddhist produces the new doctrine of *pratītyasamutpāda*, which negatives the *pariṇāma-vāda* of the Sāṃkhya, but it builds up the doctrine of *dharmas* on the basis of the Sāṃkhya *guṇas*. The aim of the *guṇa*-theory, whatever its origin, is to bridge the gulf between mind and matter. A physical phenomenon and a mental one are equally composed out of minutest infra-atomic quanta of three different stuffs or forces, the Intelligence (or nervous stuff), Energy-stuff and Inertia-stuff. The first is predominant in a mental phenomenon, the last in a material one. Energy is being constantly liberated and absorbed; there is therefore no stability, all is instantaneous. But, though being momentary flashes of instantaneous infra-atomic quanta charged with some energy, the *guṇas* and the phenomena composed of them are said to be ubiquitous and eternal (*vibhu*, *nitya*), for they are eternal in their causal or potential condition as absorbed in an eternal primordial matter. When in this early period of Indian philosophy the *guṇa*-theory was being philosophically founded, it is more than probable that the atomic structure of matter was being discussed. It is probable that at that early period there was a division of opinion. The Jain and some pre-Vaiśeṣika system joined the materialists, and began to assume indivisible atoms, whereas the Sāṃkhyas and some pre-Buddhistic philosophers decided for infinite divisibility. Although later on the Buddhists assume the existence of atoms, they deny their indivisibility. Their atoms, therefore, are not atoms at all, they are *dharmas*, qualities without any stuff. The character of the atoms follows from the nature of the *mahābhūtas*, which, though called earth, water, fire, and air, are really the four forces of repulsion, attraction, heat, and motion. The Buddhists indeed defined matter as merely the phenomenon of resistance. All realisable ideas, the Hīnayāna and Sarvāstivādins at this early date held, were either concrete data of sense (*bāhyāyatana*) or concrete data of invalid consciousness (*abhyantarāyatana*). Both categories, the outward and the inward data, were called *dharmas*, non-substances, absolute

qualities. This designation aimed at bridging over the gulf between matter and mind, not by assuming an equal composition, but by assuming their parallelism, their equal status. This psycho-physical parallelism was natural, because according to the Buddhist theory of causality there is a general parallelism between all elements of existence.

The theory that the *dharmas* are borrowed from the *guṇas* does not appear to rest on anything more solid than this general comparison, which seems sadly lacking in cogency. The assertions regarding the nature of the Sāṃkhya *guṇas* seem to lack any foundation whatever as regards any possible early form of Sāṃkhya, and only an early Sāṃkhya is in point. The names of the *guṇas* are sufficient warning that they do not represent in their early stage anything of the kind stated, and the hypothesis that their purpose is to bridge the gulf between matter and mind seems to be wholly without foundation. To reconstruct Sāṃkhya in a form which the early Sāṃkhya texts wholly ignore[25] and to claim that as the source of Buddhism is not a very convincing argument. The point regarding atoms is an interesting note of the new methods of argumentation. We are told that it is more than probable that the atomic structure of matter must have been discussed at the period when the *guṇa*-theory was being philosophically founded. But Professor Jacobi, whose evidence as a convinced adherent of the influence of Sāṃkhya on Buddhism,[26] is above suspicion of bias, was convinced that the Sāṃkhya was not atomistic in its early days, and calls attention to the silence of the Pāli Suttas and the denial of atomism by the Vedānta, the Mahāyānists and the Sāṃkhya. This denial, it is said, is aimed at the eternal atoms of the Vaiśeṣika and does not refer to those systems which have a dynamic or semi-dynamic theory of matter. The *tanmātras* are evidently also some kind of atoms, or infra-atoms. Neither of these assertions is supported by any evidence whatever. Atomism is a perfectly definite conception which is quite different from the *tanmātras*. The effort to find in the *guṇas* a real predecessor of the *dharmas* seems to be wholly unsound, except in the

25 Cf. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, II, 548.

26 Cf. Keith, *Sāṃkhya System* (2nd ed.), pp. 23 ff.; *Buddhist Philosophy*, pp. 140 ff.

generic sense that every earlier philosophical idea has some effect in moulding the concepts of later philosophy.

The concept of *dharma*, it has been justly remarked,[27] bears obvious traces of reduction from something more concrete; it is not without anthropomorphic traits such as those which affect the structure of the picture of the *ātman* itself. It has symptoms of an individual being whose concrete character has as far as possible been reduced. But, like mere man, *dharma* has origination, duration, death, and in serving the function of conditioning other *dharmas* it performs its business (*kāritra*). The idea of *dharmas* as purely separate beings is quite irreconcilable with their conditioned character and with the fact that they serve to condition other *dharmas*. The fact that any *dharma* conditions another is a direct negation of separation; conditioning is manifestly impossible save in a structure. It is impossible to form any intelligible conception of the *dharmas*, as in his own way Vasubandhu admitted. It seems probable enough that those authorities are right who hold that the Buddhists did not distinguish physical and psychical. The *dharmas* may in their ultimate origin have traits of souls deprived of all concrete character; any real assurance[28] as to their character seems impossible, and their philosophical importance is historical only.

The view that the *satkāryavāda* belongs to the early Sāṃkhya has recently been assailed.[29] The idea of causality in the Sāṃkhya is asserted to have developed in a different manner. The oldest idea of cause is that of the hidden being, *prakṛti*, and the oldest theory of a dynamic is the conception of a change in a lasting substance, *vikāra*, seen in the conception of *tattvavikāra*, the twenty five principles. The further development of this theory lay not in the Sāṃkhya school itself but in a philosophical debate which has its roots in the *Ṛgveda* itself. While in the beginning it turned on the being or non-being of the cause, it

27 Liebenthal, *Satkārya in der Darstellung seiner buddhistischen Gegner*, p. 11.

28 Cf. Geiger, *Pāli Dhamma*, pp. 8, 9 with Schayer, *Archiv Orientální*, VII, 129-130.

29 Liebenthal, *Satkārya*, pp. 150, 151, and 42 ff. There are difficulties but the view deserves consideration.

appears that Vārṣagaṇya provided an answer to the question of the mode of being of the product. His opponents were Hīnayāna Buddhists. Since the formulation of Sāṃkhya doctrines in the *Nyāyabhāṣya* agrees with Vārṣagaṇya's opinions, it is to be conjectured that Vārṣagaṇya counted at that period as the typical Sāṃkhya teacher. A new development of the discussion of origins is found in the Śālistambasūtra and in Nāgārjuna. Here the issue is the likeness or unlikeness of the product with its source. The Sāṃkhya is credited with the belief in the origin of like from like. This points to the source of the *satkārya* doctrine, which perhaps is first formulated in the *Sāṃkhyakaumudī*, and which asserts that the product exists in substance (*svabhāvataḥ*), though unseen (*śaktitaḥ*) in the source. The *pariṇāma-vāda*, it is suggested, was not originally part of the Sāṃkhya doctrine. Apart from the *tattvapariṇāma*, it plays in the *Sāṃkhyakaumudī* only a minor rôle in the *guṇapariṇāma* and the *guṇapariṇāmaviśeṣa*. It is clear that if this view is correct, and *satkārya* was not a doctrine of the older Sāṃkhya, it is impossible to accept as correct the doctrine that the Sarvāstivādins adopted their doctrine from the original Sāṃkhya, and the suggestion that the doctrine of momentary universal change originated in the Sāṃkhya system loses any little possibility it had.

It remains to add that the attribution[30] to early Buddhism of an extraordinarily important classification of mental phenomena in four groups: feeling, ideas, will, and pure sensation, is misleading. The first obvious criticism is that these four groups are placed side by side with *rūpa*, instead of being opposed as one whole group with four subdivisions to *rūpa;* if they had been clearly felt as mental as distinguished from physical, such a distinction would necessarily have been made, for it is far more fundamental than the distinctions between the four other categories. Secondly, to hold that the early Buddhists distinguished in the modern style between feeling, ideas, will, and pure sensation is to read into what is said modern conceptions, just as the *guṇas* and the *dharmas* are reinterpreted in terms of modern scientific conceptions, which were not and could not be present to the minds of

30 *IHQ.*, X, 744.

those who used them. *Vedanā* doubtless is feeling, but how little its character was clearly understood is shown by the doctrine of neutral feeling which, it is said, has knowledge as pleasant, not knowing as painful.[31] *Saññā* again includes in the Pāli texts cognitive assimilation on occasion of sense and cognitive assimilation by way of naming, or awareness with recognition, expressed in naming. In the view of the Sarvāstivādins and the Yogācārins, on the other hand, the conceptual aspect is more marked. *Saṅkhārā* is not merely volitional cognition (*cetanā*) but includes 51 other factors which are rather co-efficients in any conscious state than pre-eminently active or constructive functionings.[32] The nature of Vasubandhu's interest in pure psychology can be judged from his rejection of the effort seen in the *Saṃyuktāgama* to restrict the category to volitional aspects. The other factors must not be excluded, because, if this were done, the *caitasikas* and the *citta-viprayukta dharmas* would not fall under any of the *skandhas*, and would be independent of suffering and the cause of suffering, and hence could not be cut off and could not be known. Complete analysis alone allows of suffering being brought to an end; hence the other factors must be included in the *skandha*.[33] *Viññāṇa* again is defined early as that which is aware of difference of sensations e.g., tastes; thus according precisely with *saññā* which in the same text figures as discriminating colours. In the *Majjhima Nikāya* we find *viññāṇa* as consciousness of what is pleasant, painful and neither; *vedanā* figures in the same functioning and *saññā* with colour sensations, and the dialogue declines to assert any essential difference between the three, despite the fact that they figure as distinct *khandhas*. More generally, *viññāṇa* appears as awareness, and a friendly critic admits that it is very difficult to understand how the generic term was left to stand as on a footing of equality with the preceding three *skandhas*.[34] The suggestion is made that we may explain this lack of proper classification by the absence of a Buddhist logic of division, and by the intensely prac-

31 *Majjhima Nikāya*, I, 303.

32 Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Psychology*, pp. 51, 52.

33 McGovern, *Buddhist Philosophy*, p. 87.

34 Mrs. Rhys Davids, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

tical aim of the psychology to negate the danger of the belief in a substantial consciousness. Later Buddhism recognised the illogical form of the division, and accepted *vijñāna* as consciousness and ranked the other three as *caitasika*, mental properties, bound up with *vijñāna* or *citta*. The mere order of the *skandhas* shows how unscientific early Buddhsim was; Buddhaghosa and Nāgārjuna had to explain *vijñāna* immediately after *rūpa* to make any intelligible scheme, and a glance at the quaint reasons given in the *Abhidharmakośa*[35] for the traditional order dispels any belief in real anticipation of Bertrand Russell or Bergson, whatever be the value of their systems. The p lpable fact is that Buddhism was essentially a *mārga*, and purely scientific psychology is not to be expected therein nor is it to be found. We may use modern philosophy to illustrate ideas which we think we should find in the Buddhist texts, but it must be remembered that modern views are the product of definitely modern scientific advances, and, while they can be superimposed on Buddhist doctrines, they do not express what the Buddhists thought. It does no harm no doubt to reinterpret Buddhism in modern guise, but it should be recognised that historically this is not what Buddhists held.

Nor can it be said that the new interpretation makes the Buddhist standpoint any clearer. It may be difficult to understand the Buddhist doctrine of the world, but it is not fair to ascribe to the Buddha the concept of evanescent entities in beginningless commotion, steering to quiescence and annihilation, because that may be a modern interpretation of the universe. The early Buddhist doctrine of the chain of causality[36] need not be ascribed to the Buddha, but it certainly was early current, and it has no relation whatever to the philosophical doctrine suggested as his. What is essential is that it reveals among the early Buddhists thoughts of a type completely different from the theory now ascribed to the Buddha, but thoughts which, unlike that theory, are easily intelligible in their relation to Indian thought both before and after. Nothing is more unhistorical than to read the minds

35 McGovern, *op. cit.*, pp. 93, 94.

36 McGovern, *op. cit.*, pp. 169 ff., La Vallée Poussin, *Théorie des douze causes* (1913); Keith, *Buddhist Philosophy*, pp. 97 ff.

of early Indian thinkers as if they were products of the twentieth century.

In the case of the *guṇas* it is well to remember the actual facts as attested by the actual philosophical literature, and to compare it with the description given of them as "infra-atomic quanta of three different energies whose interplay produces the phenomenal world, both physical and mental."[37] The facts, of course, with regard to the *guṇas* are summed up with his usual accuracy by Professor S. N. Dasgupta in his *History of Indian Philosophy*;[38] "an important change in the Sāṃkhya doctrine seems to have been introduced by Vijñāna Bhikṣu (16th century A.D.) by his treatment of *guṇas* as types of reals. I have myself accepted this interpretation of Sāṃkhya as the most rational and philosophical one, and have therefore followed it in giving a connected system of the accepted Kapila and the Pātañjala school of Sāṃkhya. But it must be pointed out that originally the notion of *guṇas* was applied to different types of good and bad mental states, and then they were supposed in some mysterious way by mutual increase and decrease to form the objective world on the one hand and the totality of human psychosis on the other." This is undoubtedly a perfectly fair account of the original nature of the *guṇas*, and it completely destroys the attempt to make them into infra-atomic quanta of energies.

Between the Sāṃkhya and Buddhism there are many essential distinctions. Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt[39] has justly pointed out that the result of attaching too much importance to the influence of Sāṃkhya on Buddhism has been the misinterpretation of Nirvāṇa as an eternal state of death, a lifeless reality corresponding to the undifferentiated matter (*prakṛti*) of Sāṃkhya. Nirvāṇa then is the same as the five *skandhas* in their original undifferentiated state. Dr. Dutt justly points out that this is unsupported by the canonical as well as the non-canonical texts. Both the Theravādins and the Sarvāstivādins are emphatic in their statement that a being once constituted out of

37 *IHQ.*, X, 749. 38 i. 221, 222.

39 *Aspects of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, pp. 163, 164.

the seventy-two elements or five *khandhas* passes through innumerable existences until, by the removal of Avidyā, he enters into the Asaṃskṛtadhātu or Nirvāṇa, which is an element existing by itself. But in the Sāṃkhya the emancipation of any being consists in the realisation of the fact that Puruṣa and Prakṛti remain apart, and not by his passing from the constituted to the unconstituted state. In Sāṃkhya the emancipated being is one of the innumerable Puruṣas while in Buddhism he is after death indistinguishable from Nirvāṇa. The agreement between Sāṃkhya and early Buddhism lies in the fact that the undifferentiated matter of Sāṃkhya corresponds in its differentiated form to the five *khandhas* and not to Nirvāṇa as inferred by Prof. Stcherbatsky. If an analogue for Nirvāṇa be sought for in Sāṃkhya, we may say that it could have been found in Puruṣa if the innumerable Puruṣas were one Asaṃskṛtadhātu.

A. Berriedale Keith

Religious Policy of Shah Jahan

With the accession of Shah Jahan, the Mughal empire entered upon a new phase. If Akbar was liberal in his religious views and Jahangir indifferent to nicer questions of religion and theology, Shah Jahan was an orthodox Muslim. Born of a Rajput mother to a father whose mother was also a Rajput princess, Shah Jahan does not seem to have been much influenced by these factors. Born in 1592 he was thirty-six at the time of his accession and thus old enough to chalk out a policy for himself. He was a favourite of his grandfather, Akbar, and his early education was no doubt, carried on under liberal teachers of Sufist leanings.[1] But Akbar died while Shah Jahan was only twelve. We have to remember further that though he was his grandfather's favourite, there did not seem to be much chance of his occupying the Mughal throne during his grandfather's life time. Naturally he must have been educated as an ordinary Mughal prince rather than a future emperor. But towards the end of Akbar's reign, intrigues on behalf of Khusrau increased the status of Khurram, and we find him appointed as the president of the council of regency formed by Jahangir when he left the capital in pursuit of his rebel son in April, 1606. This was followed by a more formal recognitions of his new position in 1607. From then till his rebellion in 1622, Shah Jahan remained basking in his father's favour as a likely successor. The years that followed did not bring the father and the son much together. Shah Jahan did not, however, raise the standard of 'Islam in danger' against his father, and when he succeeded him in 1627, he had no religious commitments. There is one significant fact, however, to be noticed in Shah Jahan's early career, i.e. he, unlike his father and grandfather, married no Hindu princess, and thus that softening influence was lacking in his harem.

On his accession the court ceremonies attracted his attention first. The mode of salutation in the court by Sijda had been common, though not compulsory, under Akbar; under Jahangir the religious

1 Salih, I, 30-32.

officers, the Qazis, the Mir Adals and the Sadras were exempted from paying respects to the emperor in that fashion. Shah Jahan carried the modification still further. Sijda was abolished forthwith as it involved prostration which, according to the Islamic traditions, is due to God alone.[2] But this did not produce any change in the court etiquette. The Zaminbos form of salutation that was still allowed was no better. Shah Jahan's orthodoxy at last resulted in abolishing both these humiliating forms of salutation in 1046 A.H. (=1636-37 A.D.)[3] and in their place 'chahar taslim' was made current. This involved bowing and touching one's forehead, eyes, and arms. Even this was against the Muslim usage. There seems to have ensued a conflict between imperial grandeur and orthodoxy. The former won, but to the latter a point was conceded. The court ceremony of salutation remained, viz., that of 'chahar taslim', but an exemption was made in favour of the theologians of various degrees. They were excused even 'chahar taslim' and were to salute the emperor by using the common Muslim formula of 'wishing peace'.[4] It is probable however that the unorthodox practice of raising hands in salutation was not discontinued even in their case. The 'chahar taslim' however soon assumed a shape when it was difficult to distinguish it from Sijda. Manucci thus describes it in his *Mughal India*, vol. I, pp. 87-88, "I arose, stood quite erect, and bending my body very low until my head was quite close to the ground, I placed my right hand with its back to the ground, then raising it, put it on my head, and stood up straight. This ceremonial I repeated three times." As Manucci himself notes on page 88, this had to be done four times. Aurangzeb prohibited the prevalent custom of saluting by raising hands early in 1670 (*Mansir-i-Alamgir*, pp. 75, 81).

Shah Jahan was however anxious to give his court Muslim airs. All the Muslim festivals were regularly celebrated with imperial grandeur. Rs. 70,000 a year were set apart for distribution in charities, Rs. 30,000 were given away during the month of

2 Lahauri, I, i, 110.
3 Khafi Khan, I, 540; Lahauri, I, i, 112.
4 Lahauri, I, i, 111; V, i, 222, 223.

Ramazan, Rs. 10,000 were distributed during the months of *Muharram*, Rajab, Sha'ban and Rabi-ul-Awal.[5] These festivals were court festivals. Hindus and Muslims alike attended them, made presents to the emperor who, in his turn, gave gifts to the Amirs. The *Ids* and *Shab-i-Barats* were occasions of great rejoicings. Raja Jaswant Singh and Raja Jai Singh were both given an elephant each on the occasion of the *Id* in the 12th year.[6] Rupees five lacs were set apart for being sent to Mecca in instalments. Occasionally a royal Mir-i-Haj was appointed to take these offerings and serve as the leader of the pilgrims going to Mecca.[7] When Sayyid Jalal Gujrati was appointed the Sadras-sadur in 1642, he was raised to the rank of a Mansibdar of 4000. He soon, however, became a commander of 6000.[8] This naturally increased the influence of the theologians at court. Never before had such a high command been combined with this sacredotal office. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that annalists and poets sing of Shah Jahan's piety and love of Islam.

Otherwise as well, Shah Jahan acted as the champion of the true faith, the Sunni variety of Islam. When he despatched a mission to Qutab-ul-Mulk of Golkonda in 1045 A.H. (=1635-36 A.D.) he definitely proclaimed himself ordained by God not only as the leader of the Sunnis but as the destroyer of all those who did not conform to his ideas of Islam.[9] Hard pressed by the Mughal armies, Qutab-ul-Mulk had to proclaim himself a Sunni, and ordain Sunni rites in his state, before he was able to obtain respite from the imperial forces.[10] In 1039 A.H. (=1629-30 A.D.) he suppressed what he considered heretical practices among the Afghans.[11] The Muslim creed was stamped on the coins—as Jahangir had done—for some time (Khafi Khan, I, 397).

In certain other matters Shah Jahan continued the old practices. He sat daily in the salutation balcony, even though to his more orthodox son and successor Aurangzeb, it smacked of worship of man. In order to make it more comfortable for his subjects to see him there,

5 Lahauri, II, 114; I, i, 196, 200, 204, 252, 539.
6 Lahauri, II, 144.
7 Lahauri, I, i, 306, 307.
8 Lahauri, II, 718.
9 Khafi Khan, I, 518.
10 *Ibid.*, I, 533.
11 *Ibid.*, I, 423, 424.

he caused roofs to be set up in the court-yards below the salutation balconies in Agra, Delhi and Lahore.[12] He continued the customary annual ceremony of *Tulā Dān* weighing himself against different commodities and giving them away. He kept astrologers at court. He was a patron of painting, even of portrait painting, and many great paintings of his court have come down to us. But he discontinued the practice of allowing favoured nobles the honour of wearing the imperial likeness in their turban even though Austin of Bordeaux assures us that it had no religious significance and merely indicated particular royal favour.[13] He is said to have discontinued the use of the Ilahi calendar[14] but many documents of his reign are in existence bearing the Ilahi date.[15] The *Amal-i-Salih* almost always gives both the Ilahi and the Hijri dates. The *Badshah-nāmā* of Lahauri frequently uses the Ilahi calendar. The custom of weighing the emperor twice according to the lunar and solar reckoning involved the use of the Ilahi calender. The fact that Aurangzeb had to discontinue the use of the Ilahi calendar in the revenue accounts department[16] proves that under Shah Jahan it had been retained in use. It seems that Shah Jahan instituted the practice of having his official chronicles drawn up according to the Ilahi calendar and have one of his new year day parties according to the same reckoning. But Shah Jahan introduced another innovation in the time schedule of his day. He changed the traditional division of day and night according to the rise and the setting of the sun to an equal division of time between the day and the night.[17]

The emperors had developed the custom of making the *ṭīkā* sign on the forehead of his Hindu Rajas when they acceded to their titles. Shah Jahan, though he would not discontinue it, delegated this task to his prime minister so that he may have nothing to do with this Hindu custom.[18] Music and dancing remained in fashion at the court and the emperor kept court musicians who sang daily at regular intervals.

12 Lahauri, I, i, 222, 223.
13 *JPHS.*, IV, *l.*
14 Khafi Khan, I, 7, Lahauri, I, 126-129.
15 *JPHS.*, V, 26.
16 Salih, 98.
17 Salih, II, 388, 389.
18 *Ma'āsir-i-Ālamgīrī*, 175.

As far as the public services were concerned Shah Jahan started by issuing rather a tall order. It was decided that only Muslims were to be recruited in the public services.[19] But this order does not seem to have been enforced. In the year thirty first there were 52 Hindus serving as Mansibdars of from 1000 to 7000 in a total of 241.[20] At the end of the tenth year there were 189 living Mansibdars of 1000 and above. Of this number 35 were Hindus.[21] At the end of the 20th year out of a total of 231 living Mansibdars of 1000 and above, 51 were Hindus.[22] The total increase in these 10 years was 42 of which the number of the Hindus was sixteen. Thus whereas the percentage of the Hindus at the end of the tenth year was only 18·5 of the total strength, they secured 38% of the new creations. Towards the end of the reign, however, the percentage of the Hindus seems to have gone down. Though the strength of the cadre rose from 231 at the end of the 20th year to 241 at the end of the thirty first year, the number of the Hindus rose to 52. Even then the percentage of the Hindus stood at 21·5 instead of 18·5 as at the end of the tenth year. If we include the number of the Mansibdars of 500 and above, the position revealed is almost the same. At the end of the 10th year, the number of the Hindu Mansibdars of 500 and above was 76 out of a total of 419.[23] At the end of the 20th year there were 97 Hindus out of a total of 453.[24] The Hindus thus secured 21 out of 34 new creations.

An examination of the list of the Hindu Mansibdars at the end of the 20th year yields very interesting results. Here are the names of the Mansibdars of 1000 and above.

Commanders of 5000

1. Raja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur.
2. Raja Jagat Singh of Udaipur.
3. Raja Jai Singh of Jaipur.
4. Raja Bithal Dass Gour.

Commander of 4000

5. Raja Rai Singh, son of the late Maharaja Bhim Singh (of the house of the rulers of Mewar).

19 *Bādshā-nāmā Lahauri.*

20 *Bādshānāmā-i-Malakhkhas,* Tahar.

21 Lahauri, I, ii, 258-328.

22 Lahauri, II, 717-752.

23 *Ibid.,* I, ii, 258-321.

24 *Ibid.,* II, 717-752.

Commanders of 3000

6. Raja Pahar Singh Bundela of Urchcha.
7. Rao Satarsal Hada of Bundi.
8. Madho Singh Hada (uncle of the above).
9. Udaji Ram.
10. Parsoji Bhonsla.
11. Jadu Rai.
12. Mankoji Nimbalkar.
13. Rawat Rai.
14. Dattarji.

(9–14: all from the south)

Commander of 2500

15. Raja Devi Singh Bundela.

Commanders of 2000

16. Raja Rajrup of Nurpur (in the Punjab).
17. Rao Karn Bhurtya of Bikaner.
18. Raja Jairamdas Bargojar.
19. Prithvi Raj Rathor.
20. Rup Singh Rathor.
21. Ram Singh Rathor (a cousin of the Rāṇā).
22. Patoji
23. Arirai
24. Ekbabji

(22–24: all from the south)

Commanders of 1500

25. Rawal Punja of Dongarpur.
26. Ratan Rathor.
27. Rao Rup Singh Chandrawat.
28. Chand Ratan Bundela.
29. Sujan Singh Sasodia.
30. Rai Todar Mal (Diwan).
31. Anrodh.
32. Shivram

(31–32: sons of Raja Bithal Dass)

33. Raiba Dakhanni.

Commanders of 1000

34. Rawal Samarsi of Banswara.
35. Raja Gursen of Kishtwar, Kashmir.
36. Raja Prithi Chand of Chamba.
37. Raja Badan Singh Bhadorya.
38. K. Ram Singh (son of Raja Jai Singh of Jaipur).
39. Gopal Singh Kachhwaha.
40. Pratap.
41. Girdhar Dass Gaur.
42. Rai Singh, cousin of Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur.
43. Arjun, son of Bithal Dass.
44. Rai Singh Jhala.
45. Raja Amar Singh.
46. Bhojraj Dakhhani.
47. Rai Kashi Dass (a provincial Diwan).
48. Rai Dayant Rai (accounts department).
49. Rai Bhar Mal (a provincial Diwan).
50. Mahesh Dass Rathor.
51. Raja Tralok Chand Kachhwaha.

Out of these 51, numbers 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 15, 16, 17, 25, 35, 36, 37, and 38 (in all 13) were ruling chiefs. Raja Bithal Dass Gaur was himself a Commander of 5000. One of his sons was a Commander of 1000 and two Commanders of 2000. Probably these four represented the total strength of the Brahmans in the higher ranks. Rai Todar Mal, Rai Kashi Dass, Rai Dayanat Rai and Rai Bhar Mal represented the Revenue and Accounts departments. A very interesting element is the strength of the Deccanese officers who hold eleven com-

mands among themselves. They represent probably the price of the policy of expansion in the south which Shah Jahan had been pursuing for several years. The rest are mostly Rajputs belonging to the various ruling houses in Rajputana and elsewhere. The Diwans seem to have risen from the ranks.

In the Revenue department besides the four provincial Diwans ranking as Commanders of 1000 or above, there were other occupying less exalted stations yet discharging equally responsible duties. Rai Sobha Chand was the Diwan of Lahore in the 12th year.[25] Rai Mukand Dass served as the Diwan-i-tan and Diwan-i-Bayutat. He served for some time as the officiating revenue minister for the whole of India in the 12th year.[26] Rai Dayanat Rai who was a commander of 1000 became the Diwan of all the Mughal territories in the Deccan,[27] Beni Dass served as the Diwan of Bihar.[28] Rai Raghu Nath Dass officiated for some time as the Imperial Finance Minister,[29] whereas Rai Chandar Bhan was in charge of the Dar-ul-Insha, the secretariat.[30] Probably the most interesting appointment of the reign was that of Shahji whom Shah Jahan tempted into imperial service by conferring on him the highest command of 6000.[31] He does not seem to have actually joined the Mughals. Yet the appointment is significant as he was appointed to a rank higher than that of any other Hindu Mansibdar. We further find that on the outbreak of the war of succession, Maharaja Jaswant Singh was the premier noble of the empire[32] holding the rank of a commander of 6000. Thus under Shah Jahan Hindus occupied a higher status in the government than that occupied by the Indians today. They counted among them the mightiest subject and the highest public servant, the imperial finance minister and several provincial ministers of finance besides several military commanders of great fame.

25 Salih, II, 304; Lahauri, II, 279.

26 Lahauri, II, 132, 310.

27 Lahauri, II, 132.

28 Lahauri, II, 408.

29 Chandar Bhan, *Chahār Chaman*, account of the prime ministers of the Mughal emperors.

30 Chandar Bhan, *Chahār Chaman*, his autobiography.

31 Salih, I, 393.

32 Khafi Khan, I, 379.

When Aurangzeb was the Viceroy of the Deccan, Shah Jahan sharply reprimanded him for his anti-Rajput bias.[33] In one case the Record-keeper of the salaries office, Rai Maya Dass was replaced by a Muslim on account of his religion though the court annalist would have us believe it was old age which necessitated the removal of Rai Maya Dass.[34] In the whole, however, one may hold that no wholesale dislodgment of Hindu in the public services seems to have taken place.

Shah Jahan did not reimpose the Jiziya but tried to make money out of the religious conviction of the Hindus otherwise. The pilgrimage tax was revived.[35] It was a heavy burden, and an obstacle in the ways of the Hindus who wanted to fulfil their religious injunctions. On the importunities of a Hindu scholar of Benares, Kavindarācārya, who led a deputation to the emperor against this hateful imposition, the emperor remitted it and thus allowed his Hindu subjects religious liberty.[36]

Shah Jahan changed the spirit of religious toleration that had informed the Mughal government so far in several other ways as well. To begin with, the emperor forbade putting the finishing touches to certain temples that had been built during his predecessor's reign.[37] The repairs to old temples were then prohibited and the building of new temples was forbidden. But Shah Jahan's orthodoxy was not satisfied with this order that concerned the future alone. He embarked on a campaign of destroying the new temples of the Hindus. A general order seems to have been issued ordering the destruction of new temples. As a result of this order three temples were destroyed in Gujrat, seventy-two temples in Benares and its neighbourhood, and probably four temples elsewhere in the province of Allahabad.[38] Some temples in Kashmir were also sacrificed to the religious fury of the emperor. The Hindu temple of Achchhabal was

33 *Ādāb-i-Ālamgīrī*, 55.

34 Tabatabai, 19; Lahauri, I, 446.

35 Kavindarācārya's list.

36 *Ibid.*

37 Lahauri, I, i, 452; Qazvini, 405.

38 Lahauri, I, i, 452; Salih, I, 522; Sadiq Khan in Khafi Khan, I, 472; Qazvini, 357, 455; Mulakkas, 75.

destroyed and converted into a mosque.[39] This betokened a rather serious fit of religious frenzy which Akbar's reign seemed to have made impossible. The materials of some of these temples were used for building mosques.[40] In the ninth year a magnificent temple built by Bir Singh Bundela at Urchha was destroyed during the course of the military operations against Jujuharsingh Bundela.[41] Several other temples suffered the same fate or were converted into mosques. When the fort of Khata Kheri was conquered from its Bhil ruler Bhagirath in 1632, Muslim rites were performed here[42] as in the temple of Kangra at its conquest by Jahangir. The fort of Dhamuni under Jujuhar Singh was similarly desecrated in 1045 A.H. (=1644-45 A.D.).[43] Earlier in 1040 A.H. (=1630-31 A.D.) when Abdal, the Hindu chief of Hargaon in the province of Allahabad, had rebelled, most of the temples in the state were either demolished or converted into mosques, and idols were burnt. Prince Aurangzeb while Viceroy of Gujarat (February, 1645, to January, 1647) was responsible for the demolition of several temples. In Ahmedabad and elsewhere many temples were destroyed. The temple of Khandai Rai at Satara, and the temple of Chintaman close to Sarashpur were among these. Probably after Aurangzeb's departure in 1647, many of these temples were taken possession of by the Hindus.[44]

Shah Jahan thus reverted to the pre-Akbar practice of desecrating systematically the religious shrines of rebel chiefs and enemies. He also tried to enforce the Muslim injunction against new places of worship being built by non-believers. But it seems the fury did not last long. Though in general terms some of the chroniclers of the reign remember the emperor as the destroyer of temples, no more specific cases find mention in the later part of his reign. Something seems to have softened the emperor and the fit of religious frenzy soon passed away.

39 Lahauri, II, 58; Salih, II, 41.
40 Sadiq Khan in Khafi Khan, I, 472.
41 Lahauri, I, ii, 121.
42 Salih, I, 518.
43 Sadiq Khan in Khafi Khan, I, 510.
44 Sadiq Khan in Khafi Khan, I, 454.

Probably due to Dara's increasing influence we find Shah Jahan reversing this policy sometimes after. The prince presented a stone railing to the temple of Kesho Rai at Mathura.[45] A letter written during the year 1643-44 (=1053 A.H). to Jai Singh, Raja of Jaipur, concedes to him full liberty to appoint the presiding priest at the temple of Brindaban built by Man Singh.[46] Man Singh's mother had died in Bengal and by a letter dated 7th of August 1639, Shah Jahan granted two hundred bighas of land to be attached to her mausoleum in order to ensure its perpetual up-keep.[47] The restoration of their temples to the Hindus of Gujrat, however, must be placed after 1647.

The Christians themselves brought about destruction of some of their religious privileges. The Jesuits at the Mughal court had been mixing politics with religion and they had little to complain when on the outbreak of hostilities with the Portuguese at Hugli Shah Jahan ordered the dismantling of their church at Agra and destruction of their church images. He allowed them, however, the right of holding their religious ceremonies in the houses they were permitted to retain.[48] Thus Shah Jahan interfered with open public worship after the Christian fashion in the churches, allowing them, however, to hold their religious ceremonies in the privacy of their own houses. We have to remember that unlike the Protestant and Roman Catholic governments of Europe during the religious wars and after, the Mughals seldom tried to interfere with the privacy of their subjects in religious matters The rights enjoyed by the Roman Catholics even after this eruption far exceeded those enjoyed by their religious brethren in protestant England about this time and even later.

Shah Jahan also stopped the prevailing practice of allowing the Hindus and the Christians to make converts to their religions. The permission granted to Christians was withdrawn as the result of the war against the Portuguese of Hugli. Christians had never been able to con-

44 Sadiq Khan in Khafi Khan, I, 454; Salih, I, 430; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 220, 259; *Kalimāt-i-Tayyibāt*, 7b; *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. I, part. i, 280.

45 News Letter dated 14, 10.66.

46 *Jaipur Records*,

47 *Jaipur Records*, letter dated 7th August 1639.

48 Shah Jahan's Farman in *JPHS.*, V, 25, 26.

vert a large number of Hindus and Muslims to their faith. Their efforts had mainly been confined to keeping within their Christians faith such Armenians, Europeans and others who happened to take service at the Mughal court. This they were even now allowed to do. Before the establishment of the Jesuit Missions at Agra and Lahore, the Christians entering the Mughal service usually adopted non-Christian modes of life from which they were rescued by the Jesuit missionaries. Now that the missionaries were established at Agra and Lahore such cases became rarer. The refusal of the permission, therefore, was simply the denial of a principle and implied Shah Jahan's anxiety to conform to the Muslim theological injunctions rather than create practical obstacles in the path of the Christian missions. In the case of the Hindus, however, it was otherwise. They had been actually absorbing a large number of Muslims by conversions to Hindusim. In the 6th year of his reign when Shah Jahan was returning from Kashmir *via* Jammu, he discovered, as Jahangir had discovered before him, that the Hindus of Bhadauri and Bhimabar accepted daughters of Muslim parents and converted them to their own faith. They were cremated at their death. Jahangir had tried to stop this practice but to no avail. Shah Jahan not only issued orders making such marriages unlawful in the future but ordered that these converted Muslim girls be taken from their husbands who should be fined. The Hindus however could keep their wives and escape the fine if they accepted Islam. Such widespread was this practice of converting Muslim girls to Hinduism that these orders discovered more than 4000 such women.[49]

During the course of the same journey Shah Jahan discovered down in Gujrat the same source of uneasiness to his orthodoxy. Here again some seventy such converts were discovered. This gave the emperor some cause for anxiety. General orders were issued to scour the Punjab and put down by force such practices. Some four hundred such cases were reported in consequence.[50]

49 Qazvini, 444, 445; Lahauri, I, ii, 58; Sadiq Khan in Khafi Khan, I, 501; Salih, II, 64.

Sadiq Khan says that the offenders were executed, whereas other historians mention either a fine or a warning as the punishment.

50 Lahauri, I, ii, 58, Qazvini, 445; Salih, II, 65.

In his tenth year Shah Jahan discovered that his orders had not completely stopped conversion by Hindus. Dalpat, a Hindu of Sirhand, had converted a Muslim girl Zinab, given her the Hindu name, Gaṅgā, and brought up their offsprings as Hindus. He had also converted one Muslim boy and six Muslim girls to Hinduism. The emperor was now too much exasperated by this Hindu persistence. To put a stop to this practice and warn all future transgressors against the Quranic law, Dalpat's wife and children were taken from him. He was sentenced to death by dismemberment with the option that he could save himself by becoming a Muslim. Dalpat however was made of the stuff of which martyrs are made and he flatly refused the offer. He was cruelly done to death by dismemberment.[51]

Another probable source of conversion to Hinduism was also stopped. Though Akbar had discontinued the practice of making slaves of the prisoners of war, it seems to have been too deep-rooted to disappear so easily. It had now revived. These slaves seem to have been publicly sold to bidders or retained by the soldiers. Shah Jahan now issued an order that Muslim prisoners of war were not to be sold to the Hindus as slaves. Hindu soldiers were also forbidden from enslaving Muslims.[52]

Shah Jahan seems to have left the proselytising activities of the Hindus alone after his tenth year. During the rest of his reign we do not hear of any attempts to put down the efforts of the Hindus to make converts to their religion. Not that these activities were now finally crushed. We come across several cases of conversions of Muslims by the Hindus. Kalyan Bhati was a Hindu saint living in Kiratpur in the year 1643. He was a Sannyāsī, had travelled to far off Persia where he was converted to Islam. When he returned to India, he became a Hindu and was accepted as a religious leader by the Hindus. It is said that the licentious life of Shah Abbas Safare of Persia (1583 to 1628 A.D.) had disgusted him with the religion that permitted such practices.[53]

51 Salih, II, 246, 247; Lahauri, I, ii, 57; Qazvini, 562.
52 Qazvini, 405.
53 *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*, 186, 187.

A large number of Muslims was converted to Hinduism by the Vairāgis. The author of the *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib* speaks of these conversions as if from his own personal knowledge. Two Muslim nobles are mentioned among these converts, Mirza Salih and Mirza Haider.[54]

When Guru Hargobind took up his residence at Kiratpur he succeeded in converting a large number of Muslims sometimes before 1645. In the words of the *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*, not a Muslim was left between the hills near Kiratpur and the frontiers of Tibet and Khotan.[55] The Mughals conquered Kiratpur in 1645 and it is possible they may have made some afforts at reconverting them. But the Muslim chroniclers are silent about the fate of any such attempts.

Though persecution for such 'mal-practices' may have come to an end, a connected proselytising activity seems to have continued throughout his reign. Early in his reign Shah Jahan appointed a superintendent of converts to Islam thus setting up a department for the special purpose of making converts.[56] This special solicitude for increasing the number of the Muslims was accompanied by various measures calculated to effect this purpose. The one common enough practice was to make terms with the criminals. Any crime could be expatiated if a man was willing enough to become a Muslim. The Hindus of the Punjab, Bhimbar, Bhadauri, and Sirhand, who were guilty of the offence of abetting apostacy, were all offered remission of their sentences provided they accepted the 'true faith'. When the war with the Portuguese started, many of them were made prisoners and condemned to slavery or death. But they were offered their freedom and life both if they accepted the 'true faith'.[57] Of the four hundred who were brought before the emperor, very few however accepted the offer, the rest were imprisoned but orders were issued that whenever they would express their willingness to be converted they should be liberated and given daily allowances.[58] The Hindu law confined rights in the property of a joint family to the Hindus alone. Naturally if a Hindu was converted to Islam he lost his right in the joint property. Like

54 *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*, 203.

55 *Ibid.*, 203.

56 Lahauri, I, ii, 58.

57 See above.

58 Salih, I, 612.

Lord Dalhousie two centuries later, Shah Jahan could not tolerate this artificial obstacle to the spread of the true faith and an order was issued in the seventh year of his reign that if a Hindu wanted to be accepted into Islam, his family should not place any obstacles in his way.[59] Most probably this refers to the threats of depriving the 'renegade' of his share of the joint property. But Shah Jahan's order differed from Lord Dalhousie's legislation widely. Dalhousie, by allowing Christian converts to claim their share of the joint property, brought conversion to and from Christianity to the same level. No law entailed the confiscation of his property on a Christian if he became a Hindu. Thus Dalhousie's order established no inequalities. But under Shah Jahan, apostacy from Islam was still a capital crime. His orders, therefore, made conversions from among the Hindus easier, while retaining all the power of the state for keeping Muslims true to their faith.

No wonder that this led to the forcible conversion in times of war. When Shuja was appointed the Governor of Kabul, his assumption of office was accompanied by a ruthless war in the Hindu territory beyond the Indus. Shanker was the ruler of these tribes. During the war 16 sons and dependants of one Hathi here were converted by force. The sword of Islam further yielded a crop of 5000 new converts. Their temples were converted into mosques. Any one showing signs of reverting to the faith of his forefathers was executed.[60] The rebellion of Jujahar Singh yielded a rich crop of Muslim converts mostly minors. His minor sons Durga and his grandson Durjan Sal were both converted to become Imam Quli and Ali Quli.[61] Udaibhan, his eldest son, when captured, preferred death to Islam. Another minor son was however converted. Most of his women had burnt themselves to death but such as were captured—probably slave girls or maids—were converted and distributed among Muslim Mansibdars.[62] When Pratap Ujjainya rebelled in the tenth year, one of his women was captured, converted to

59 Lahauri, I, ii, 535; Qazvini, 401, 402, 405.

60 *Inshāī-i-Ibrāhīmī*, letter No. 8.

61 Lahauri, I, ii, 133.

62 *Ibid.*, I, ii, 139; Sadiq Khan in Khafi Khan, I, 522, 523.

Islam, and married to a grandson of Firoz Jang.[63] The conquest of Baglana was followed by the conversion of Naharji's son and successor who became now Daulatmand.[64] Nasrat Jung converted a Brahman boy to Islam who however seems to have resented this and killed his 'benefactor' thereupon while he was asleep.[65] Pratap, a zemindar of the eastern districts, rebelled. In the course of the military operations against him he was killed. One of his women was captured, however, and converted to Islam.[66] There was a severe famine in the Punjab in 1055 A.H. (=1645-46 A.D.) when people began to sell their children: Shah Jahan ordered that the sale price be paid by the state and the Muslim children be restored to their parents.[67] Hindu children thus bought by the state were probably brought up as Muslims.

It is not surprising therefore that some noteworthy converts were made during this reign. Raja Raj Singh's son Bakhtawar Singh and his grandson were converted.[68] One Guru Kishan of Amroha, however, does not seem to have been suitably rewarded on his conversion and had to remind the emperor of his services in becoming a Muslim and solicit a Mansib, in order that this may prove an inducement to others.[69] Sri Ranga III of Carnatic was attacked by Adil Khan. Pressed in from all sides he sought safety in the renunciation of his religion and conversion to Islam. This at once relieved him of the pressure as Aurangzeb, who was at this time the viceroy in the Deccan, promised him aid.[70]

Shah Jahan discovered another means of swelling the ranks of the Muslims. When Hindu princesses were married to the Mughal kings and princes, they do not seem to have been formally converted to the true faith. It is true that their marriage in itself constituted an act of conversion. But Akbar seems to have allowed these princesses a good deal of religious liberty and Jahangir does not appear to have

63 Lahauri, I, ii, 274.
64 Sadiq Khan in Khafi Khan, I, 564; Lahauri, II, 109.
65 Lahauri, II, 246.
66 Sadiq Khan in Khafi Khan, I, 545; Salih, I, 240.
67 Sadiq Khan in Khafi Khan, I, 626.
68 Qazvini, 407.
69 Letters, (Ethe, 2118) 37.
70 *Adāb-i-Ālamgīrī*, 65-68.

changed the practice of his father very much. Under Shah Jahan, however, the Muslim law was more strictly followed. The princes were first formally converted to Islam, the emperor himself teaching them the elements of the Muslim religion on their entry into the palace.[71] Marriage was solemnised after this formal conversion.

Thus Shah Jahan took active steps not only for stopping the conversion of the Muslims to other faiths but for swelling their number by all possible means as well. Herein he earned the praises of almost all the Muslim annalists of his reign and came to be regarded as a great Muslim king who was anxious to restore the lost privileges of Islam.

As Shah Jahan made apostacy criminal, he took similar measures to enforce the Muslim penal code in connection with other religious crimes as well. Blasphemy was once again made a criminal offence. A Hindu who was alleged to have behaved disrespectfully towards the Quran was executed.[72] Chhaila, a Brahman and provincial Qanungo of Berar, lost his head because he was similarly accused of disrespectful language towards the prophet.[73] Raju, a Sayyid holding heretic views, was first expelled from Ahmedabad and subsequently killed on his opposing the imperial officers sent in order to accomplish and hasten his departure during the viceroyalty of Aurangzeb.[74]

The Muslim tradition further laid down that it was the duty of a Muslim king to see that the Hindus were not allowed to look like the Muslims. This naturally demanded the promulgation of sumptuary laws. Shah Jahan took a step towards reviving them by ordering that the Hindus be not allowed to dress like the Muslims.[75] No serious attempt seems to have been made to enforce this regulation as no Muhtasibs were appointed to look after the enforcement of these orders.

Shah Jahan in his sixth year prohibited the sale, public or private, of wine.[76] Jahangir had only prohibited public sales. This order therefore either involved the extension of the prohibition to private sales as well or the tacit confesion that Jahangir's order had not been fully enforced. In either case we know little about the success with

71 *Ma'āsir-i-Alamgīrī*, 37.
72 Qazvini, 445.
73 *Adāb-i-Alamgīrī*, 101.
74 *Mirāt-i-Ahmadī*, I, 220, 227.
75 Qazvini, 445.
76 *Ibid.*, 405.

which this order was attended. Christians, however, were allowed to manufacture their own drinks.[77]

Shah Jahan's attitude towards the prohibition of the slaughter of animals as practised by Akbar and Jahangir was again that of an orthodox king. He himself had no leanings towards Sufism though his son Dara was a Sufi. Naturally the prohibition of the slaughter of animals on certain days of the week as enforced by Akbar and Jahangir was discontinued. But the respect Akbar and Jahangir had shown towards Hindu feelings by prohibiting the slaughter of certain animals continued to some extent in certain areas. Manriques discovered that in Bengal killing of animals held sacred by them was a crime punished by amputation. He was able, however, to compound for it by paying a fine and spirit away the culprit after he had been whipped. Manrique had used petticoat influence for securing this escape.[78] It is reasonable to suppose that these prohibitions were not confined to the districts visited by Manrique alone and that elsewhere as well such respect was shown to Hindu feelings.

Thanks probably to Dara, Shah Jahan continued the policy of his predecessors in another important field. Dara's Sufist leanings led him to explore the depths of Hindu religion and under his patronage and partly by his own efforts several Sanskrit works were translated into Persian. These included the famous 'song celestial', *Bhagavad Gītā*, *Yoga Vāśiṣtha,* and *Probodha Candrodaya.* He himself translated the Upaniṣads and declared them to be the 'the book' referred to in the Quran. He further wrote a tract comparing the Vedantist terms with Sufist expressions proving thereby that both came very near each other. He definitely set out to prove by these efforts of his that the Hindus deserved toleration not because it was politic even for the Muslim emperors of India to show them this concession but because Islam enjoined such toleration to Hinduism as a kindred faith.[79] A translation of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was also made by a Hindu scholar.

More important however was the patronage of Hindu poets by

77 Manucci, I, 140. 78 Manrique, II, 105-115.

79 Cf. Dara Shikoh by Qanungo; "Prince Dara Shikoh" by Dr. Yusuf Husain in the *Journal of the Muslim University,* Aligarh, vol. I, pp. 543-562.

Shah Jahan. Sunder Dass and Chintamani were two great Hindi poets of the age who received court patronage.[80] They wrote on various themes particularly on religious topics.

Shah Jahan's reign is famous for the quality and the quantity of the Sanskrit writings that it produced. The great jurist, Kamalākar Bhaṭṭa, author of the famous *Nirṇayasindhu*, was alive. One of Shah Jahan's protéges, Kavindarācārya, wrote a commentary on the *Ṛg-veda.* Jagannāth, who was a court poet, besides compiling poetic works to sing the praises of Dara and Asaf Khan, wrote religious tracts in praise of the Ganges, the Yamunā and the Sun. Nityānanda who was patronised by Asaf Khan wrote two works on Hindu astronomy, *Vedāṅgarāja,* another protége of Shah Jahan compiled in Sanskrit a vocabulary of Persian and Arabic terms used in Indian astronomy and astrology. Mitramiśra, the famous jurist whose interpretations of the Hindu law is still upheld by the High Courts of Calcutta and Bombay, was also living during Shah Jahan's reign. The list of the Sanskrit writers of the age given in the appendix shows the richness of the work done and proves that Shah Jahan did not interfere with the literary activities of the Hindus. The fact that some of the great writers of the age were patronised by him proves that he had no intention of suppressing them.

To sum up, then, Shah Jahan was a more orthodox king than his two predecessors. During the years sixth to tenth of his reign he embarked upon an active career of a great Muslim king persecuting the Hindus and trying to convert them. Several orders were issued during these years with the purpose of achieving this end. New temples were destroyed, conversions were stopped, several Hindus were persecuted for religious reasons, and probably the pilgrimage tax reimposed. Soon however his religious zeal seems to have spent itself. Probably as Dara's influence at court increased, Shah Jahan's ardour as a great proselytising king cooled down when he discovered in the heir-apparent and his deputy in many state affairs a religious toleration equalling that of his grandfather Akbar. Of course the discontinuance of certain court ceremonies which smacked of Hindu practices

80 *Miśra Bandhu Vinoda.*

was permanent. Yet he continued the Ilahi year even in his Farmans and in the revenue accounts; his royal mandates still began with *Allah-hu-Akbar* made popular by Akbar. He continued patronizing dancing, music, portrait painting and astrology. The ceremony of weighing the emperor against different commodities was performed every year amidst the applause of the court poets and annalists.

But as a pious Muslim, Shah Jahan showed greater interest in the celebration of Muslim festivals as state ceremonies. Larger amounts were given in charity to Muslims on these occasions. The divorce between the state and the church was brought to an end by the increasing importance attached to the office of the Sadr-as-sadur, by the appointment of an officer to look after new converts and possibly to encourage conversions to Islam. Shah Jahan tried to convert his court into that of a great Muslim emperor. Frequent missions were sent to Mecca in charge of the pilgrims as also for the distribution of the charities set apart by the emperor. It is rather interesting to note that the larger part of Shah Jahan's gifts to Mecca was sent in the shape of merchandise which was sold in Arabia and the proceeds given in charity. His letters to Qutab-ul-Malak of Golkunda portray him as the champion of the Sunni variety of Islam.

It is thus not wholly true to say that Shah Jahan's reign was in this respect a prelude to what followed under Aurangzeb. Much of what his successor did constituted a vote of censure on Shah Jahan for failing to do in its entirety what the Muslim law and tradition demanded of a Muslim king. It is true these five years, from the sixth to the tenth, of his reign gave the Hindus a foretaste of what might happen if the Mughal throne happened to be filled by an orthodox king who insisted on following in their entirety what the contemporary Muslim practices demanded from him. Shah Jahan however—despite the praises showered on him by his court poets and annalists—was never consistently or for long a persecutor. Towards the end of his reign we actually find him restraining the religious zeal of Aurangzeb and overriding him in many important matters. It will have, however, to be admitted that Akbar's ideal of a 'comprehensive state' was being given up though only partly.

SRI RAM SHARMA

APPENDIX

Sanskrit writers during Shah Jahan's reign

1. Ananta Bhaṭṭa.

He wrote Tīrtharatnākara for his patron Anūpa Siṃha.

2. Ananta Paṇḍita.

He commented on Govardhana Saptaśatī, and Rasa Mañjarī of Bhānu Datta (1636 A.D.), and wrote a prose version of Mudrā Rākṣasa.

3. Ananta Deva.

He wrote a commentary on Kātyāyana's Śrautasūtra.

4. Kamalākara Bhaṭṭa, the famous jurist.

5. Kavīndarācārya.

He was a Vedic scholar, and wrote a commentary on the Ṛg Veda, of which only a fragment is now available.

6. Kamalākara.

He was an astronomer, and wrote various works on the subject.

7. Kavicandra.

He was a grammarian, and wrote several commentaries on grammatical texts.

8. Kṛṣṇa.

He wrote an elementary text book of grammar in 1645.

9. Kṛṣṇadatta Miśra.

In about 1650, he compiled a guide to the sacred places of Kurukṣetra.

10. Kālidāsa.

One of his works was written in 1632.

11. Gaṅgādhara.

His two works on astronomy bear the date 1633.

12. Gaṅgādhara.

He compiled some manuals on festivals.

13. Govinda.

He wrote a work on astrology in 1638 mainly concerning the determination of auspicious times for various works.

14. Gokulajit.

He was an astronomer, and wrote thereon in 1632-1633.

15. Gaurīpati.

He commented on Ācārādarśa of Śrīdatta in 1640.

16. Cintāmaṇi.

He was interested in poetry, and wrote a manual on metre in 1630.

17. Jagannātha.

He was the court paṇḍita of Shah Jahan, and wrote various works in that capacity. He wrote his Jagadābharaṇa in Dara's praise, and Āsaf Vilāsa in praise of Asaf Khan. His Bhāminī Vilāsa treats of erotics. He wrote besides several works on grammar, poetics, and in the praises of the various gods.

18. Jagadānanda Śarman.
19. Jinārjuna.
20. Jīvagosvāmin.

He was a nephew of Rūpagosvāmin, the famous leader of the Bhakti school during this period. Some of his famous works on devotion must have been written during this period.

21. Dayā Dviveda.

A collection of several moral stories written in 1628 is attributed to him.

22. Durgā Dāsa.

He wrote a text book on grammar in 1639.

23. Devasāgaraḥ.

A grammarian, he was interested in etymology and wrote a treatise thereon in 1630.

24. Dhanarāja.
25. Nanda Paṇḍita.

Another great jurist.

26. Nityānanda.

Like Jagannātha he was also a portege of Āsaf Khan, and wrote two works on astronomy dated 1629 and 1640.

27. Nīlakaṇṭha Śarman.

He was a grammarian and one text book written in 1639 bears his name.

28. Nīlakaṇṭha Bhaṭṭa.

He was attached to Bhagavant Deva, a Bundela chief. After the name of his patron, he wrote Bhagavant Bhāskara on law which is recognised as an authority on Hindu law by the High Court at Bombay.

29. Nīlakaṇṭha Dīkṣita.

He was a voluminous writer, and is the author of some sixty-three works on grammar and devotion, several of which have been printed.

30. Puruṣottama.

In 1628, he wrote a manual on the religious duties of the pilgrims to Jagannātha.

31. Balabhadra.

He was a mathematician, and wrote several works on astronomy and mathematics.

32. Bhāvadeva Miśra.

He belonged to Patna, and wrote several works on Yoga, Vedānta, and devotion.

33 Bhāvadeva.

In 1649 he wrote a commentary on the Vedāntasūtra.

34. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita.

This famous grammarian and jurist was still alive.

35. Maṇirāma.

He was a physician, and wrote a text book on medicine in 1642.

36. Maṇirāma Dīkṣita.

He was another protege of Anūpa Siṃha.

37. Mādhava Śukla.

His work Kundakalpadrum written in 1656 has been printed.

38. Mādhava Jyotirvid.

39. Mahādeva.

He was a Paṇḍita interested in the technique of rites, and wrote a work explaining the construction of sacrificial Paṇḍalas.

40. Mitramiśra.

The famous jurist whose works are still recognized as an authority by the High Courts of Bombay and Calcutta.

41. Raghunātha.

Another jurist who wrote a work on Dharmaśāstra in 1656.

42. Raṅga Nātha.

He commented on Vikramorvaśī in 1656.

43. Rāmacandra.

He discussed the religious duties of the Hindus.

44. Rājarṣi.

He was an astrologer, and wrote a work on astrology in 1633.

45. Rāmanātha Vidyāvācaspati.

He was a great scholar, and wrote various works on law, poetics, astronomy, ritual and lexicography. He commented on Śakuntalā.

46. Rāmāśrama.

He wrote a commentary on the daily prayers of the Hindus.

47. Datta.

48. Vijayānanda.

He described the beauties and religious attractions of Benares in 1641.

49. Vidyānanda.

He was a grammarian, and wrote a work on etymology.

50. Vidyādhara.

His patron was Rājā Vīrabhadra of Rajkot. He wrote several works on the religious duties of the Hindus in 1639 and 1644.

51. Viṣṇu Puri.

He selected verses on the devotion from the various Purāṇas, and wrote two independent works on devotion.

52. Viṣṇu.

53. Viśvarāma.

54. Viśvarūpa.

55. Viśvānātha Daivajña.

56. Viśvanātha Pañcānana Bhaṭṭācārya.

He was a great philosopher, and wrote on various schools of Hindu philosophy.

57. Vedāṅgarāja.

He was a protege of Shah Jahan. He wrote Pārsi Prakāśaka, a

vocabulary of Persian and Arabic terms used in Indian astronomy and astrology in 1643.

58. Veṇidatta.

He wrote a dictionary in 1644 and a biography of Vāmadeva.

59. Śiva Rāma.

He was a Vedic scholar, and wrote on chanting of Vedic mantras, on poetics, and Dharmaśāstra.

60. Śrī Dharmapati Śarman.

He compiled a commentary on Prabhākaracandrodaya.

61. Sahajakīrta.

He was a Jain, and wrote two works on Jainism.

63. Haridatta Bhaṭṭa.

After the name of his patron, Rājā Jagat Siṃha he wrote Jagadbhūṣaṇa in 1630.

64. In 1632 an unknown writer wrote a commentary on Atharvana Prātiśākhya.

(Summarised from the author's forthcoming work on the Sanskrit writers of the Mughal Period).

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The Eastern Cālukyas*

VII

The period of anarchy in the kingdom of Veṅgi is counted from the date of the close of the reign of Dānārṇava. An inscription[1] of Śaktivarman's reign states that after the close of the reign of Dānārṇava, the Andhradeśa was without a ruler for twenty-seven years as the night of the second fortnight is without the moon. The Ranastipundi grant[2] of Vimalāditya records that "after Dānārṇava, through the evil action of fate, the country of Veṅgi was without a ruler for twenty-seven years. At this point the son of king Dāna, that glorious Śaktivarman, who resembled (Indra) the king of the gods, having overcome the enemies by the force of his valour, protected the earth for twelve years." Many other inscriptions of the Eastern Cālukyas support this statement.[3]

Sometimes during the latter part of this interregnum, the Cola Rājarāja took possession of the Andhra country and Kaliṅga, probably defeating Yuddhamalla III. An inscription,[4] issued in the fourteenth year (=999 A.D.) of the reign of Rājarāja I, states that the king conquered Veṅgainnādu (Veṅgai-nādu), Gaṅga-pādi and other places. An inscription[5] of the twentyfirst year (=1005 A.D.) of this king adds that he conquered Kaliṅga. But the Cola supremacy in Veṅgi was put an end to by Śaktivarman. Śaktivarman's inscription[6] reports that "Śaktivarman rose to fame even in his youth by his victory in a battle with the Colas, and he put to flight a certain Badyema-mahārāja and others." It is further stated that "Coḍa-Bhīma met his death like Rāvaṇa in the hands of this Cālukya-Nārāyaṇa." Badyema and Coḍa-Bhīma were apparently officers under Rājarāja I. It has been suggested above that Yuddhamalla III was overthrown by Śaktivarman.

* Continued from vol. XI, p. 45.

1 *SE.*, 1918, p. 132.

2 *EI.*, vol. VI, p. 358 ff.

3 *IA.*, vol XX, p. 272; Sir Walter Elliot's *Telugu Śāsanams*, p. 777.

4 *SII.*, vol. III, p. 5.

5 *Ibid.*, vol. I, p. 94.

6 *SE.*, 1918, p. 132.

It is equally possible that Yuddhamalla's power was broken down by the Colas, who were again ousted from Andhra by Saktivarman.

Saktivarman (A.D. 1000-1011), Cālukya-Nārāyaṇa, Viṣṇuvardhana.

Saktivarman was also known as Sarvalokāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana mahārāja. He assumed the titles of Cālukya-Candra, and Cālukya-Nārāyaṇa.[7] An inscription[8] of his reign has been discovered. It is mutilated and incomplete. It records the gift of land in the Varanāṇḍu (Velanāṇḍu) Viṣaya.

Saktivarman deprived the headman of the village Pabhubarru, a descendant of an official of Amma II, of all his properties, and expelled him from his kingdom. The properties seized were given to Dādī-Bhīma, a faithful servant of Saktivarman. Dādī-Bhīma was also given the fief of Pabhubarru.[9]

Saktivarman ruled for twelve years i.e. from 999 or 1000 A.D. to 1011 A.D., and was succeeded on the throne by his younger brother Vimalāditya. Some coins of Cālukya-Candra i.e. Saktivarman were discovered in the islands of Ramree, Cheduba, situated off the coast of British Burma, and in Siam.[10]

Vimalāditya (1011-1018 A.D.), *Birudāṅka-Bhīma, Mummaḍi-Bhīma, Viṣṇuvardhana, Rāja-Mārtaṇḍa, Bhūpa-Mahendra.*

Vimalāditya assumed the epithets of Birudāṅka-Bhīma, Mummaḍi-Bhīma, Bhūpa-Mahendra, Rājā-Mārtaṇḍa, Viṣṇuvardhana.[11] Two inscriptions of his reign have been brought to light.

(i) *Ranastipuṇḍi grant.*[12]

The inscription was found in the Amalapuram Taluka of the Godavari District. It records that the Mahārājādhirāja Vimalāditya granted the village of Ranastipundi and Pāruvala, in the Guddavāḍi-Viṣaya, to his brāhmaṇa minister Vajra. In connection with the boun-

7 *Ibid.*; *IA.*, vol. XIV, p. 50.
8 *SE.*, 1918, p. 132.
9 *JARS.*, vol. IV, p. 102.
10 *IA.*, vol XIX, p. 79.
11 *EI.*, vol. VI, p. 359 ff.; *Telegu Mahābhārata, Ādiparva*, Āśvāsa 12, V. 2391.
12 *EI.*, vol. VI, p. 351.

dary line of the above village the places Mrontugarru, Pāḷuru, Korukeru, Kalaparru, Gāṅgaleru, Kollikurru, Siripūṇḍi, Goṅganavrolu, and Lulla are mentioned. The minister Vajra who is described as '*amātya-śikhāmaṇi buddhavajraprākāra saujanyaratnākara*,' was a resident of Kāramaceḍu, apparently the modern village of Karimchedu, nine miles west of Bapattu Taluka, in the Kistna District. The record was executed in the eighth year of the king's reign by the Daṇḍanāyaka Nṛpakāma. The author of the verses was Bhīmanabhaṭṭa, and the writer of the inscription was Jontācārya.

(ii) *Rāmātīrtham inscription*.[13]

The inscription is on the wall of the Durgapañca cave in the hill at the village of Rāmatīrtham, in the Vizagapatam District. The inscription does not mention the name of the king. It states that it belongs to Sarvalokāśraya Viṣṇuvardhana-Mahārāja, who had the epithet of Rājamārtaṇḍa and Mummaḍi-Bhīma. The inscription is badly damaged. It reports that the Muni Trikālayogī Siddhāntadeva, a teacher of Desigaṇa school of Jainism, and a spiritual teacher of the king Viṣṇuvardhana, paid his reverence to the holy place of Rāmakoṇḍa. Rāmakoṇḍa is identical with Rāmatīrtham.

The Pīṭhapuram inscription[14] of Pṛthvīśvara states that Vimalāditya granted the pair (Districts called) Gudravāra.

It is reported in the Ranastipundi grant that Vimalāditya was formally anointed in Śaka 933 = A.D. 1011.[15] The early years of Vimalāditya's reign were not peaceful. He killed one Rājarāja, who might have been an officer under the Colas. Rājarāja's generals then invaded the Andhra country and forced Vimalāditya to submit. An inscription[16] of Rājarāja the Great's reign, dated Śaka 934 = A.D. 1012, records that "having first captured the lands of Gaṅgāvāḍi, Raṭṭavāḍi, and Melanāḍ, the territories of Nolamba and Andhra, the rulers of Koṅgu, Kaliṅga, and Pāṇḍya, the king ruling over all other countries in such wise that they were called the Cola-nāḍ, the lord of the divisions of the world, Kali-Rājarāja Cola bore the dignity of emperor."

13 *SE.*, 1918, p. 133.
14 *Gudravāra-dvayn*,—*EI.*, vol. IV, p. 49.
15 *Ibid.*, vol VI, p. 359, v. 13.
16 *SII.*, vol. II, p. 241.

"When the Koviraja, Rājakeśarivarman, Rājarāja, marched across, the bee at his lotus feet, Pañcava-Mahārāya, having there obtained the rank of Mahā-Daṇḍanāyaka of Veṅgi-Maṇḍala and Gaṅga-Maṇḍala displayed the might of his arms" etc. The Tiruvalaṅgaḍu plates[17] of Rājendracola I records Rājarāja's victory over Bhīma, the king of the Andhra country, who killed certain Rājarāja. Bhīma, referred to, is identical with Mummaḍi-Bhīma, which was an appellation of Vimalāditya.. Rājendracola's two inscriptions[18] on the Mahendragiri, in the Ganzam District, state that his general defeated the Kuluta chief Vimalāditya, captured the Mahendraparvata, and caused a pillar of victory to be set upon the hill. It has rightly been suggested by Mr. Venkayya[19] that "as this fact is not recorded in the usual historical introduction of Rājendracola's Tamil inscription, it may be presumed that it happened during the early part of his military career, when his father Rājarāja I was still living." Vimalāditya, referred to above, is identical with the Cālukya king of the same name, though he is wrongly called a Kuluta chief.

A treaty appears to have eventually been concluded between the Colas and the Cālukyas. Andhra and Kaliṅga were restored to Vimalāditya, who married Kuṃdava, the daughter of Rājarāja I.[20] The marriage ceremony seems to have taken place in the Cola country in the twenty-ninth year (=1013-14 A.D.) of Rājarāja I's reign, on which occasion Vimalāditya made some gifts to the Pañca-Pāṇḍaveśvara temple at Tiruvaiyaru.[21] Since then the Cālukyas of Veṅgi ruled as the protégé of the Colas of Tanjore.

The Pīṭhapuram inscription[22] of Pṛthvīśvara reports that Kuḍiyavarman (II), a chief of Velanaṇḍu, helped Vimalāditya many times in the battle-field.

Vimalāditya had two sons. The elder Rājarāja was born of his queen Kuṃdava, and the younger was born of his second queen Meḍavama, who was a Cola princess.[23] The Cālukya records assign to Vimalāditya

17 *SE.*, 1906, p. 50.
18 *Ibid.*, Nos. 396-397 of 1896.
19 *EI.*, vol. VI, p. 350.
20 *EI.*, vol. IV, p. 306, I. 53.
21 *SE.*, 1894, No. 215.
22 *EI.*, vol. IV, p. 49.
23 *SE.*, 1925, p. 77; *JARS.*, vol. V, p. 46.

a reign of seven years. But his Ranastipundi grant was issued in the eighth year of his reign. It may be that he died before he completed the eighth year of his reign. He closed his reign in 1018 A.D., and was succeeded by his son Rājarāja. In the inscription of Vimalāditya's younger brother Vijayāditya, Ś. 952 has been mentioned as the twelfth year of the former's reign.

Rājarāja (A.D. 1018-1059), *Viṣṇuvardhana.*

Rājarāja had a second name Viṣṇuvardhana.[24] The hostility of his step-brother Vijayāditya delayed his coronation ceremony for four years, which took place in Śaka 944=1022 A.D. The regnal years, given in his inscriptions, are counted from this date. Four inscriptions of his reign have been discovered.

(i) *The Korumelli inscription.*[25]

The inscription was discovered in the village of Korumelli, in the Godavari District. It records that the king granted the village of Korumelli, in the Guddavāḍi Viṣaya, to a Brahmin. The Dutaka was Bhīma, son of Rāciya-Pedderi. The composer of the inscription was Cetanabhaṭṭa, and the writer was Gaṇḍācārya.

(ii) *Nandamapūṇḍi grant.*[26]

The object of the inscription is to record that the king granted the village of Nandamapūṇḍi, in the Renderulunaḍimi-Viṣaya to the poet Nanni-Nārāyaṇa. While mentioning the boundary of the village granted, reference is made to the villages Billemapeddapūṇḍi, Nerapula, Mundaramuna, Maḍakurti. The inscription was issued in the thirty-second year of the king's regin. The date corresponds to 1054 A.D. The inscription was composed by Nānyabhaṭṭa, and the engraver was Gaṇḍācārya.

(iii) *Nandivelugu inscription.*[27]

The inscription is found engraved in the roof of a Śiva temple at Nandivelugu, in the Tenali Taluka of the Guntur District. It records the gift of some sheep for bearing the cost of a perpetual lamp in the

24 *SE.*, 1925, p. 302.
25 *IA.*, vol. XIV, p. 48.
26 *EI.*, vol. IV, p. 303.
27 *SE.*, 1921, p. 47, No. 663.

temple of Abbeśvara at Vallavaru. The record was issued in Ś. 980=A.D. 1058-1059, in the thirty-seventh year of the King's reign.

(iv) *Valiveru inscription.*[28]

The stone slab bearing the inscription is lying before the Svayambhuveśvara temple at Valiveru, in the Tenali Taluka of the Guntur District. It registers that a gift of fifty sheep was made for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp to the temple of Traipuruṣa-Mahādeva at Valiveru. The grant was made by a private individual in Śaka 983=A.D. 1061, in the forty-first year of the king's reign. The regnal year given above appears to be incorrect. The inscription mentions Rājarāja as Viṣṇuvardhana.

Rājarāja maintained friendly relation with the Colas. Andhra and Kaliṅga are not mentioned in the list of the countries conquered by Rājendracola.[29] But Rājarāja had to suffer severe misfortune due to the revolt of his step-brother Vijayāditya. In the twelfth year of his reign, in Śaka 952=A.D.1030, he was overthrown by Vijayāditya.[30]

An inscription[31] of Vijayāditya's reign has been discovered at the village of Pamulavaka, in the Narasipatam Taluka of the Vizagapatam District. It states that the king was coronated in Śaka 952=A.D. 1030, and the inscription was issued in the second year of his reign. The object of the inscription is to record that the king granted the village of Kompolongu along with twelve other villages to Bhīmabhūpa, the son of Cammarāja, in recognition of his service. The writer of the inscription was Gaṇakācārya.

The inscriptions of Rājarāja, the dates of which correspond to A.D. 1050, 1058, 1061, prove that Rājarāja succeeded in regaining his throne from Vijayāditya. Rājarāja was a great patron of learning. The poets Nānyabhaṭṭa, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, and mathematician Pāvulūri Mallanārya flourished in his court. He issued gold coins.

The tradition runs that Rājarāja had two wives Ratnāṅgi and Citrāṅgi. Sāraṅgadhara, the son of the chief queen Ratnāṅgi, was a

28 *SE.*, 1921, p. 48, No. 671. 29 *EI.*, vol. IX, p. 233.

30 *Journal of the Andhra Research Society* (henceforth abbreviated as *JARS.*), vol. II, p. 289.

31 *Ibid.*

prince of outstanding genius. Rājarāja appointed him his heir-apparent, and looked for a suitable bride for him. He selected one beautiful girl named Citrāṅgi as the bride of the prince, but eventually he himself married her. But Citrāṅgi cherished a love for the prince and was looking for an opportunity to meet him. Once a pigeon belonging to the prince happened to perch on the terrace of the queen's palace. The queen captured it expecting that the prince might come to her for its release. The king was, luckily for the queen, at that time away from the capital. The prince, as it was expected, entered into the queen's palace in order to request her to return the bird to him. The queen proposed her love to him. But he refused the offer. In his hurry to free himself from the grip of the queen the prince left his upper garment in the queen's chamber.

On the return of the king the queen reported to him that the prince entered into her chamber with evil motive, and produced before him as a testimony the upper garment of the prince in order to prove the veracity of the report. The king in his rage ordered for the execution of the prince. Later on the king discovered the real truth, and forthwith ordered his release. But the prince was executed before the royal order reached the executioner. The king, however, avenged himself the wrong by putting the queen to death in a brutal manner. The people, being annoyed with the conduct of the king, rebelled and expelled him from his kingdom, and placed on the throne the prince, who was restored to life by a saint. A mound in Rajamundry is still called the mound of Sāraṅgadeva.

The above story, which was recorded by Kākumnūri Appakavi in the middle of the seventeenth century, appears to be a myth.[32] The inscriptions of Śaktivarman II, and Kulutuṅga Coḍa II[33] assign Rājarāja a reign-period of forty-one years, while the Pīṭhapuram inscription of Mallapadeva[34] records that the king ruled for forty years. Neither of them is accurate. The king closed his reign in the early part of Śaka 983=1061 A.D.

32 *JARS.*, vol. IV, p. 108.

33 *EI.*, vol. IV, p. 49.

34 *JARS.*, vol. V, p. 46; *IA.*, vol. XIV, p. 55.

The last years of Rājarāja's reign were not peaceful. His son Rājendracola, who was still very young, was at that time living in the Cola country with his grandmother, the wife of Rājendracola the Great. Rājarāja's step-brother Vijayāditya, who once deprived him of his throne, made fresh attempt to take possession of the kingdom of Veṅgi. In the year A.D. 1061 when Rājarāja was away from his capital Vijayāditya seized the throne and declared himself king. Two inscriptions[35] of Vijayāditya report that he succeeded on the throne after the death of his brother. But the inscription of Vijayāditya's son Śaktivarman states that[36] "Rājarāja protected the earth with great ability for full forty-one years. Vijayāditya, who is a step-brother of Rājarāja, having born of different mother, captured the great kingdom of his brother with great valour, in his absence." Vijayāditya appears to have abdicated his throne shortly after his accession in favour of his son Śaktivarman II.

Śaktivarman II, Samaraika-bhairava, Viṣṇuvardhana, Satyāśraya—
(A.D. 1060-61).

Śaktivarman assumed the titles of Samaraika-bhairava, Viṣṇuvardhana, Satyāśraya. His coronation ceremony took place in Śaka 983 = A.D. 1061. An inscription[37] of his reign has been discovered. It records that he granted the village of Numiyavāḍa to his officer Aḍapa Appana. While defining the boundary of the village granted, reference is made to the villages Babhanavāḍi, Tuṅgaguṇṭa, Naḍugūur, Candūru, and the mountain torrent of Nuvuru Bārasivāḍa. The inscription was composed by Nārāyaṇācārya. The king granted the village in the presence of the Yuvarāja. The king ruled only for a year. After his death his father Vijayāditya again assumed the royalty. The Rayali plates of Vijayāditya reports that[38] "the king's son Śaktivarman (II), who was crowned as the ruler by his father, reigned only for one year, and then passed away, and that Vijayāditya, the father, assumed authority out of regard for Dharma."

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35 *EI.*, vol. IV, p. 240.
36 *SE.*, 1924-25, p. 77.
37 *JARS.*, vol. V, p. 47.
38 *Ibid.*, p. 41; *SE.*, 1925, p. 77.

Sanskrit Noun-Inflexion

In the field of Morphology the first thing that strikes us in the Ṛgvedic language is the considerable amount of flexibility exhibited by endings and suffixes which sometimes produce the illusion of presenting the very process of agglutination by which the Indo-European flexional systems in general have been developed. In quite a number of cases in the Ṛg-veda the ending of stem has evidently to be supplied from a form standing in apposition to it. Thus *návyasā vácas* for *návyasā vácasā*, *tṛ́ṣu rocané* for *tṛ́ṣu rocanéṣu*, etc. In these cases the ending has been actually treated like the second member of a compound. A similar state of things is indicated by a number of cases in the Vedic dialect in which a case-ending alternates with an adverbial suffix : cf. RV. 6, 18, 9 *hásta ā́ dakṣiṇatrā́*. Here the locative suffix *-tra* evidently functions for the locative ending *-e* in *háste*. In the same way in passages like *tátaḥ ṣaṣṭhā́d ā́ 'mútaḥ* (AV. 8, 9, 6) the ablative suffix *-taḥ* (cf. Pāṇini's *pañcamyās tasil*) is equivalent to the ablative ending *-āt* in *ṣaṣṭhā́t*. These and similar examples in Skt. and other Indo-European languages are however too few in number and always exposed to the suspicion of being sporadical products of poets' caprices, and are therefore unable to justify the conclusion, sometimes put forward, that the Vedic dialect still shows traces of a preflexional stage. We have to assume that like all other Indo-European dialects Sanskrit too presupposes a fully developed and well-established flexional system.

In curious contrast to the multifarious innovations in the field of Phonology,[1] Sanskrit has preserved the original Indo-European case-system with remarkable fidelity. There is no reason to believe that the Indo-European case-system differed materially from that of Sanskrit. Both nominal and pronominal flexional systems in Sanskrit have preserved their distinctive features till Sanskrit had long ceased to be a living language, and the only serious case of syncretism is to be found in the use of Gen. for Dative from the *Brāhmaṇas* onwards. Yet it is not unlikely that Sanskrit Instrumental combines in itself two different cases—those of accompaniment and means respectively—, and that the two

1 See present writer's *Linguistic Introduction to Sanskrit*, ch. IV. (in the press).

very different modes of forming Instrumental plural (in *-aiḥ* and *-bhiḥ*) reflect the previous existence of two different cases which were combined in the historical period into the Sanskrit Instrumental.

Yet a comparative and historical study of Sanskrit morphology clearly reveals the process by which this apparently fixed and rigid flexional system was developed. Let us begin with the ending *-su* in loc. pl. This ending is undoubtedly of Indo-European origin, as is proved by the corresponding Avestan ending *-hu* and Old Ch. Sl. ending *-chŭ*.[2] But we have to take into account also the ending *-si* in dat. pl. in Greek, for it is nothing but the original locative ending functioning in the dative. The ending *-si* in Greek shows that the original Indo-European ending was *-s-* alone, which was later strengthened by different deictic particles in different languages, by *-i-* in Greek, and by *-u-* in Sanskrit, Avestan and Old. Ch. Sl. Thurneysen ingeniously suggested that the deictic particles *i* and *u* were used to strengthen the original ending *-s-* to indicate nearness and distance respectively, but later in one group the particle *i* came to be used also to indicate distant objects, and in another the particle *u* usurped the function of *i*. There can be hardly any doubt that Thurneysen has given the right explanation of the origin of the Indo-European ending in loc. pl., for locative is the case *par excellence* in which an emphatic deictic particle may be expected, and its subsequent history in the individual Indo-European dialects also shows that similar strengthening particles or post-positions had been actually added to its endings. In RV. the post-position *á* is often used after locatives in expressions like "*dámeṣv á*" "in the houses", but in Skt. this post-position had never become an integral part of the ending. This step had however been achieved in Avestan, where the ending in loc. pl. is not only *-hu*, *-šu*, but also *-hvă*, *-švă* sometimes. In Old Persian this ending in loc. pl. is never without the post-position *-ā*.

The important innovations of Skt. with regard to the ending for gen. pl., mostly in common with Avestan, have been already discussed elsewhere.[3] But here too the Ṛgvedic language shows some peculiarities which distinguish it not only from other Indo-European languages, but also from classical Skt. In several passages of the RV. forms in *īn*, *-ūn*, *-ṝn* have been evidently used in gen. pl.

2 It is important to note however that both these two languages belong to the *Satəm* group.

3 See *Journal of the Greater India Society*, vol. II.

Here the real genitive ending *-ām* has been altogether dispensed with. But these forms are very probably due to mechanical form-analogy, and no special linguistic value should be attached to them. We have seen that besides the usual form *devānām* the RV. also knows *devām* in gen. pl.; which in Sandhi (cf. *devāñ jánma*) may further appear to be nothing but *devān*. Now, on the analogy of this *devān* beside *devānām* the Ṛg-vedic poets might have further constructed *nṛ́n* for the usual *nṛ́ṇām*. These shorter forms are therefore purely momentary formations devoid of any historical value. The same applies also to the form *ūtī* (<*ūtí*) in instr. pl., which is several times distinctly qualified by adjectives ending in *-bhir* (e. g. *ugrébhir ūtī*).

No case, however, shows such a rich variety of forms in plural as the Nom.-Acc. of neuter stems.[4] The ending in this case was in fact originally a singular one, for, the plurality of neuter objects[5] used to be conceived generally in the collective sense—as *one* collection of neuter objects. A truly plural ending was regularly used when this collective sense was absent. Already in the Ṛg-vedic language however this sharp distinction between collective and distributive plurals could no longer be maintained. Therefore we find here all sorts of singular-endings applied to neuter stems in nom. and acc. plural.

In classical Skt. the nom. and acc. pl. neuter is uniformly characterised by the ending *-i*, which is accompanied by a nasal element following immediately after vowel-stems e. g. *-ā-ni*, *-ī-ni*, *-ū-ni*, *-ṝ-ṇi* (Type I); in the case of consonant-stems containing a nasal in the final element the ending is merely *-i*, e.g. *-ān-i*, *-āñc-i*, *-ant-i* (Type II); but where there is no nasal preceding the final consonant of the stem, the ending *-i* is strengthened by a nasal coming immediately *before* the final consonant, e.g. *-āṃsi*, *-īṃsi*, *ūṃsi* (Type III); the radical nouns formally belong to the last group, e.g. *-śak* : *-śaṅk-i*, *-yuj* : *-yuñj-i* (Type IV).

The Vedic language, however, reveals a state of things which is altogether different. Besides Type I there are forms in *ā*, *ī*, *ū* without the characteristic ending *-ni*; the *an*-stems of Type II show the ending *-ā* besides *-āni*. Type III has been fully developed there

4 Johannes Schmidt has devoted a complete work to the discussion of forms in acc. plu. of neuter stems.

5 To a lesser extent also of nouns of other genders.

already, but there is no trace as yet of Type IV. In fact, so far as the older language is concerned, the forms in question may be divided into two broad groups: (i) Consonant-stems using the ending -*i*, e. g. *catvā́r-i*, -*ān-i* (*n*-stems), -*ánt-i* etc., and (ii) Vowel-stems merely lengthening the final vowel without taking any ending at all (-*ā*, -*ī*, -*ū*), though however the final vowel may also appear in its original short form (-*i*, -*u*). Beside the forms in -*ā*, -*ī*, -*ū*, we find already in the older language those in -*āni*, -*īni*, -*ūni* from vowel-stems—the only ones current in classical Skt. But the latter are doubtless later analogy formations, for no trace of them can be found in the allied languages.

The ending -*i* in NA. pl. neut. of consonant-stems is met with also in Avestan: cf. *nāmə̄ni*=Skt. *nā́māni*. In other Indo-European languages the corresponding ending is -*ă*, cf. Gr. *onómăta*, Lat. *nominā*, Goth. *namna*. This shows that the original Indo-European ending was -*ə*. The characteristic nasal infix associated with it, excepting in *catvā́r-i*, must have been derived from those cases where a nasal was already present in the stem (e. g. *nt*- and *ñc*-stems). Thus the participial stem *sant*- appeared as *sát* (<*sn̥t*) in sg., but in plural it was *sā́nti*; similarly *ghṛtávat*: *ghṛtávānti*, *paśumát*: *paśumā́nti*.[6] On the basis of these forms an infixed nasal came to be regarded as an essential feature of N. Acc. pl. neut. of consonant stems, and gradually it was introduced also into radical stems (*yuj*-: *yuñji*, *vṛt*-: *vṛnti* etc.) in post-Ṛg-vedic language, although here such a nasal has no etymological justification.

As for vowel-stems, the ending -*āni* of *a*-stems, unknown in Indo-European and Indo-Iranian periods, is derived from -*an* stems. The *a*-stems naturally drew after them also the -*i* and *u*- stems and gave rise to the endings -*īni* and -*ūni*. But the element -*ni* is anything but constant in these endings in the Ṛg-vedic language. In fact, forms in -*ā*, -*ī*, -*ū* are here as much in evidence as those in -*āni*, -*īni*, -*ūni*, and the evidence of cognate languages proves that these shorter endings are the old and original ones.

6 These forms with long penultimate vowel at the side of short-vowel ones came early to be regarded as anomalous. In the Padapāṭha therefore they are represented as *sánti*, *ghṛtávanti*, *paśumánti* etc. But the length of the penultimate was respected also in the Padapāṭha where the penultimate was long in the corresponding masculine form; thus *mahā́nti* also in Pp. on the analogy of *mahā́ntaḥ* (masc.).

What is the origin of the endings -*ī*, -*ū*? They may be the result of contraction of the Indo-European ending -*ə* revealed by the consonant-stems (see above) with the final vowel *i*, *u* of the stem. Thus *purū* in Nom.-Acc. pl. neut. is derived from *purú*+*ə* and *apratī* in same position is nothing but *aprati*+*ə*. In this way, the curious shorter endings are brought into harmony with the original Indo-European on the one hand, and on the other, forms like *catvār-i* are delivered from curious isolation in the midst of forms in N. Acc. pl. neuter.

But the explanation of the short endings -*i*, -*u* in N.—Acc. neut. pl. has to be sought elsewhere. These forms are truly without any ending at all, and they are precious relics of much earlier times when the inflexion of neuter stems had not yet been fully developed. Formantically they are of course identical with the corresponding singular forms, and that genetically too they are to be traced to the same source is proved by the fact that no short-vowel form in Nom. Acc. pl. can be found in those cases where the singular form ends with a long vowel (e. g. *śīrṣā́*, *trī*). The same phenomenon moreover excludes the possibility that the short-vowel forms owe their origin to rhythmic shortening of the long-vowel ones, as might be otherwise argued on the ground of instances like *urū́ várāṃsi* (RV. 10, 89, 2) but *urú jyótīṃsi* (RV. 9, 91 6)—long vowel before a simple consonant, but short vowel before a consonant group. Neither can these forms be regarded merely as collective-singulars, for that would be to ignore the difficulty of the Ṛg-vedic composers who found themselves without any linguistic tradition regarding most of these neuter stems. What would be the plural of *ū́dhar* for instance? The Ṛṣis in these cases did not hesitate to use the singular form also in plural, cf. *ū́dhar divyā́ni* (RV. 1, 64, 5). Yet it need not be denied that the analogy of collective singulars might have helped in setting down these singular forms also in plural, as is strongly suggested by the frequent juxtaposition of collective-singular and endingless plural, as in RV. 8, 25, 17: *mitrásya vratā́* (collective-singular) *váruṇasya dīrghaśrút* (endingless plural).

The ending -*i* is very much in evidence also in the *singular* of neuter consonant stems, cf. *hā́rd-i* from *hṛd-*. This -*i* however is not derived from Indo-European *ə* like the same ending in plural, for in the non-Indo-Iranian languages an -*i* (not -*ă*) corresponds to it, cf. *hā́rd-i*: Gr. *kardía*, Lith. *širdis*. Already at a very early date this light ending came to be regarded as part of stem; thus the

stem *vār-* of the older language later assumed the form *vāri-* by completely incorporating the original ending *-i*. The same is the case also with *ákṣi*, *ásthi*, *sákthi* etc. In the later language they are all regarded as anomalous *i*-stems, sometimes replacing the final *-i* by *-an* (e. g. in abl. -gen. sg.). But there is abundant internal and external evidence to prove that originally they were all consonant stems. For *ákṣi-* the necessary proof is furnished by the form *an-ák* (<**an-akṣ*) in RV., and Avestan *ast-* and Latin *oss-* prove that *ásthi-* too is derived from the consonant stem **asth-*.

It is clear from above that it is not altogether proper to call this *-i* an ending, for in that case there would be no reason why *-ar* of *áhar-* (nom. sg.), which alternates with *áhan-*, will not also be called an ending. But here we are confronted with alternating stems. Therefore, in so far as *-ar* of *áhar-* is *not* regarded as an ending but a part of the stem, from the standpoint of Sanskrit at least, the element *-i* in *ákṣi*, *ásthi* etc. should be regarded as belonging to the stem and not as an ending. But it will be difficult to apply the same principle also to *hárdi* and *vāri* at the sides of which, the shorter forms *hṛd-* and *vār-* are so much in evidence.

There now still remains to explain the *n*-flexion of neuter *-i*, *-u* -stems. They received the nasal element in Nom. Acc. pl. from *n*-stems as explained above. But what is the origin of the *-n-* of other cases? First of all, we have to note that its origin must have been different from that of *-inā*, *-unā* of masculine *-i*, *-u*-stems. For, as Wackernagel argues, in masculine, *-inā* and *-unā* are equally in evidence in RV., whereas the *-in*-forms of *i*-neuters are negligible in comparison with the neuter *-un*-forms. The masculine *-inā*, *-unā* besides older *-(i)yā*, *-(u)vā* may be explained simply by the analogy of *-in*-stems : *balí-bhiḥ* : *balín-ā*=*agní-bhiḥ* : *agni-nā*. But for the *n*-flexion of *-i* *-u*-neuters it is necessary to look back much farther. The very fact that *-un*-forms are abundant and *-in*-forms are rare in RV. shows that the origin of this *n*-flexion has to be sought in some characteristic feature of the neuter *u*-stems. Now it is a peculiar feature of some of these *u*-stems that already in the Indo-European period they had at their side alternating heteroclitic stems in *n*. Thus Skt. *dāru* seems to have had a stem **dor̥un-* (cf. Gr. *dorvat*) at its side. This *n* was gradually extended to dative, ablative etc., specially when *n* became a fixed element in Nom. Acc. pl. of these stems. The neuter *an*-stems must have been of decisive importance in

this respect, for their vowel ending *-ā* in Nom. sg. as opposed to *-nā*, *-naḥ*, *-ni* etc. in other cases presented a convenient model for the growth of similar nasal endings of neuter *-i*, *-u*-stems.

For the third time the element *i* appears as ending in the loc. sg. of a large number of both vowel and consonant stems. There can be hardly any doubt that this *-i* too is a local post-position which gradually became an integral part of forms in locative.

The *a*-stems of Skt. know only the ending *-e* in loc. sg., which is, of course, *-a+i*, as is proved also by other languages, cf. e.g. Gr. *oíko-i* (: *oíko-s*). For other vowel-stems, however, this *-i* is anything but certain, and the same applies to the consonant-stems. There is, first of all, the important group of forms in loc. sg. without any proper ending at all. These forms are attested by the *u*-stems and the Vṛkī-flexion (see below) of *ī*-stems, but most clearly by the *an*-stems, in whose case other languages prove their hoary antiquity. Besides, there are some isolated forms of other consonant-stems, which look like endingless locatives, but their evidence is nowhere unequivocal.

Stems in *-ar* have been sometimes declared to take no ending in loc. sg., but the forms in question, e.g. *áhar* (and *údhar*!) may be regarded as simple adverbs like *svàr*. In fact, all these endingless locatives were mere adverbs originally, and as an adverbial force is inherent in every locative, it is not too much to think that all locatives had once been endingless. The post-position *-i* however came to be used in it at a very early date to obtain clear, unequivocal forms, but continued to be dispensed with by those stems which assumed distinctive forms in this position (cf. *-au* of *-u* and *i*-stems). The Vṛkī-stems too could dispense with an ending in loc. sg., because they had a distinctive sigmatic form in nom. sg. which the Devī-stems lacked. Only the *an*-stems, which assumed no striking form in loc. sg. carried on without any ending till a comparatively late period. It is tempting to suggest that the analogy of *-ar* : *-an*-stems had been the cause of the continued endinglessness of of locatives of *an*-stems. The form *áhan*[7] in loc. sg. was so markedly distinguished from *áhar* (Nom. Acc. sg.) that it could do without any specific ending at all, and once *áhan* came to be recognised as loc. sg. it naturally drew after it also *nā́man*, *dhā́man* etc. which had no alternating *r*-form in Nom. Acc. As the *r/n*-stems are of Indo-

7 Beside which also the form *áh(a)ni* is known.

European origin the endingless locatives of *n*-stems in other languages (cf. Gr. *aién*, loc. sg. to *aiōn* etc.) may also be explained in this way.

Besides the stems in *-an* those in *-ū* too frequently exhibit endingless forms in loc. sg., cf. *camū́, tanū́*. No extra Indian parallels to these forms can be found, unless Lat. *domū* is regarded as an old endingless locative. It is therefore permissible to regard them as mechanical analogy-formations after the endings *-e* : *-eṣu* of *a*-stems; in other words, after *damé* : *daméṣu* was formed a *camū́* to *camū́ṣu*. The same explanation may be resorted to also in the case of endingless locative singulars of *ī* stems of the Vṛkī-type, e. g. *gaurī́ nadī́*, though here too Latin forms like *rūrī* might be adduced to prove their Indo-European antiquity.

Already in its earliest stage Skt. had gone farther than any other Indo-European language in distinguishing between the inflexions of masculine and feminine nouns of similar categories by providing new endings for the latter, and this distinction has been nowhere so clearly achieved as, again, in Acc. pl. Here we find in feminine the new endings *-īḥ -ūḥ -ṝḥ* at the side of the older endings *-īn, -ūn, -ṝn*,[8] which, on the evidence of other Indo-European languages, were originally used also in feminine. As in so many other similar cases, the influence of *a*-stems, which got the preponderance in Skt. as the result of Indo-European *e* and *o* coinciding with *a*, is the cause of this new development in Skt. Masculine and feminine endings were here actually different in the case of *o*-stems (=Skt. *a*-stems in masc. and *ā*-stems in fem.) in the original Indo-European. The Indo-European masculine *o*-stems took the ending *-ns* in Acc. pl., as is proved by *-āṃs* (Sandhi-form of *-ān*) of Skt., *-ons* of Greek (Cretan) and *-ans* of Gothic. In the Indo-European epoch the corresponding ending of their feminine counterparts, the *ā*-stems, was however without any nasal element, thus sharply distinguishing the masculine forms from the corresponding feminine ones (cf. Gr. *-ās*, Goth. *-ōs*). But there was no such separate feminine ending for *-i, -u, -ṛ*-stems, and the endings *-īn(s), -ūn(s), -ṝn(s)* were applied there also in feminine. It was reserved for Skt. alone to replace them by *-īḥ, -ūḥ, -ṝḥ* in feminine on the analogy of *-ān* : *-āḥ* of Indo-European *o*- and *ā*-stems respectively.

8 Which in sandhi turn out to have been originally *-īṃs, -ūns* and *-ṝns* respectively.

It is a remarkable innovation of Skt. that a special ending *-ām* is adopted in it by various feminine stems in loc. sg. Already in the RV. it is the normal ending of *-ā* and *-ī*-stems (*-āyām*,-(*i*)*yām*) as well as of feminine *i-* and *u*-stems. The Iranian counterpart of this *-ām* is *-ā* which serves there to strengthen the Indo-European ending *-āi* (i. e. *-ā+i*) of *ā*-stems, thus giving rise to the Avestan *-āyā*, and it is certainly connected with the *-e* of Lithuanian Loc. sg. ending *-oj-e* of Indo-European *ā*-stems. The Iranian *-ā* like the Lithuanian *-e* is evidently nothing but a locative post-position. The Iranian *-āyā* was further extended by the particle *-am* in Skt., which therefore resulted in *-āyām* in this language, just as Iranian *-byă* strengthened by the same particle gave rise to Skt. *-bhyām*. After *-āyām* was formed analogically *-(i)yām* in loc. sg., and eventually *-(u)vām*, which however appears for the first time in AV. Instead of the latter the RV. shows the ending *-avi* (cf. *sánavi, ánavi* from *sánu-, ánu-*). As full-grade forms are to be expected in loc. sg. this *-avi* (<Indo-European **eu̯-i*) may be regarded as the original ending of *u*-stems. Yet its complete absence in Iranian might suggest that it was invented independently in Skt.

The forms in dual are remarkable for their lack of variety, for generally only three different forms are found for the eight cases. Even these few forms do not yet seem to have been permanently fixed to particular cases in the older language. The dual ending *-oḥ* is generally attributed to gen.-loc., but in the oldest parts of the RV. it appears also in the ablative. *En revanche*, the ending *-bhyām* appears in the ablative for the first time in the tenth Maṇḍala. The position of the ablative dual is curiously uncertain. It is not even possible to say whether it originally coincided with instr.-dat. or gen. -loc. (Wackernagel III § 22a). The ending in nom.-acc. is generally *-au*, which is of Indo-European origin, cf. Goth. *aḥt-au:* Skt. *áṣṭ-au*. Very frequently however the ending is simply *-ā*, which is but a phonetic variant of *-au*. Linguistically important is the ending *-a* in dual preserved in the first component of the compound *mātara-pitarau*, which has its counterpart in the Greek dual *patér-e*. (Wack. III § 18e). The ending *-bhyām* usually comes not after the stem, but after the flexional form in Nom.-Acc. dual, cf. *-ābhyām* of *a*-stems, *akṣī-bhyām* from *akṣ-ī*. This is distinctly a relic from the past, for in other languages too the ending corresponding to Skt.*-bhyām* is attached to the form in nom.-acc. dual (Wackernagel, III § 21 b

β, p. 54). It may be concluded therefore that in the Indo-European epoch the dual had not yet been given the full status of a distinct grammatical number. The plural has a distinct sign in *s* which is almost always attached to case-forms in plural, but the dual is in principle undistinguishable from the singular.

Before concluding our treatment of the nominal flexion it is necessary to briefly discuss some of the important stem-types which, again, essentially continue the Indo-European tradition.

Theoretically, stems should assume different forms according as the accent remains on it or is shifted to the ending. This is however nowhere the case,[9] for it is quite understandable that various stems could not be allowed within one and the same system of paradigms. Yet the formantic part of the stems in question often underwent far-reaching changes as the result of the shifting of accent, and this is nowhere so clear as in the case of the neuter *-añc*-stems, cf. *praty-ák* : *pratī-c-ī* : *praty-áñc-i*. Quite a different situation arose, however, when stems of the same type had the accent sometimes on the final and sometimes on initial syllables, for the result of contraction with the case-endings could not have been identical under such circumstances. It is evidently for this reason that *ávi* and *matí* assume such dissimilar forms as *ávyaḥ* and *matéḥ* respectively in gen. sg., and among *u*-stems too we find the same contrast due to original difference in the place of accent in *krátvaḥ* and *sūnóḥ* from *krátu* and *sūnú* respectively. We find therefore two very different systems in the inflexion of *i-*, *u*-stems in the older language. Beside the system of inflexion of *i-*, *u*-stems current in classical Skt., the RV.—but only RV.—knows another called *flexion forte* by Saussure, which, on the evidence of cognate languages, must have been of Indo-European origin. But already in the Ṛg-vedic period this *flexion forte* of *i-*, *u-* stems had been almost eliminated from the language, for only 2 *i*-stems and 8 *u*-stems still show distinct traces of this flexion in it, thus *paśvā́* (Nom. du.), *páśve* (Dat. sg.), *paśvaḥ* (Gen. Abl. sg., Acc. pl.), *aryáḥ* (Gen. Abl. sg., Nom. Acc. pl.) etc. Indo-European origin of this *flexion forte* is proved by exact parallels in other languages: Acc. pl. *paśváḥ* = Avestan *pasvō*, Gen. sg. *krátvaḥ* = Avestan *xraθwō*; further, Greek *gounós* < **gonvós*, from *gónu-* is but the exact counterpart of *mádhvaḥ* from *mádhu*. In most cases however this *flexion forte* could provide no special

9 Excepting in *sántya* (voc.): *satyá*.

distinctive forms. It is no wonder therefore that it died out at a very early date. Only the word *páti* continued to follow the *flexion forte* in some cases till into classical Skt.

A similar double flexion is found also in the case of *ī*-stems in the Veda. Here too, the origin of this duality in flexion is to be sought in the difference in accent, and here too both types are derived from the Indo-European period. The oxytonous *ī*-stems have sometimes to shift the accent from a previous syllable (*vṛ́ka*: *vṛkī́*), but where the original masculine form too was oxytonous no such shifting was necessary (*devá* : *devī́*). Now according as the accent on final *-ī* had been shifted to it from a previous syllable or not, the feminine *ī*-stems exhibit two very different modes of flexion which are called *vṛkī*-flexion and *devī*-flexion respectively after the two types mentioned above. In the Ṛg-vedic language these two flexions are still sharply distinguished from each other, but the general tendency of the language has been, naturally, to obliterate all distinction between them, though however absolute identity of the two flexions had never been achieved in the language. Already in the RV. we find *ī*-stems which, according to origin, ought to have adopted the *devī*-flexion, often following the *vṛkī́*-type, and *vice versa*.

The endings of *devī*-stems in nom. and acc. are curiously analogous to those of *ā*-stems. This might be due to early influence of the *ā*-stems. Thus

	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
Nom.	*devī*	*devī́*	*devīḥ*
Acc.	*devīm*	*devī́*	*devīḥ*

However impracticable such a flexion might appear, being without specific forms in so many cases, it is undoubtedly of Indo-European origin, for clear parallels are found in other languages. Thus the dual form in *-ī* may be found in Avestan *hamčistrī*, Lith. *vežantì* and Old Ch. Sl. *vezasti*. The weak-grade stem-form in *-ī* reigns supreme in nom. and acc. In other oblique cases too this weak-grade form is preponderant, but in the singular of instrumental, dative, abl. -gen. and loc., the stem appears in its full-grade form in *-yā*, cf. *devyā́, devyái, devyā́ḥ, devyā́m*. Other cognate languages too show similar strong forms in similar positions. To *devyā́* corresponds Avestan *vaŋhuyā*; to *devyái* Avestan *vaŋhuyāi*, Gr. *μιᾶι*, Goth. *frijondjai*; to *devyā́ḥ* Avestan *vaŋhuyā*, Gr. *μιᾶς*, Goth. *frijondjōs*; and *devyā́m* has its exact parallel in Old Persian *Harauvatiyā*. In the dual and plural of other oblique cases is again found

the weak stem-form in *ī*, not only in Skt. but also in other Indo-European languages.

The fixity of accent is the characteristic feature of *Vṛkī*-flexion. The accent in it always remains on the final -*ī* of the stem. This -*ī* however often becomes *y* in sandhi with the case-endings, with the result that the form in question gets the svarita-accent. In fact, the svarita-accent is a ready indicator of *vṛkī*-flexion. The endings too are here more like those of consonant-stems. Thus in Acc. sg. a *vṛkī*-stem takes the ending -*am* (instead of -*m* of devī-flexion), e. g. *vṛkyàm*. Similarly *vṛkyà*, *vṛkyè* etc. Unlike devī-flexion its nom. -sg. is sigmatic, e.g. *vṛkīḥ*. But the most curious thing about it is its loc. sg. which is without any ending at all, e. g. *gaurī*, *nadī*, *sarasī*. Extra-Indian parallels to vṛkī-flexion are rare and uncertain. A sigmatic nom. sg. is at all events attested by Old Norse *ylgr* (<**vṛkīs*).

In the post-Ṛgvedic literature Devī- and Vṛkī-flexions get mixed up more and more, until in the classical language one well-nigh homogeneous flexional system was evolved out of a mixture of the two. On the whole, the Devī-flexion got the lion's share in this new homogeneous system, the Vṛkī-flexion being requisitioned to supply only those forms which were not distinctive enough in the Devī-flexion, e. g. in Nom. Acc. dual and Nom. pl. The Nom. sg. remained a bone of contention between the two types for all time to come, and even Pāṇini and his commentators were at a loss to know where it would be sigmatic and where not.

Sanskrit pronominal flexion, specially the flexion of pronouns *par excellence*—the personal pronouns, is altogether different from nominal flexion. In the nominal flexion, as we have seen above, the stems on the whole remain unchanged, the varying element being the ending. In the flexion of personal pronouns however endings proper are hardly in evidence, and from case to case and number to number it is the stem itself which varies. From the view-point of number at least, this is however as it should be, for here the conception of duality or plurality is altogether different from that of nouns or generic pronouns. If *áśvaḥ*=horse, *áśvau*= horse+horse. But similar equations cannot be applied to personal pronouns; *áham*=I, but *āvā́m*=I+you or I+he, never I+I. There is therefore nothing to wonder at if altogether different stems are used in the inflexion of these personal pronouns.

Another chief characteristic of the pronominal flexion is to be found in the liberal use of the particle -*am*, which plays no unim-

portant part also in the nominal flexion as shown above. It is in evidence even in *tvám* and *ahám*. The cognate languages clearly show that the Indo-European word for "you" was *tu-: cf. Greek *tu* (Doric), Lat. *tū*, etc. This *tú*(=you) may be still found in Ṛgvedic passages like *ā tū gahi prá tú drava* (8, 13, 14). The particle *tu* in the Gāθās of Avesta may everywhere be taken to mean "you", and its regular enclitic position renders welcome support to the view that it is nothing but the original Indo-European pronoun. The particle *-am* (<Indo-European *-om*) had been attached to it however at least as early as the Indo-Iranian period, cf. Avestan *tvəm*. In the case of *ahám* this particle had been attached to the original stem **eĝh-* already in the Indo-European period, as is proved by Lat. *egom-et*. Yet the form *ego* (=Gr. *egṓ*) of the same language shows that the nasal element in it was not indispensable. The stem in its naked form **eĝ(h)*[10] is clearly seen in Lith. *eš*, Arm. *es* etc. In acc. sg. the forms *tvām mām* have their exact parallels in Avestan and Old Persian. The final nasal of these forms is not the accusative ending; it is due to their amalgamation with the particle *-am* as is proved by the enclitic forms *tvā mā*. In instr. sg. the RV. knows beside classical *tváyā* also *tvā́*, which is, of course, *tu+ā́*. Avestan Instr. *θwā* proves the antiquity of this form; *tváyā*, like *máyā* (beside which no *mā́* in Instr. can be proved to have existed in Skt.), is of later origin. It is, in fact, a case of double ending, like *devā́saḥ* or *pṛ́tsuṣu*. The form *tvā́* (from **tu*-) in Instr. sg. itself came to be regarded as a stem later, and, like feminine *ā*-stems, gave rise to the form in *-ayā*. In dative the forms in classical Skt. are *túbhyam, máhyam*. These are known also in RV., but, on the evidence of metre, they have often to be read as *túbhya, máhya*. As the Avesta knows only these nasalless forms they must be the older ones. The corresponding Latin forms too (*tibi, mihi*) know no nasal. The Abl. singulars *mát, tvát* have their exact parallels in Avestan *mat, θwat*. The form *mámat* (RV.) is evidently due to contamination of *mát* with *máma*. Of *táva* and *máma* in gen. the former is of Indo-European antiquity, cf. Avestan *tava*, Gr. *teós* etc., but of the latter neither of the two *m* is certain, for the corresponding Avestan and O. Ch. Sl. forms are *mana* and *mene* respectively,

10 The exact nature of the consonant element cannot be determined. Had it been aspirated the Greek form too should have retained the aspiration. Had it been unaspirated there should have been no aspiration in Skt.

and the corresponding Armenian form *im* seems to suggest that even the initial *m* was added later. In loc. sg. *máyi* is well attested in RV., but not so *tváyi*, for which is mostly found *tvé*. The relation between *tvé* and *tváyi* might be the same as between *ádhvan* and *ádhvani*.

In dual, just as in nominal flexion, the number of specific forms is greatly restricted. Yet, even with reference to those few forms, much discrepancy is found between the Vedic and the classical language. The tendency of the latter has been to progressively substitute forms of pronouncedly dual type. Thus the older *yuvábhyām āvábhyām* were gradually supplanted by *yuvābhyām āvābhyām*. Similarly, *yuvām āvām* are confined to accusative dual only in the oldest texts, the corresponding forms in nominative being *yuvám āvám*. But in the classical language the *am*-forms have been completely supplanted by those in *-ām* also in nominative.

In plural all the forms of these personal pronouns, excepting those of nominative, are characterised by an infixed *-sm-*, cf. *asmā́n yuṣmā́n, asmát, yuṣmát* etc. This *-sm-* is certainly of Indo-European origin, cf. Avestan *ahma*, Gr. *ámme* etc. The same *-sm-* appears also in the singular of other pronouns, cf. *ásmai ásmin, tásmai tásmin* etc., and there too it is directly derived from the original Indo-European, cf. Goth. *imma þamma* (*mm*<*sm*), Umbrian *esmei pusme* etc. Most astonishing of all are the forms in gen. plu. which are characterised not only by this *-sm-* but are further distinguished by the ending *-ākam* (*asmā́kam, yuṣmā́kam*). On the evidence of Avestan *ahmākəm yušmakəm* they must be of Indo-Iranian antiquity. They are evidently connected with the adjectives *asmā́ka yuṣmā́ka*, but it is yet unknown how they so early became the recognised pronominal forms in plural.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

South-Eastern Bengal in Ancient Times

Vaṅga, Samataṭa, Vaṅgāla, Harikela and Candradvīpa are the ancient countries that are generally located in south-eastern Bengal. There is every probability that some of them are geographically identical with variation in names only but our present knowledge of ancient geography does not permit us to make an attempt to locate them with definite boundaries. Discussing the geographical position of these countries, Dr. H. C. Roy Chowdhury[1] comes to one important conclusion that the term Vaṅga was used both in a broader and narrower sense. As Gauḍa included north-western Bengal, Vaṅga in its broader geographical appellation most probably comprised the whole of south-eastern Bengal. Dr. B. C. Law[2] suggests that Vaṅga is roughly represented by modern Dacca and Chittagong divisions but it seems that the western boundary extended still further. It is a known fact that different systems of land measurement was vogue in different parts of Bengal in the Sena period and the system of measurement was generally known by the name of the locality concerned.[3] In the Barrackpore plate of Vijayasena it is stated that in the Khāḍi-maṇḍala of the Pauṇḍravardhanabhukti land was measured according to the Nala standard prevalent in Samataṭa.[4] Khāḍi is at present the name of a paragaṇā in Diamond Harbour sub-division and it can be reasonably inferred that this part of the district of 24-Parganas was included in ancient Samataṭa. The recent explorations[5] of this part of the Sunderbans by the Varendra Research Society have revealed the fact that this region was in the Hindu period a flourishing and populous locality. Vaṅga in its broader sense comprised Samataṭa and it seems that Khulna, Jessore and some portions of 24-Parganas were included in the Vaṅga country.

1 *Mānasī O Marmavāṇī*, 1335-6 B.S., p. 566.

2 *Indian Culture*, vol. I, p. 57.

3 N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, p. 84.

4 This point has been first emphasised by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, *ibid.*, p. 61.

5 *VRSR.*, 1928-9, 1930, Antiquities of North-west Sunderbans.

The earliest epigraphic reference to Vaṅga is in one of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions in the list of countries which were gladdened by the teachers of Theravāda Buddhism. The Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta mentions Samataṭa as a border (*pratyanta*) kingdom paying tribute to the Gupta emperor. It is known from the Mehrauli Iron pillar inscription that a king named Candra subjugated his enemies who gave a united front in Vaṅga and he also inflicted a defeat on the Bāhlikas by crossing the seven mouths of the Indus. The identification of king Candra has led to much discussion among scholars and the subject needs fresh treatment in the light of recent discoveries about the imperial Gupta history. Fleet[6] emphasised the early characters of this inscription but it must be observed that being a record on an iron pillar, it is *sui generis* and does not bear comparison with other contemporary records. Three sets of opinions have come out from previous discussions.

(a) Mm. H. P. Shastri[7] expressed the opinion that Candra of the Mehrauli pillar did not belong to the Gupta dynasty but was a king of Puṣkaraṇa in Rajputana who tried to found an All-India empire before Samudragupta. The Gangadhar record of 404 A.D. describes Naravarman as a powerful king of Puṣkaraṇa and son of Siṃhavarman and grandson of Jayavarman. The Susunia Rock inscription in the Bankura district of Bengal records that a wheel of Viṣṇu was set up by Candravarman, son of Siṃhavarman and king of Puṣkaraṇa. Mm. H. P. Shastri on the identity of the name Siṃhavarman of the Gangadhar record and Susunia inscription made Candravarman and Naravarman brothers and identified Candravarman with Candra of the Mehrauli pillar. But Pokharaṇa is the name of a place not far off from the find-spot of the Susunia Rock. It may be regarded almost certain after what Mr. K. N. Dikshit[8] has written about the ancient

6 *GI.*, pp. 139-142. For detailed palæographical examination of this record and all other opinions on the palæography of the inscriptions in this paper, see my forthcoming paper on the *Development of the Bengali Script*.

7 Susunia inscription and Gangadhar inscription published in *EI.*, vol. XIII, p. 133 and XII, pp. 315 ff. and the identification discussed there. Also see vol. XIV, pp. 368-71.

8 *ASIR.*, 1927-28, pp. 188-9.

ruins of this place that Candravarman was the king of Pokharaṇa (whose Sanskritised form is Puṣkaraṇa), and as such he has been regarded as a local king.[9] It is not known whether Siṃhavarman, father of Naravarman of the Gangadhar record, had any son of the name Candravarman. The identification of Candravarman of the Susunia Rock inscription with a man of unknown existence is hardly tenable and there is no definite clue whatsoever to identify Candravarman of the Susunia inscription with Candra of the Mehrauli pillar.[10]

(b) Fleet expressed the opinion that Candra of the Mehrauli pillar might be Candragupta I of the Gupta dynasty and this has been supported by Dr. R. G. Basak and Prof. S. K. Aiyangar. Dr. Basak[11] accepts the identity of Siṃhavarman of the Susunia Rock inscription and the Gangadhar record but would not concede that Candravarman came to Vaṅga on a campaign of conquests and would presume that Candravarman might have gone to the Susunia hill on a pilgrimage.[12] But this presumption is contradicted by Dr. Basak himself when he brings Candravarman in Bengal owing to the political vicissitudes of the Varman family of Malwa. "Siṃhavarman and Jayavarman might have ruled independently and when Samudragupta reduced the Malwa power, it is not unlikely that the elder brother was driven away from Malwa towards the east. This may explain in a way why he came to Susunia Hill."[13] Prof. S. K. Aiyangar argues the case of this identification with greater ardour,[14] and lays down three conditions which should be satisfied in solving the controversy regarding Candra of the Mehrauli pillar.

9 Dr. H. C. Roy Chowdhury, *PHAI.* (3rd ed.), p. 364.

10 Dr. N. K. Bhattasali supports this identification by pointing out a solitary reference to one Candravarman whose Koṭa or fort formed the boundary of the land granted to a Brahmin by Samācāradeva in the 6th century A.D. somewhere near Koṭālipāḍā in the Faridpur district (*EI.*, vol XVIII, p. 84). But it is very difficult to say who was this Candravarman whose fort is referred to in the inscription of Samācāradeva. He might be Candravarman of the Allahabad pillar inscription or Candravarman of the Susunia inscription.

11 *History of North-Eastern India*, p. 14.

12 *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.   13 *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

14 *Journal of Indian History*, vol. VI, Studies in Gupta history, pp. 14-22; the Vakātakas and their place in Indian history, pp. 1-12.

dynasty. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal[26] identifies this king with the unknown king of the fifth Damodarpur plate of 543-4 A.D. It is stated that he was very brave and an emperor of three seas. In the eastern country he had a large army and great power. If the proposed identification is to be accepted, it seems that Gupta sway existed in eastern Bengal about the middle of sixth century A.D.

Sometime about the middle of the sixth century south-eastern Bengal seceded from the Gupta empire. Three independent sovereigns, Dharmāditya, Gopacandra and Samācāradeva are known from the four Faridpur plates. From a very minute and careful palæographical examination of these plates it has been shown by Mr. E. F. Pargiter[27] that these three kings ruled one after another. Their known reign-periods are 36 years, and it may be presumed that their rule extended over half a century.

The political history of Vaṅga in the first half of the seventh century is very obscure. It is extremely doubtful whether the authority of Śaśāṅka, mighty rival of Harṣavardhana, extended over south-eastern Bengal, as there is no evidence to prove it. Attention may be drawn to a hitherto unnoticed ruling family of Samatata. While speaking of Śīlabhadra, the famous Buddhist patriarch of Nālandā, and his own preceptor, Yuan Chwang says that he was a scion of the Brāhmaṇical royal family of Samataṭa.[28] Śīlabhadra was the head of the Nālandā University in about the second quarter of the seventh century and he must have been sufficiently advanced in age before he was raised to this exalted position. It becomes then clear that the family to which Śīlabhadra belonged ruled in Samataṭa in the beginning of the seventh century A.D. If Śīlabhadra had not changed his name after his initiation into Buddhism, this royal family may be called the Bhadra dynasty of Samataṭa.[29].

A feudatory family ruling in some parts of the Tippera district is known from the Tippera grant of Lokanātha of about the middle of

26 *Imperial History of India*, pp. 69, 72.

27 *IA.*, 1910, pp. 193 ff; *EI.*, vol. XVIII, p. 74.

28 Watters on *Yuan Chwang*, vol. II, p. 109.

29 For detailed discussion of the Bhadra dynasty see my forthcoming papers "Was there a Bhadra dynasty in Eastern Bengal"?

the seventh century.[30] This Nātha family ruled for three or four generations in that locality. Lokanātha fought with two other chiefs Jayatuṅgavarṣa and Jīvadhāraṇa who have not been satisfactorily identified.[31] The latter made over his kingdom to Lokanātha and this was confirmed by a charter probably by the suzerain.

The date of the Khaḍga dynasty is a matter of controversy among scholars but palæographically Āsrafpur plates have been examined in detail[32] and these plates cannot be assigned to a period posterior to the beginning of the eighth century. Khaḍgodhyama, Jātakhaḍga, Devakhaḍga and the crown prince, Rāja Rājabhaṭṭa are known from these records. Rājabhaṭṭa may be now safely identified with Rajbhaṭṭa, king of Samataṭa, whom the Chinese traveller Sengchi found ruling during the last part of the seventh century. It seems that this family ruled in Samataṭa in the last half of that century.[33]

The Bhadras, Nāthas and Khaḍgas all appear to be local rulers. The first is only known from an incidental reference from Yuan Chwang. The Nāthas were *sāmantas* and Lokanātha a *kumārāmātya*. The Khaḍgas had no high political pretension, as their simple title *nṛpa* suggests. The question naturally arises as to what power eastern Bengal was politically subordinate. On the strength of the statement of some Chinese pilgrims that Bhāskaravarman was the king of Eastern India[34] and of the fact that Nidhānpur plates were issued from Karṇasuvarṇa[35] a theory has been advanced that Bengal was occupied by the Kāmarūpa kings after the death of Śaśāṅka.[36] Against this it may be pointed out that the king of Eastern India is a vague term and

30 *EI.*, vol. XV, p. 301.

31 *IHQ.*, vol. VI, p. 564. The identification proposed cannot be accepted, as one of the contemporary Lokanātha is placed in the middle of the 7th century and other in the middle of the 6th century A.D.

32 *Dacca University Studies*, vol. I, No. I, p. 64.

33 Chavannes, *Mémoire les Religieux éminents*, p. 128; *JASB.*, 1923, pp. 376-78.

34 *IA.*, 1880, p. 20.

35 *EI.*, vol. XII, p. 65, vol. XIX, pp. 115-25. The correct location of the land granted by the Nidhānpur plates is far from being settled.

36 K. L. Barua, *History of Kāmarūpa*, ch. on Bhāskaravarman and after; *Indian Culture*, vol. II, no. 1, p. 38.

the issuing of plates from a certain place by a king does not always necessarily mean that he was the permanent suzerain of that place. It is known from the Life of Yuan Chwang that Bhāskaravarman met Harṣavardhana at Khajugṛha with a vast army of 20,000 elephants and 30,000 ships in number.[37] Kumārarāja or Bhāskaravarman was always present at the great assembly at Kanouj with a large army and the Nidhānpur plates might have been issued in one of his journey to Harṣavardhana's capital via. Karṇasuvarṇa. Even if it be accepted that Bhāskaravarman occupied Bengal after Śaśāṅka's death, it does not seem that the Kāmarūpa occupation lasted long as has been asserted by some writers. The later Guptas from Ādityasena downwards seem to have some political hold at least over some portions of Bengal. Ādityasena has been described in his own records as an emperor with his kingdom extended to three seas. Hwui Lun, the Corean traveller, must have visited Bodh-Gayā and Nālandā after 672 A.D.[38] as he described Ādityasena as a recent king and the temple begun by him was not yet finished when the pilgrim visited the former place.[39] At his time Nālandā belonged to Devavarmā, king of Eastern India. It has been suggested that this Devavarmā is to be identified with an unknown successor of Bhāskaravarman in Eastern India.[40] The identification of Devavarmā with a king whose existence is not known from any other source is hardly tenable. In all reasonableness, Devavarmā is to be identified with Ādityasena's son, Devagupta of the later Gupta dynasty.[41] It is possible that Bhāskaravarman or Harṣavardhana might have occu-

37 Beal, *Life* etc., pp. 127, 185. A close study of this book shows that in the alliance between Harṣavardhana and Bhāskaravarman the position of the latter was considerably inferior (p. 172). As there was constant intercourse between the court of Kāmarūpa and the Nālandā University, the Nālandā seal of the latter does not seem to have had any political significance.

38 Fleet, *GI.*, p. 210.

39 Beal, *Life* etc., Intro., p. xxvi.

40 *Indian Culture*, vol. II, no. I, pp. 37 ff.

41 Ādityasena was in occupation of Nālandā in 672 A.D. and also of Bodh-Gayā. If Bhāskaravarman and the Kāmarūpa kings after him are to be regarded kings of Nālandā and Gayā also, it is to be conceded that Bihar was lost by the Kāmarūpa kings at the time of Ādityasena and Devavarmā again occupied it after him. The identification of Devavarmā with Devagupta solves this difficulty.

pied Bengal after Śaśāṅka's death for some time but it must be noted that Yuan Chwang does not refer to any king in his description of Karṇasuvarṇa, Puṇḍravardhana, Samataṭa and Tāmralipti. It is also quite possible that some portion of Bengal was included in the kingdom of the later Guptas in the latter half of the 7th century. It might also have been the fact that Bengal was divided into many small independent kingdoms, as there is no definite evidence to prove its occupation by the Kāmarūpa kings and the later Guptas.

The history of south-eastern Bengal in the eighth century is almost dark and very few things are known. The unfinished Chittagong plate of Kāntideva[42] does not throw much light on the political condition. From palæographical considerations Kāntideva may be placed in the period 750-850 A.D. Like the Kedarpur grant of Śrīcandra, it is a peculiar grant in which the object of its issue has not been mentioned. It was issued from Vardhamānapura which cannot be properly identified. His father Dhanadatta and grandfather Bhadradatta have become powerful by victories in battles. His title is *parameśvara* and *mahārājādhirāja* and the inscription comes to an abrupt close by an address to the future kings of *Harikelamaṇḍala*.[43] It does therefore seem that his power was confined to a small principality.

In one of his latest papers on the palæography of Rāmpāl plate of Śrīcandra,[44] R. D. Banerjee expressed the opinion that eastern Bengal did not possibly form a part of the Pāla kingdom before the days of Mahīpāla I. This remark seems to be correct inasmuch as there is

42 *Modern Review*, 1922, p. 612.

43 Harikela has generally been taken to be identical with Vaṅga on the statement of Hemacandra: *Vaṅgās tu Harikelīyā*. But from the reference of Harikelamaṇḍala in the Chittagong plate it seems that Harikela was a small principality. In the days when Hemacandra wrote, it might have become a synonym for Vaṅga but in earlier days it might not have been the case. According to I-tsing and Tan-Kaong, Harikela was the eastern limit of Eastern India (Takakasu, *I-tsing*, p. xlvi and Chavannes, *op. cit.*, p. 106). According to Yu-he, Harikela was 30 days' sea journey from Ceylon and 100 yojanas from Nālandā (Chavannes, pp. 144-5). We would suggest that Harikela should be located somewhere in modern Chittagong division. It was a coastal country and there was direct communication between Harikela and Ceylon.

44 *Asutosh Silver Jubilee Volume; Orientalia*, pt. III, p. 221.

no direct and definite evidence of the Pāla authority over eastern Bengal in the 8th and 9th centuries. But some indirect references tend to show that Gauḍa and Vaṅga were politically united and under one king during the reign of Dharmapāla. In the Wani and Radhanpur[45] grants it is stated that Vatsarāja took away the two white umbrellas of Gauḍa. R. D. Banerjee himself suggested that one was the royal umbrella of Gauḍa and the other of Vaṅga.[46] In the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja[47] Dharmapāla has been described as Vaṅgapati in connection with Nāgabhaṭa II's victories. Alluding to the same event Dharmapāla has been described both as Gauḍendra and Vaṅgapati in the Baroda grant of Karkarāja.[48] The terms Gauḍa and Vaṅga have been somewhat loosely used in the contemporary Pratihāra and Rāṣṭrakūṭa grants but it seems clear that by Vaṅgapati and Gauḍendra the same person was meant. It may therefore be concluded that eastern Bengal was included within Dharmapāla's empire. If the extension of Pāla power in the 8th and 9th centuries is somewhat problematical, it is certain that during the earlier part of the tenth century eastern Bengal was under an independent line of kings.

The Bharella Naṭṭeśvara image inscription[49] acquaints us with a king named Layahcandra who is to be palæographically assigned to the beginning of the 10th century. The only thing known about him is that his capital was at Karmamanta which has been identified with modern Bād-Kāmtā in the Tippera district.[50] It is known from the Rampal, Kedarpur, Dhulla and Edilpur plates of Śrīcandra that a line of kings with names ending in Candra ruled in eastern Bengal. The names of Pūrṇacandra, Suvarṇacandra, and Trailokyacandra are known and for palæographical reasons they are to be assigned to the 10th century. The title *mahārājādhirāja* has been first applied to Trailokyacandra who had been at first a ruler of Harikela and became king of Candradvīpa.[51] It is stated in the Rāmpal plate that the Candras origi-

45 *IA.*, vol. XI, p. 157; *EI.*, vol. VI, p. 243.

46 *Bāṅglār Itihāsa*, p. 148.

47 *ASIR.*, 1903-4, p. 281.

48 *IA.*, vol. XII, p. 160.

49 *EI.*, vol. XVII, p. 350.

50 *Ibid.*

51 Mr. N. G. Majumdar takes Trailokyacandra as the king of Harikela which included Candradvīpa (*Inscriptions of Bengal*, p. 3). This conclusion is based on

nally were rulers of the Rohitāgiri. Messrs. R. D. Banerjee[52] and N. G. Majumdar[53] are inclined to identify it with Rhotasgarh in the Shahabad district of Bihar. Dr. N. K. Bhattasali suggests its identification with the Lalmai hills in Tippera[54] and Mr. H. D. Mitra with Rāṅgāmāṭi in the Hill Tippera.[55] The existence of a line of Candra kings for 19 generations in Arakan[56] and the extension of the Arakan power over Chittagong[57] in the 9th century go to support the eastern origin of the family of Śrīcandra. Though no lineal connection can yet be established between Layahcandra, the family of Śrīcandra and the Arakan Candra dynasty, the probability of such a connection is strong.[58] Śrīcandra's grants were issued from Vikramapura which was undoubtedly in Vaṅga.[59] The authority of the Candras over Harikela, Candradvīpa and Vaṅga shows that Śrīcandra most probably ruled over Vaṅga in its broader sense i.e. the whole of south-eastern Bengal. But eastern Bengal was certainly included in the Pāla kingdom in the 3rd year of Mahīpāla I, as the evidence of the Baghaura image inscription[60] unmistakably shows. This must have happened during the first half of the 10th century. It is learnt from the Trimulaya inscription that somewhere about 1025 A.D. the Cola army under a general of Rājendracola defeated Govindacandra of *Vaṅgāladeśa*.[61] To take Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla as identical and Śrīcandra as the king of the whole of

the following passage—"Ādhāro Harikela-rāja-Kakuda-Cohatra-smitanāma-śriyāṃ yaścandropade babhuva nṛpatir dvīpe dilipopamaḥ " But to take Trailokyacandra originally a king of Harikela from which position he became king of Candradvīpa seems to be a better conclusion. The inscriptions of the Candras have been published by Mr. N. G. Majumdar, in his book.

52 *Bāṅglār Itihāsa*, p. 233.

53 *Inscriptions of Bengal*, p. 3.

54 *IHQ.*, vol. III, p. 418.

55 *IHQ.*, vol. II, pp. 313, 665.

56 *ASIR.*, 1926-27, pp. 146-48; *IHQ.*, 1931, p. 37.

57 *Chittagong Gazetteer*, p. 20.

58 This goes to support our contention to locate Harikela somewhere near Chittagong and that Trailokyacandra was at first king of Harikela and from there he extended his power to Candradvīpa.

59 Edilpur plate of Keśavasena, p. 47.

60 *EI.*, vol XVII, pp. 350 ff.

61 It is difficult to accept the opinion of Dr. H. C. Roy Chowdhury that Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla are two separate countries and the latter was probably identical with Candradvīpa. Candradvīpa is still a paraganā in the Backerganj

south-eastern Bengal would support the opinion[62] of R. D. Banerjee that if the Cola army proceeded from Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍha to Uttara-Rāḍha, there would have been the danger of an outflanking movement by Govindacandra from the south. The Baghaura inscription read along with the movement of the Cola army from the Trimudaya inscription suggests that Govindacandra was most probably a vassal of Mahīpāla I and fought for his overlord.

Another independent power was established in south-eastern Bengal about the middle of the eleventh century. The Varmans were outsiders and it seems quite probable that they came in Bengal in the train of a foreign invasion.[63] It is stated in the Belava plate that the Varmans originally belonged to Siṃhapura which has identified by some scholars with Siṃhapura in Kaliṅga and by R. D. Banerjee with Siṃhapura of the Lakhamaṇḍala inscription.[64] The real founder of the political importance of the Varmans in Bengal was Jātavarman who is said to have spread his paramount sovereignty "by marrying Vīraśrī, daughter of Karṇa, by extending his dominion over the Aṅgas, by crippling the power of the Kāmarūpa king, Divya and Govardhana." Divya is to be identified with Divvoka, the leader of the Kaivarta revolution in northern Bengal. It shows that Jātavarman came into conflict with this usurper of the Pāla throne. The Nālandā

district and there is no evidence to suggest that Vaṅgāla and Candradvīpa were identical. The only evidence which goes to support the contention that Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla are two separate countries is the Achalur inscription of Vijjala of about 1200 A.D. (*EI.*, vol. V, p. 757). It has been shown that the particular invasion of Bengal by this Kalacurya king has no historical basis at all (*IHQ.*, vol. XI, No. 4: "Some exaggerated statements in inscription re. invasions of Bengal"). Vijjala is said to have humbled Cedi, Vaṅga and killed the kings of Vaṅgāla, Kaliṅga, Magadha and Mālava. The poet might have meant to repeat the same incident by referring to the conquest of Vaṅga and by alluding to killing of the Vaṅgāla king. These are vague generalisations and poetic exaggerations. Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla cannot be regarded as two separate countries on the strength of this evidence. Vaṅgāla seems to be an etymological variation of Vaṅga probably made by the southerners and foreigners.

62 *JBORS.*, 1928, pp. ff.

63 This point and the Varman history has been elaborately discussed in my forthcoming paper "*The Varmans of Eastern Bengal*".

64 N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, p. 16.

inscription of Vipulaśrīmitra refers to the invasion of northern Bengal by a king of Vaṅgāla in course of which the house of a Buddhist ascetic named Karuṇāśrīmitra was set on fire and the monk was burnt to death.[65]

Mr. J. G. Ghose[65] proposes to identify this invading king of Vaṅgāla with a Candra king of eastern Bengal. No invasion of northern Bengal by any Candra king is known from any reliable source. The Candras were, according to the testimony of their own records, devout Buddhists and it is highly improbable that the army of a Buddhist king would set on fire the house of a distinguished Buddhist teacher of a great vihāra whose memory was honoured even three generations after him. Four kings of this family are known from their own records. The position of Harivarman in the chronology and genealogy of the Varmans was so long controversial but the newly discovered broken Vajrayogini grant of Sāmalavarman[67] shows that he is to be placed between Jātavarman and Sāmalavarman and was most probably the son of the former, though his name has been omitted in the Belava plate. The foundation of this Varman power in eastern Bengal did not go unchallenged by the Pālas. It is known from the *Rāmacarita* that

65 *EI.*, vol. XXI, pp. 97-101.

66 *Indian Culture*, vol. I, pp. 290-292. Mr. J. C. Ghose bases his conclusion on the following account from Tāranātha's book published in the *Ind. Ant.*, 1875, p. 366: "Mahīpāla, contemporary of Khrī-ral, ruled for 52 years. His son Mahāpāla reigned 44 years and was followed by his son-in-law Sāmupāla who reigned 12 years. Then Mahīpāla's son Sreṣṭha ruled for 3 years. As he left behind him a son who was only seven years old, his maternal uncle Cāṇaka was raised to the throne and ruled for 29 years; he made war with the Turuṣkas and in the end was victorious. The people of Bengal also revolted against him and entered Magadha by force but he subdued them. In course of time he raised Bheyapāla to the throne, and retired to the kingdom of Vati, and island near the mouth of the Ganges where after 5 years he died. Bheyapāla ruled 32 years and he was succeeded by his son Neyapāla." It is very difficult to say how much sober history is in this account. The people of Bengal invaded Magadha but the Nālandā inscription refers to the invasion of northern Bengal by a Vaṅgāla king. Somapura *vihāra* is undoubtedly the Pāhārpur monastery in northern Bengal. Lastly, we concur with Mr. N. G. Majumdar that the Nālandā inscription of Vipulaśrīmitra is to be assigned palæographically to the first half of the 12th century and not about 1060 A.D. as Mr. Ghose suggests.

67 *Bhāratvarṣa*, 1340, B.S. p. 674.

Rāmapāla atfer the recovery of his paternal kingdom tried to assert his power over Kaliṅga, Utkala and Kāmarūpa. In course of the description of his conquests it is stated that a Varman king of the east propitiated Rāmapāla by presenting an elephant and his chariot.[68] The Varman king who made his submission to Rāmapāla was either Harivarman or Sāmalavarman. When the strong arm of Rāmapāla was no more, south-eastern Bengal once more revolted in the reign of Kumārapāla but this was suppressed by his general Vaidyadeva by winning a naval battle.[69] Thus it seems that the Varmans were occasionally compelled to acknowledge the suzeranity of the Pālas. The last known Varman king is Bhojavarman.

The Varmans were most probably ousted by the Senas. The Barrackpore grant was issued from Vikramapur where Vilāsadevī, queen of Vijayasena, performed the *tulāpuruṣa* ceremony. Therefore the occupation of Vikramapura by Vijayasena must have occured some time before this, i.e. his 62nd regnal year, and the date of the death of Vijayasena would fall, according the evidence of *Dānasāgara* and *Adbhutasāgara*, sometime about the middle of the 12th century.[70] Vikramapura continued to be one of the capitals of the Senas under Vallālasena and Lakṣmaṇasena. After the surprise attack of Nudiah by Bakht-yar Lakṣmaṇasena is said to have fled to Baṅg[71] (Vaṅga) and his succesors continued to rule over eastern Bengal which retained its independence at least a century after the establishment of the Muslim power in Gauḍa. According to the *Āin-i-Akbarī*,[72] Lakhan Sen was succeeded by his son Madhu Sen who ruled for 10 years. The Sadukti-Karṇāmṛta refers to a verse of Mādhavasena. Madhu Sen's rule is known only from Abul Fazal whose account of the Hindu kings cannot be always relied upon, if it is not corroborated from other evidences.[73] Two sons of Lakṣmaṇasena, Viśvarūpasena and Keśava-

68 *Rāmacarita*, vol. V, ch. III, p. 44.

69 Kamauli plate of Vaidyadeva, A. K. Maitra, *Gauḍa Lekhamālā*.

70 *Journal of the Department of Letters*, vol. XVI, Early History of Bengal (the Sena period).

71 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, p. 588. 72 Vol. II, p. 146.

73 According to Mr. N. N. Vasu, one copper-plate of Mādhava Sena has been found in the Almora district and the reference given is *Kumaon* by Atkinson, p 516 But as I cannot verify this, nothing can be said definitely on this point.

sena, who ruled after him, are known from their own records[74] and the known periods of their reigns are 17 years.

It is therefore almost certain that for the first quarter of the 13th century these two Sena kings could hold themselves against Muslim aggression. Both of them assume the proud title of Gauḍeśvara and the epithet "*Garga-Yavanānvaya-pralaya-kāla-rudra*" is applied to them, This does not seem to be empty boast and both the brothers boast that they were dread to the Yavanas and it seems that they successfully repulsed some Muslim invasions.

The author of the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* did not directly record any invasion of east Bengal by the Muslim governors and rulers of Laknauti but that there were several such attempts is clear from some incidental references by Minaj. It is therefore quite possible that there had been some other attempts to conquer Bang which was not recorded at all. Giyas-uddin was the independent ruler Lakṣṇāvatī (1211-1226 A.D.). The rulers of Jājnagar, Tirhut, Kāmarūpa and Bang[75] paid tribute to him. Just before the end of his reign, he is said to have invaded Kāmarūpa and Vaṅga.[76] The natural conclusion seems to be that there was previously an invasion against these two countries and because they refused to pay tribute to the Muslim ruler, another expedition was undertaken against them. It is clear from the account of Minaj that before Giyas-uddin could achieve anything substantial, he had to return on account of the usurpation of Lakṣṇāvatī by Nasir-uddin. Next reference to the invasion of east Bengal is made in connection with the rule of Mālik Saifuddin who sent some elephants to the court of Delhi which were captured in Bang[77] (1231-33 A.D.). It is not known who was the ruling Sena king at this time. Abul Fazal mentions a king of the name of Surasena or Sadāsena. Two princes of the Sena dynasty, Sūryasena and Puruṣottamasena, are known from the Sāhitya Pariṣat plate of Viśvarūpasena and it is quite probable that Sūryasena of Abul Fazal is Sūryasena of this plate. Another invasion of east

74 N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, No. XIII, XIV, XV.
75 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 587-588. 76 *Ibid.*
77 *Ibid.*, p. 732.

Bengal took place in the reign of Ijjuddin Balban[78] in or about 1258 A.D. Minaj finished his account in 1259 A.D. and makes the statement that at that time the descendants of Lakṣmaṇasena were ruling in eastern Bengal.[79]

Another Hindu king is known from Zia-ud-din Barni[80] and the Ādavaḍi plate.[81] His real name was Daśarathadeva, and Danujamādhava was his *viruda*. According to the genealogical book of Harimiśra, he flourished after the Sena rule.[82] When Delhi Sultan Giyas-uddin Balban came to suppress the rebellion of the Bengal governor, Tughril Khan, an agreement was reached between Delhi Sultan and this Hindu king of Sonārgāon that the latter would prevent the escape of Tughril Khan by water. The Muslim occupation of eastern Bengal must have been completed by the close of the 13th century.[83]

It cannot be properly ascertained whether the extreme eastern districts like Noakhali and Chittagong were included in the Pāla and Sena kingdoms. The Baghaura image inscription shows that Samataṭa and some parts of modern Tippera district acknowledged the suzerainty of Mahīpāla I. No evidence has yet been discovered to prove the extension of the Sena power in the Chittagong division. The Maināmatī plate[84] speaks of the existence of an independent kingdom in Paṭṭikerā which is a paragaṇā in modern Tippera. The name of the king is Harikāladeva whose *viruda* is Raṇavaṅkamalla; he came to the throne in 1203-4 A.D. If he was the first king of this family and this principality was included in the Sena kingdom, it seems that with the fall of the Senas in Gauḍa a kingdom arose in eastern Bengal. Another Hindu kingdom was founded about this time. It is known from the Chittagong plate of Dāmodara[85] who was ruling in 1243 A.D. His earliest known ancestor is Puruṣottoma whose son was Madhusūdana. The title *nṛpa* occurs before his name and it may be that the

78 *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 769-70.
79 *Ibid.*, pp. 558, 715.
80 *Elliot*, vol. III, p. 116.
81 *Inscriptions of Bengal*, p. 181.
82 *Bhāratvarṣa*, 1332 B.S., pp. 78-81.
83 *Bāṅglār Itihāsa*, vol. II, pp. 93-94.
84 *IHQ.*, vol. IX, p. 282.
85 *Inscriptions of Bengal*, No. XVII.

rise of the family to political power began from him. His son was Vāsudeva and his son Dāmodara assumes the proud title "*sakala-bhupati-cakravartī.*" Nothing more is known of these two kingdoms.

The conquest of north-western Bengal by the Muslims and the maintenance of independence by eastern Bengal in spite of repeated attempts of the Muslims to conquer it suggest one important conclusion. A sudden cavalry raid was sufficient to break the power of the Sena kings in north-western Bengal and the whole of it passed into Muslim hands within a short time. But the physical features of eastern Bengal prevented such an eventuality. It is the country of big rivers, and hence cavalry was practically useless. Here for a permanent conquest the naval power was the most important factor. A raid might have been carried in a certain part but it could not produce a lasting effect. The seeking of the help of Daunjamādhava by Sultan Giyasuddin Balban to prevent the escape of the rebellious governor Tughril Khan by boat clearly illustrates the weakness of the power in eastern Bengal—a power strong in every other respects excepting the navy. This also accounts for the fact why the descendants of Lakṣmaṇasena fought the Muslims from east Bengal and why this part of the country could resist Muslim attacks for about a century while the great kingdoms of northern India succumbed to Muslim attacks quickly. Before the final conquest of eastern Bengal, the Muslims must have realised this difficulty and perhaps built a navy equal to the occasion.

PRAMODE LAL PAUL

Some unpublished Papers relating to the Mutiny of 1857-59

The Mutiny was a highly significant event in the history of India. "I wish", remarked the late Lord Cromer, "the young generation of the English would read, mark, learn and inwardly digest the history of the Indian Mutiny; it abounds in lessons and warnings."[1] It was indeed the last and the most appalling test of the growing British supremacy in India. Though it broke out as a military rising, it was caused by a number of factors lying deeply rooted in the changing conditions of the times. Its consequences were felt in different spheres,—political, administrative, social and economic.[2]

A few months back while sorting volumes of unpublished historical records in the office of the District Judge of Patna, I discovered the following important papers relating to it.

A. *List of some Mutiny cases.*

1. Government *versus* Goueree Shanker Sing and Gureelea (or Gurulea) Sing, sepoys of the 40th Regiment N.I., "charged with Mutiny and Desertion at Dinapore."

2. Government *versus* Jewnarain Sing, Soornundan and Unmole Sing, sepoys of the Behar Station Guards "charged with Mutiny and Desertion at Arrah and Gyah."

(Letter from Mr. A. Hope, officiating Magistrate of Patna, to R. J. Scott, Sessions Judge of Patna, dated 29th May, 1858).

3. Government *versus* Gopal Sing, late Havildar of the 40th Regiment N.I., charged with "Mutiny and Desertion."

"This is one of the men of this district who mutinied with the rest of his Regiment at Dinapore on the 25th July 1857 and his name appears

1 *Cambridge History of India*, VI, p. 167.

2 Different parts of Bihar were agitated by this movement. We have accounts of the Bihar outbreaks in works like 'The Indian Mutiny of 1857' (1891) by Col. G. B. Malleson, (*ibid.*, vol. I, Book VII, ch. II), 'History of the Indian Mutiny' (5th ed. 1904), (*ibid.*, pp. 195-99) and 'Thirty-eight years in India', 2 vols, 1881 by William Tayler (*ibid.*, vol. II, pp. 237-99).

in the List of Mutineers forwarded from the Regiment but his name was not submitted to the Judge on the 6th May 1858 along with the others, as his property was not traced. Property belonging to him having now been found and attached and as he has not since appeared on being apprehended, I beg to submit the papers of his case, together with an Urdu List of the same to the Sessions Judge of Patna, Commissioner under Act XIV of 1857 for the conviction of the absconded offender, on a charge of Mutiny and Desertion and consequent confiscation of his property under Act XXV of 1857."

(Letter from J. B. Gowan, Captain Commanding Detachment 11th Regiment N.I., to Magistrate of Patna, dated camp Moorshedabad, 30th June, 1858).

4. Government *versus* Bissoon (Bishun) Sohoy (Sahay) and Imrit (Amrit) Sing[3] late sepoys of the 11th Regiment N.I., charged with "Mutiny and Desertion." (*Charges same as in No. 3 above*).

5. Government *versus* Jujjadhar Sing, Juggro Lal Sing, and Lalnarain Sing, late Sepoys of the 8th Regiment N.I., "charged with Mutiny and Desertion."

"These men are residents of this District who mutinied along with other sepoys at Dinapore and Hazareebagh on the 25th and 29th July 1857 and accordingly the officer commanding their regiment furnished their names as such in the accompanying Descriptive Roll. Their property has been attached and I have made every exertion to apprehend them but without success. I beg therefore to submit the papers of their case to the Sessions Judge of Patna, Commissioner under Act XIV of 1857, together with Urdu Lists of their property for the conviction of the absconded offenders and the consequent confiscation of their property under Act XXV of 1857.

An enquiry is being made for the property of the other man Rughoobeer (Raghubir) named in the Descriptive Roll."

(Letter from same to same, dated 28th August, 1858).

6. (a) Government *versus* Tirbhooman Sing and eight others charged with "Mutiny and Desertion."

3 Bisoon Sohoy and Amrit Sing were residents of Kab, pargana Mussoori, district Patna. William Tayler was then Commissioner of Patna.

(b) Government *versus* Gajadhar Sing and two others charged with "Mutiny. and Desertion."

(Letter from A. Hope, officiating Magistrate of Patna, to R. J. Scott, Sessions Judge of Patna, dated Patna, the 12th November, 1858).

B. *A Petition from a Mutiny sufferer*

Apart from the above cases I came across a petition referring to the Mutiny:—

"When I addressed you on the 10th instant I begged to plead to your kindly feelings of humanity and charity in behalf of a murdered husband's widow.

I am a singularly miserable sufferer from the insurrection caused by the mutineer sepoys of the 6th Regiment on the 6th of June at Allahabad. My husband was barbarously murdered and all our property to an immense amount in houses, stock in trade, jewels, silver plates, carriages, horses, was burnt, plundered, dug up.—I was saved by means of a servant with my right arm broken which has maimed me partially for life. Having obtained certificates from Mr. Christer, Commissioner, and Revd. A. B. Spry, Chaplain at Allahabad, I proceeded down as a pauper of Government having been reduced from affluence to perfect penury and destitution was prevented by severe suffering from going down further than Patna being relieved by the kind and charitable medical attention of Dr. Rennie.... I came to lay my most severe case among sufferers as most of them have some alleviations; they have either Husbands to cherish them, or property or pensions to keep them comfortable but I, unhappy being, have been deprived of both and before the Committee of Relief Fund and the kind roof of a friend shelters me.

Having thought it expedient to explain this far I beseech you, sir, to consider that I have not means to entertain a vakeen (? vakeel). I only beg as a boon that you would kindly renew the copy of the Letters of administration which you have already granted me without nulling the paragraph respecting Government Pro. Notes. All the records of my husband have been burnt so that from the honesty and charity alone of individuals that I can hope from time to time to recover anything. The note with Messrs Hamilton & Co., is No. 1051 of 3283 of the Public

Works loan 1854-55, and another of 1842/43 No. 8667—Rupees 500 was burnt in my almirah at Allahabad on the night of 6th June 1857. Of any other; I solemnly declare I have no idea—but should there be a proviso made for these alone, a litigation would arise which would oblige me to trouble you again, should hereafter others may be discovered.

Apologising for trespassing long on your time I beseech you once more to view my-case as one of much need and charity and graciously to waive all forms and expenses which I have just been paid for this very paper by Mr. Alexander Belard of Patna, and which I am not at all able to bear, and may the Almighty grant that you may receive my petition in a favourable light."

(Letter from Mrs. Adl /not legible/ Bailard to R. Scott, Esqr., Judge of Patna, dated 5, Park Street, Calcutta, the 20th November, 1857).

Mr. Scott passed orders for drawing up a certificate as required by Mrs. Bailard.

K. K. DATTA

The Maratha Political Ideas of the Eighteenth Century

The Marathi "Rājanīti" of Rāmacandrapant (1716)

A document known as *Sambhāji's Ādnāpatra* (edict)[1] was issued on November 21, 1716 by Sambhāji II (of Kolhapur) (1712-50). The writer is believed to have been Rāmacandrapant Amātya. The work is generally described as his *Rājanīti*. This royal edict is stated to have been prepared "in accordance with the *Śāstras*" (p. 14).

The work begins with a short historical survey of the *Svarājya*, the Maratha state, from Śivāji, the founder, down to 1716, the year of the promulgation of the edict by Sambhāji II, son of Rājārām who began to rule at Kolhapur in 1712. In the course of this survey the author has tried to bring in general maxims of *Nītiśāstras* by way of illustration. The historical portion is thus to a certain extent seen as a concrete embodiment of Hindu political philosophy.

In one passage the edict says that many soldiers firmly believed that "the servants whose lives are lost in the cause of their master, attain that state which even the sages and *yogins* do not reach and went to heaven whilst fighting in the cause of their master in accordance with the duties of a *Kṣatra*" (p. 5). Students of *Sukranīti* and other *Nītiśāstras* like those of Mitra-Miśra and Vaiśampāyana will be interested to see how powerfully the Maratha mind was influenced by the traditional Hindu political speculations.

The achievements of Śivāji are described in very general terms. In regard to the states subdued by him the processes are described in the following manner: "Upon some he made sudden attacks. Amongst some he fomented mutual quarrels. Between some he caused breaches of friendship. By entering the tents of some he fought with them. By personal venture he defeated some in single cambats. With some he made alliances. Of his own accord he went to visit some. Some he forced to come and visit him. He imperilled the lives of

1 Available in English translation by S. V. Putambekar as *A Royal Edict on the Principles of State Policy and Organization* (Madras 1929).

some by creating mutual disunion. Others he conquered one after another by making other kinds of efforts without their knowledge" (p. 7). The hoary Kauṭalyan *śāstra* in regard to the four *upāyas* and six *guṇas* can be seen here as exercising some sway over the Marathi *Ādnāpatra*. We are not interested for the present in Sivāji's exploits and policies but only in the manner in which they are being described by Rāmacandrapant in Marathi.

In connection with post-Sivāji political conditions there is an observation to the following effect:—"A place or country when invaded by others continues to exist with outside help. Therefore at first this should be cut off. Then efforts should be made against it directly. This is proper policy" (p. 11).

Rāmacandrapant is here functioning as a pupil of the Kauṭalya-Kāmandaka-Sukra complex in regard to the application of the doctrine of *maṇḍala* (sphere of states or diplomatic relations).

The category *dharma* occurs very often in this *Ādnāpatra* (pp. 15, 16, 26, 37). While discussing some of the general principles of politics Rāmacandrapant is virtually paraphrasing all that the *Smṛti* and the *Nītiśāstras* have to say about *dharma* in relation to the social order (pp. 15-16). The value of the paraphrase consists in the fact that the author is not dealing, like, say, Kauṭalya, Manu, Sukra etc. with abstract entities called the state. The author is every moment conscious that he is writing of a particular state. And that is his "this kingdom" (pp. 5, 7, 8, 15), "Hindu Kingdom" (p. 13), *svarājya* (p. 3) etc. In this Marathi edict we are in season and out of season made conscious of the great reality that the *Hindu Svarājya* of Sivāji the Great, the greatest Hindu of all ages, and one of the profoundest remakers of mankind, is the "Kingdom of God" and that this Kingdom is being governed according to the principles of the *Sāstras*. "Out of compassion for the people," we are told, "God in his full favour has granted us this Kingdom" (p. 15). The patriotic ring is ever manifest in this treatise and the author is convinced of the noble mission of the Maratha state as the bulwark of *dharma* against the inroads of the *Tāmras* (Moghuls) or Yavanas and their allies (pp. 6, 111). This mission is not conceived in a futuristic manner but as something already fulfilled, as an achievement.

For the student of Hindu political speculations from Kauṭalya to Mitra-Miśra[2] and Śukra it is interesting to observe that even as late as the second decade of the eighteenth century an *amātya* of a successful Hindu empire should have felt proud to connect the methods, tactics, strategy and general policies of the state served by him with, and interpret them in the light of, the theories adumbrated by the "old masters" of political philosophy. The virility, tenacity and pragmatic utility of the *Artha-* and *Nīti-śāstras* of the Hindus are thus brought home to us in a remarkable manner. Simultaneously also the deeper foundations of Maratha political idealism and constructive statesmanship are laid bare. The *dharma*-mindedness of Maratha diplomacy and statecraft as well as the solicitude of the Maratha thinkers for affiliation to the permanent tradition of Sanskritic or Hindu culture are items that impress us most powerfully. Verily, in the eighteenth century the Maratha statesmen and generals were encompassed in their daily life with the same ideals and messages of philosophers, poets, and preachers as the Mauryas, Guptas, Vardhanas, Cālukyas, Pālas and Colas of yore.

Hindu positivism did not come to a close at the seventh century, or the tenth, the thirteenth or even the seventeenth century. It was living gloriously in the eighteenth century and came down to the nineteenth century, for instance, in Malhar Ram Rao Chitnis's *Rājanīti*, the Sanskrit treatise based like a *Nibandha* on the *Nītiśāstras*.

In regard to the actual achievements of the *Hindu Svarājya* of Śivāji and the Marathas one should not be too hypercritical. It would be desirable to get oriented to the military methods, external politics, diplomatic manœuvres, criminal justice, religious policy as well as social and economic legislation as prevalent in contemporary Europe, say, the Europe of Louis XIV and Frederick the Great in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[3]

2 B. K. Sarkar: "Nīlakaṇṭha and Mitra-Miśra: Two Hindu Political Philosophers of the Seventeenth Century" in the *Calcutta Review* for August 1935.

3 *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. VIII (1902), p. 49; W. G. F. Phillimore: *Three Centuries of Treaties of Peace* (Boston 1918), pp. 13-61; Freeman: *The Historical Geography of Europe* (London 1903).

There is a tendency among historiographers of today to sit in judgment on the Marathas with the canons of modern nationalism, democracy, social justice, "economic planning", and what not. This is an entirely fallacious method, and ought by all means to be avoided. On the other hand, it is necessary also to be more critical and objective in regard to the achievements of the "golden age" of Hindu history, such, for instance, as those for which the Hindu states from those of the Mauryas to those of the Colas and Senas are responsible. The contributions of the Marathas of the seveenteenth and the eighteenth centuries to the politics and culture of the Indian people would appear to be more or less on a par with, and the significant continuation of, those of the pre-Moslem Hindu races.

The student of world-culture,—one who is as much at home in the institutions and theories of the Orient as of the Occident, one who knows of the economic, political and social conditions of Europe from the sixteenth to the eighteenth century,—should be in a position to appraise the Marathas as having made substantial contributions to human freedom and progress. We cannot afford to withhold from giving the Devil his due. In sociological evaluations and by the standard of comparative culture-history the Marathas do undoubtedly deserve the glorious credit of being "a people that put down the Muslim power, that for long resisted the British advance in all parts of India, that conquered and civilized the Gonds and other tribes in the distant north and south, that have left plentiful permanent marks of their influence in a triangular tract, of which the three corners may roughly be put down as Nagpur, Surat and Tanjore, and ever stood for order, peace and culture, and that finally saved the soul of India and enthused it with a new hope."[4]

In Rāmacandrapant's *Rājanīti* we are furnished with an analysis of *dharma* directly or indirectly in diverse contexts (pp. 8, 15, 35-38). And this should throw some light also on the doctrine of *Mahārāṣṭra-dharma* as inculcated by Rāmdās.[5]

4 G. S. Sardesai: *The Main Currents of Maratha History* (Bombay 1933), pp. 27-28.

5 B. V. Bhaṭ: *Mahārāṣṭradharma* (Dhuliya 1925), pp. 23-49.

We understand, indeed, that the practices and customs such as are, generally speaking, dear to the Hindu heart are comprised in the category *dharma*. Thus considered, *dharma* would be virtually identical with the fourfold *ācāras* as analyzed by Rajwade, Bhat and others. It would therefore be more comprehensive than the more or less exclusively democratic and reformistic tendencies of religious thought and life as stressed by Ranade. Indeed, Rāmacandrapant, at any rate, is fundamentally orthodox in his conception and his view of *dharma* gives hardly any support to Ranade's and can be cited in the main in favour of Rajwade's. But in Rāmacandrapant's analysis it is possible to come into contact with something which is wider even than the fourfold *ācāras* of Hindu life. We must observe, however, that he is not writing an exhaustive digest on *dharma*. The treatment of the topic is incidental and merely suggestive.

There is a strand of some undefined and undefinable traits of thought as well as practice,—"that which is traditionally the best and which his ancestors had followed" (p. 15),—somewhat vague and elastic conceptions such as go beyond the concrete *ācāras* actually in force and are associated with the equally vague category, ideals, spirit, *Geist*, culture etc. of a people. We are led to feel that anything and everything, positive or negative, defined or undefined, which distinguishes the Hindus from those who are known to be non-Hindus is comprehended in the category *dharma*. Rāmacandrapant has not referred to Rāmdās's celebrated cult which is known to be as follows: *Mārāthā titir kā melwāwā, Mahārāṣṭradharma bārhwāwa*, "Unite all the Marathas; propagate the *dharma* of Mahārāṣṭra." But today it is patent to us that in Rāmdās's futuristic ideology as in Rāmacandrapant's analysis of past achievements the *dharma* of the *Maratha titu* is something which distinguishes this Hindu people from the non-Hindu and anti-Hindu peoples. Rāmdās the prophet or apostle and Rāmacandrapant the historian or philosopher of events are talking the same language, and they mean the same thing, namely, that the Maratha state, the *Hindu Svarājya*=the organization of the Hindus and by the Hindus for the expansion of Hindu culture and the annihilation of everything inimical to the Hindus and their thousand and one interests.

Rāmacandrapant is interpreting *Realpolitik* in terms of the political philosophy of the *Nītiśāstras*. To a certain extent he is not a writer of political philosophy, strictly so-called. His *Rājanīti* is often a philosophical explanation of political history. He looks like an historian and his work appears to be somewhat of a contribution to the philosophy of history. But, on the whole, the general philosophical or speculative character of the work cannot be missed.

In this Marathi treatise the general principles of the Sanskrit *Nītiśāstras* are to be found, further, in the cult of prowess, courage, perseverance, industriousness, energism etc. (p. 6), the policy of foresight in international diplomacy (p. 13), the qualifications of the ruler and his relations with officials etc. (pp. 15-19, 23-25).

The *Ādnāpatra* says, for instance, in the right *Nīti* style that "while protecting what is already acquired, new achievements should always be attempted; and this should continuously remain the aim of the king." More concretely, we are told that "if he regards the glory which he has achieved as satisfactory, then he does not feel inclined for further exertion. As a result the enemy would find the occasion for an invasion, and the kingdom would suffer. This should not be allowed to happen" (p. 19). Students of the *Mahābhārata* (Book VI. ch. ii) will not fail to encounter here the Marathi adaption of the ethics of "manliness" and "unceasing upward striving."[6]

And here we may recall with interest that about a century after Rāmacandrapant the German philosopher, Fichte, lecturing at Königsberg in 1807, declared his fundamental principles in the following words:[7]

"1. The neighbour is always ready to enlarge himself at your cost at the first opportunity if he can do it safely. He must do so if he is clever enough and cannot avoid it even if he were your brother (*Er muss es tun und kann es nicht lassen, und wenn er dein Bruder wäre*).

"2. It is not at all enough that you are defending your own territory. Keep your eyes open on everything that can have an influence on

6 "The Theory of International Relations" in Sarkar: *The Political Institutions and Theories of the Hindus* (Leipzig 1922), p. 215.

7 Meinecke: *Die Idee der staatsräson* (Munich 1925), pp. 462-463.

your position. Do not by any means submit to the fact that anything within the boundaries of your influence should be changed to your disadvantage. Neglect no moment when you can use the situation to your advantage. Rest assured that the neighbour will do it as soon as he can. If you neglect it on your part you will remain behind him. One who does not grow decays while others are growing (*Wer nicht zunimmt der nimmt wenn andere zunehmen ab*)."

In Rāmacandrapant's lengthy statement about the functions of the king we have a good summary of *Nīti* literature on the subject (p. 26). In the statement that "a king alone cannot, even if he wishes, perform all these functions" and that "therefore he has to appoint as his representatives *Pradhānas* (ministers) in order to conduct the affairs of the kingdom" we are, again, in the atmosphere of the *Nītiśāstras* (pp. 26-30). But the author is an *amātya* (minister) of the Maratha state. So he introduces a good deal of objectivity and *Realpolitik* into his analysis of the position of ministers in the state. An interesting observation runs to the effect that "ministers are the pillars of the house whose name is kingdom" (p. 27). In the *dictum* that "when one is appointed a minister, one should not at all be disrespected and insulted at every turn" (p. 29) we feel that it is not a copybook maxim cited from *Śukranīti* or some other text but a bit of the author's own mind. This Maratha *amātya* like many other ministers of Hindu states, nay, like the ministers of many royal dynasties of Europe,—knew from bitter experience what it is to serve a king. In the capacity of a writer on *Rājanīti* Rāmacandrapant is therefore but pleading the cause of his own profession throughout the world while offering the advice as to how the ruler should behave with the ministers. This piece of advice might be administered, be it observed *en passant*, as much to the Hohenzollerns, Bourbons and the British despots of the "New Monarchy" as to the Marathas.

While dealing with the Marathi *Rājanīti* (1716) of Rāmacandrapant let us observe once more what we are always aware of in the discussion of Hindu political theories, namely, that his ideal of a king is the *Rājarṣi* of the Kauṭalyan tradition. This *Rājarṣi* (royal-sage), again, is none other than the philosopher-king of Plato. To cite a

somewhat contemporary parallel from Europe,[8] we should to a certain extent envisage the *milieu* of the *Idea of a Patriot King* (1738) by Bolingbroke (1678-1751), in which the Hanoverian contemporaries of the Marathas used to live. For general orientations in regard to political ideas it is necessary likewise to remember some of the absolutist treatises like Bodin's *Les six Livres de la République* (1576) and Hobbes's *Leviathan* (1651) as well as the treatises of Bossuet and Filmer.

The economic interests of the *saptāṅgā* organism are well taken care of in the categories, *kośa* and *rāṣṭra*, of the *Nītiśāstras*. The Marathi *Rājanīti* likewise devotes considerable attention to these considerations. Certain characteristic and rather new principles, enunciated by Rāmacandrapant, deserve, however to be singled out. "Merchants are the ornament of the kingdom and the glory of the king," says he, "they are the cause of the prosperity of the kingdom. All kinds of goods which are not available come into the kingdom. That kingdom becomes rich" (p. 31.) As a practical statesman he knows, besides, that the *nerfs de la république*, the "sinews of war" are furnished by the mercantile classes. "In times of difficulties whatever debt is necessary is available. With its help danger is averted. There is a great advantage in the protection of merchants."

In Rāmacandrapant's *Rājanīti* the protection of merchants is comprehensive enough to include foreign traders. Freedom of intercourse in trade should be given to sea-faring merchants at various ports by sending an assurance of safety, says he. In *dicta* like these we realize that the Marathi treatise on politics is not a mere paraphrase or adaptation of the Sanskrit *Artha-* and *Nītiśāstras*. The protection of foreign merchants is not unknown in Kauṭalya. But the language and form in which the doctrine is enunciated by the Maratha writer are original. The fact that it is the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,—the *milieu* of European traders and mercantile houses, is forced upon us in his

8 J. N. Figgis: *From Gerson to Grotius* (Cambridge 1907), *The Divine Right of Kings* (Cambridge 1914), F. J. C. Hearnshaw (editor): *The Social and Political Ideas of Some Thinkers of the Augustan Agè* (London 1928), ch. on Bolingbroke.

9 P. Janet: *Histoire de la Science Politique* (Paris 1913), vol. II, ch. on Bossuet and Fenelon.

treatment of the subject. Rāmacandrapant has enriched the scope of Hindu political science by introducing the *Topīkārs* (the hat-wearers, Europeans) as merchants and the relations of the state with them during peace and war. For instance, we are told that the punishment which is inflicted on the servants of the enemy is not to be meted out to the European merchants who happen to live in enemy territory. They may, however, be fined but discharged with due respect (p. 33).

Among the *Topikārs* (hat-wearers) Rāmacandrapant mentions the *Firāngis* (Portuguese), the *Ingrāj* (the English), the *Vālānd* (the Dutch), the *Farāsis* (the French), and the *Dingmār* (the Danes) by name. It is interesting that they are described according to their countries and that there is no reference to them as Europeans or as Christians. The common name for them, however, is that of *Topīkārs* (hat-wearers).

The special features of these sea-faring hat-wearers have commanded Rāmacandrapant's attention. They are not like other merchants, says he (p. 32). Their masters, every one of them, are known to be ruling kings. Rāmacandrapant knows that it is under royal orders and control that these European merchants come to trade, and asks: "How can it happen that rulers have no greed for territories?" The aims and ambitions of these *Topīkārs* are described by him as follows:—"They have full ambition to enter into these provinces, to increase their territories and to establish their own opinion (religion?)." Further, he describes them as "obstinate" and is aware that "once a place falls into their hands they will not give it up even at the cost of their lives" (p. 32).

Rāmacandrapant would, therefore, restrict the intercourse of the hat-wearers to the extent of their coming and going for trade purposes only. He is positively against giving them places to settle. By no means are they to be given factory lands at the mouth of an inlet or on the shores of the sea. For they might become dangerous by building forts. The outstanding facts that the strength of the Europeans lies in navy, guns and ammunition is recorded by the author as a positive reality. He should like by all means to avoid them. "It is enough" we are told, "if they occasionally come and go and do not trouble us; nor need we trouble them."

Rāmacandrapant never uses the category, *saptāṅga* or the seven-limbed organism. But he virtually describes all the seven categories of the *Nītiśāstras* in his own way. The author deals with the *svāmī* (king) and the *amātya* (minister) at some length. The topics of *koṣa* (treasure) and *rāṣṭra* (territory) are discussed in connection with the commercial interests of the state. This subject has not, however, been discussed, it should be observed, in an adequate manner. Public finance has virtually been neglected. The slight references to income and expenditure, salaries and gifts (pp. 19-20), *vṛttis*, grants etc. and *ināms* or estates (pp. 35-38) do not enable us to feel that the importance of the financial considerations has been grasped by the author.

"Finance is the life of the state," says he in the manner of the writers of *Nītiśāstras*. The practical aspect of this consideration in times of war is noticed by him. He advises that the state treasury should be filled and well looked after, but does not go much farther in analysis or prescriptions.

The problem of *suhṛt* (ally), one of the seven categories, should seem to be touched upon incidentally at almost every place where the problem of foreign invasion has been discussed (pp. 6-7). The topic may be said to have been rather carefully dealt with in the section on the treatment of *watandārs*, i.e., hereditary officials, e.g. heads of villages, districts, provinces etc. They are no doubt small but independent chiefs of territories, says he. When a foreign invasion comes they are known to make peace with the invader and can become harmful to the kingdom. These "feudal" chiefs are therefore to be controlled in a careful manner so that they may be made to remain friendly to the king (pp. 33-35). In this discussion there are important considerations preparatory to an active foreign policy. But the formal treatment of friends and foes such as one is familiar with in the doctrine of *maṇḍala* ("geopolitical" sphere) has been avoided. The ideas of *sāma, dāna, bheda* and *daṇḍa* are accessible here although not in so many words. Rāmacandrapant has dealt with the actual circumstances of the Maratha political *milieu* and the method of adding to the strength of the *Svarājya* that he has to serve. All the same, his analysis has not considered it necessary to use the terminology or methodology of the

"sphere of states" while detailing the manner in which the *Svarājya* is to become thornless and expand in all directions.

What little Rāmacandrapant has to say about dealings with other princes or feudatory chiefs shows that the realism of Spinoza (1634-77) is in his brain. Passages from the *Tractatus Politicus*[9] (I. 5) of Spinoza like the following would be congenial to Rāmacandrapant's spirit: "Men are of necessity liable to passions and so constituted as to pity those who are ill and envy those who are well off and to be prone to vengeance more than to mercy." "And so it comes to pass that, as all are equally eager to be first, they fall to strife, and do their utmost mutually to oppress one another." Rāmacandrapant would therefore like Spinoza spurn a rosy view of interstatal relations. The Spinozistic statement that such persons as persuade themselves that the multitude of men distracted by politics can ever be induced to live according to the bare dictate of reason must be dreaming of the poetic golden age or of a stage-play can also be taken as Rāmacandrapant's.

In external politics, therefore, it is *der Imperativ der Staatsnotwendigkeit* (the imperative of state-necessity) that compels Rāmacandrapant like Frederick the Great to discover his *Staatsräson* (reasons or interests of the state) in the philosophy of *Macht* or power.[10]

The words of Frederick the Great himself in his *Cosiderations sur l'état present du corps politique de l'Europe* (Considerations on the present condition of the body politic of Europe, 1737) would be congenial to the Maratha *Amātya*. "The politics of the great monarchies was always the same," says the Prussian monarch, "their fundamental principle consisted in seizing everything in order to expand oneself ceaselessly, and their wisdom in anticipating the tricks of their enemies and to play the finest play."

It is virtually the analysis of neighbours as presented by the Maratha *Rājanīti* of the early eighteenth century that we find in

10 *Works,* vol. I. (New York 1883), p. 289, G. Engelmann: *Political Philosophy from Plato to Jeremy Bentham* (New York 1927) chapter on Spinoza; cf. in this connection the character analysis of the "upper strata", "aristocracy", "leaders", "builders" etc. in P. Sorokin: *Social Mobility* (New York 1927), pp. 308-311.

the modern theorist Stier-Somlo when he says in *Politik* (1926) that the states of our environment are bound to find themselves in eternal competition, rivalry, struggle, and at any rate, in the midst of conflicts or clashes of interests. The considerations of high "ethical culture" are, according to him, out of place in such a world. This circumstance compels the *Staatsmoral* (state or political morality) to be entirely different from the individual morality (p. 122).

Rāmacandrapant would therefore be prepared to admit with Vierkandt that every state has two faces, one towards the internal affairs, and the other towards the external. From the one standpoint it is the *Rechtstaat* (law-state) or *lo stato etico* (the ethical i.e. the moral state) of Ugo Redanò (1927). But the essential characteristic of the state in its external relations is its character as *Macht*, organized force.[11]

Leaving aside the category *suhṛt* (ally), we notice that the two categories *durga* (forts) and *bala* (army) have been dealt with in somewhat detailed and practical manner. Rāmacandrapant's ovservations on forts do not betray the influence of academicians. Indeed, he talks like a contractor, engineer and manager. In regard to the treatment of the king and the ministers he is quite prepared to indulge in academic generalities and ethical first postulates or political principles. But in regard to forts he makes short of them. Indeed he virtually avoids those theoretical considerations. He is chiefly interested in their actual construction and administration (pp. 39-48).

In his judgment the "forts and strongholds alone mean the kingdom." They "mean more than the treasury." They mean the strength of the army. They mean likewise the prosperity of the kingdom, "our places of residence," "our places of peaceful sleep," nay, "our very protection of life" (p. 39). All this apotheosis of forts, so to say, might be easily ascribed to the political and military conditions to which Maratha writers are used. But we ought to remember our old

11 F. Meinecke: *Die Idee der Staatsräson* (Munich 1925), pp. 356-358, 360-361.

12 A. Vierkandt: *Staat und Gesellschaft in der Gegenwart* (Leipzig 1921), p. 10.

Kauṭalya (Book VIII) also, where the relative importance of each of the seven limbs is discussed in succession. The importance of forts as *a* or *the* supreme factor in the political organism is fathered upon Parāśara in that discussion. But otherwise, as usual in the pluralistic and "heinotheistic" philosophy of Hindu thought, each one is found in Kauṭalyan analysis to be something very fundamental. We may take it that by thus dwelling on the importance of forts Rāmacandrapant is perhaps philosophizing to a certain extent not so much as a Maratha scholar but as a traditional Hindu author.

The questions of *bala* or the army have been dealt with in connection with the troops and their organization (pp. 20-22). The five-fold force of cavalry (*Laskar*), infantry (*Hasham*), light-armed men (*Adal*), musketeers (*Banduki*), archers (*Tirandaji*) and artillery men (*Karol*) is substantially different from the elephant-corps, cavalry, chariot and infantry divisions of the *Nīti* tradition. The Navy plays a considerable part in Rāmacandrapant's treatment. It is an independent limb of the state, says he. Excluding the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭalya the *Nītiśāstras* do not appear to know anything of the navy and naval organization. Rāmacandrapant's observations constitute new items in Hindu political philosophy (pp. 48-52).

Altogether, we are inclined to treat Rāmacandrapant's work as in the main an adaptation in Marathi of Sanskrit *Nītiśāstras*. The treatise has been so well and nicely adjusted to the achievements as well as problems of the Marathas that the author's attempts at paraphrasing the Sanskrit texts are hardly palpable. It has some special merits, however. First, it has served to expand the scope of *Nītiśāstra* by introducing new items. In the second place, the author has enriched the discussions of old topics with observations from Maratha experience. And it is in this regard that this Marathi treatise should appear to be intensely valuable to us. Many of the words and phrases used by "old masters" such as might appear rather vague or unintelligible, nay, perhaps platitudinous generalities have acquired in this treatment living flesh and blood. We are thereby enabled to grasp the real import and contents of the *Arthaśāstras* and *Nītiśāstras*. It may be regarded as such a fine commentary, so to say, of the well-known texts of Hindu political theory that every body may be recommended to

commence his first studies in Kauṭalya, Manu and Śukra along with Rāmacandrapant's Marathi work.

Sanskrit poetical works like the *Śiva-Bhārata* or the Marathi Edict like this *Ādnāpatra* (or *Rājanīti*) are not to be consulted solely for dates, names and the succession of events. Poetry and philosophy ought to be approached as poetry and philosophy. The archæological historian will perhaps find here very little of interest to him in regard to the details of Maratha political history. But it is just in this kind of writings, idealistic and yet somewhat realistic as they are, that the students of political theory, moral ideas and cultural ideals would get the most varied data. Nothing can be more helpful in reconstructing the mentality of Śivaji and the Marathas than the texts in which mainly the dreams, fine frenzies, pious wishes and memories are enshrined.

Śiva-Bhārata and *Ādnāpatra* are, however, not all made of dreams and pious wishes. But even in so far as they are dreams and pious wishes they have furnished the Hindus of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries with the most energistic *élan de la vie*. It is as powerful agencies in "social metabolism" that such Sanskrit and Marathi documents of the Marathas are to be appraised by the students of political philosophy, sociology and culture-history.

The Peshwa's Diaries (1708-1817)

In a letter[13] to his younger brother Raghunātha (Rāghova) dated July 19, 1742 Bālāji Bāji Rāo advised him, among other things, to study regularly *Raghuvaṃśa*, *Viduranīti*, Cāṇakya as well as the *Mahābhārata* from the *Virāṭaparva* to the end. It is very interesting to observe that in modern India also these texts are to be mentioned amongst the most popular or favourite works of Sanskrit literature. Another item calls for notice. *Viduranīti* which has been singled out in the middle of eighteenth century by the Maratha statesman was an important document with Mitra-Miśra also. The last chapter of his *Rājanītiprakāśa* (c. 1630) is given over to the teachings of Vidura as found in the *Mahābhārata*.

13 Divekar: *Śiva-Bhārata* (Poona 1927).

14 G. S. Sardesai: *Madhyavibhāga*, vol. II, (Bombay 1921), pp. 23-24.

Some of the civil and military institutions of Śivāji are described in a contemporary Marathi work, the *Bākhār* (chronicle in prose) by Sabhāsad (1694).[14] This *Bākhār* was later expanded by Citragupta (1760). The *Sabhāsad Bākhār* is known as *Śiva-Chatrapati-chen Caritra.*

Early in the nineteenth century Malhar Ram Rao Chitnis, as we have noticed, wrote in Sanskrit a treatise on *Rājanīti*. It is a Maratha work but based professedly on Sanskrit *Nītiśāstras* and is to be regarded as a *Nibandha* (digest) on this literature. It may therefore be aptly compared to another Maratha work but written not in Sanskrit, namely, the Marathi *Rājanīti* by Rāmacandrapant (1716), which we have discussed above. The tradition of Hindu political philosophy comes down therefore to the very days of Rammohun Roy (1772-1833).

The selections from the Peshwa's Diaries (*Daftar*) from Shahu to Baji Rao II[15] introduce us to writings in Marathi language from 1708 to 1817 and thus cover almost double the ground of the Persian work of the Bengali Moslem historian, the *Seir Mutaqherin* (1780). This literature of some 22,000 folio pages including the English summary brings us into contact with some of the texts bearing on the economic, political and social institutions as well as ideas of the Hindus during the eighteenth century.

It is in this *Daftar* literature that we find the accounts of administration, revenue assessment and collection, the guarding of forts, the organization of the army and the navy, the dispensation of civil and criminal justice, the public debts of the government and so on. These diaries deal likewise with the police, post, mint, prisons, charities, pensions and public works, medical relief and sanitation. The same texts describe also the measures adopted by the Maratha state in order to encourage trade and commerce as well as foster learning. We can find in these documents the evidences as to the fact that the Maratha rulers, to quote Ranade, "even went, as some might say, out of their way, in undertaking reforms of social economy with a courage which

15 Edited by K. N. Sane; Eng. transl. by J. L. Manker as *Life and Exploits of Shivāji* (Bombay 1886).

16 M. G. Ranade: "Introduction to the Peshwa's Diaries", in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1900, pp. 448-479.

is thought in these days by some to be outside the functions of the state." Naturally, therefore, as texts of Hindu positivism and secular endeavour no documents can be ranked as superior to these Marathi state diaries of the eighteenth century, kept as they were, by the responsible officers in the Peshwa's civil service.[16]

These Marathi diaries can be regarded as to a certain extent the *Nītiśāstras* of the eighteenth century. From the very nature of the case they are of course more objective, concrete, factual and realistic by all means than the Sanskrit treatises of the same name or the Marathi *Rājanīti* of Rāmacandrapant (1716). Indeed, they are objectivity or realism itself. It is these Marathi texts that enable the modern student to grasp the political ideology of the eighteenth century. One can discover in them the causes which helped the Maratha confederacy in the first half of the eighteenth century, say, down to the battle of Panipat in 1761, to spread its rule and influence over the whole of India. Nay, the points of superiority such as enabled the Marāthas to prevail over every country-power, Mussalman or Hindu, Sikh or Jat, Rohilla or Rajput, Kathis or Gujars, the Portuguese, the Nizam and Hyder of Teligana and Dravid countries are mirrored forth in those official documents.

The diary (*Daftar*) literature of the Marathas is valuable in another regard. It is in these diaries that we come across constructive social reform tendencies on the part of the Hindus. The admission of converts or Islamized Hindus back to the Hindu fold is attested. Inter-marriage is in evidence. Widow-marriage in certain cases is spoken of as well as the prohibition of the sale of girls. Last but not least, the equality of the diverse castes before law is an item with which we are made familiar in these texts. We are already talking the language of Rammohun Roy and his circle (1772-1833).[17]

Benoy Kumar Sarkar

17 G. S. Sardesai: *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar* can now (1935) be seen in fortyfive volumes, some of which are rich (Nos. 31, 32) in social data.

18 B. K. Sarkar: "Hindu Sociological Literature from Candeśvara to Rammohun (c. 1300-1833)" in the *Calcutta Review* for October 1935.

A New Uddhavadūta

The Uddhavadūta under discussion is neither the well-known composition of Śrī Rūpa Gosvāmin, nor the little-known kāvya of Mādhava Kavīndra Bhaṭṭācārya of unknown date.[1] The Uddhavadūtas written by these two writers have already come under the notice of Sanskrit scholars.[2] This note deals with a beautiful specimen of the Dūta-kāvya belonging to the last century. It gives us some idea as to how this type of literature continued to attract the interest of genuine poets and to charm the votaries of Sanskrit literature by its singular grace of diction and true beauty of conception.

Author and Date of composition

The author of this Dūta-kāvya is Rājavallabha Miśra who has also written upon it a useful commentary. The motive which actuated the author to write the Ṭikā is to bring out the subtle ideas and meanings (गभीरभावावगमाय) of his own verses.[3] It teems with quotations from the classical works of the Alaṃkāra śāstra. At the end of this Kāvya the following verse[4] occurs, giving the date of composition of the work:

अङ्कभे भेनुयुग्वर्षे पञ्चम्यामाश्विने सिते ।
काव्यमुद्धवदूताख्यं निरमाद्राजवल्लभः ॥

The first word of this śloka has been explained by the author thus अष्टादशशतोत्तरैकोननवतितमसंवत्सरे । Apparently the word वर्षे or संवत्सरे refers to the Vikrama Era because it is the most popular era in the Northern India to which our poet probably belonged. Thus the Kāvya was

1 Both these poems have been published in *Kāvya-saṃgraha*, Part II, pp. 120-170, by Bhuvana Chandra Basak, 1873, Calcutta.

2 *IHQ.*, vol. III (1927), pp. 274, 275.

3

गणेश लोकेशमहेशवन्द्यं
प्रणम्य राधेशपदारविन्दम् ।
गभीरभावावगमाय सद्यः
कुर्मः स्वक्लृप्तोद्धवदूतटीकाम् ।

4 Śloka No. 84, p. 44.

finished on the fifth day of the bright fortnight in the month of Āśvina (September-October) in the Vikrama year 1889 (i.e. 1832 A.D.).

The Poem

The poem consists of 85 verses in all; the last two verses written in anuṣṭubh metre give the date of composition and describe the object of this work. The remaining 83 verses are chiefly concerned with the description of the theme. Unlike the majority of poems belonging to this type, this Uddhava-dūta has been mostly written in the शिखरिणी metre, excepting the last two verses. In this he has followed Rūpa Gosvāmn who employed also शिखरिणी metre in his *Haṃsa-dūta* with great success.[5]

Subject-matter of the poem

The subject-matter of this *Sandeśa-kāvya* has been taken from the life of Śrī Kṛṣṇa—a constant source of inspiration to poets. The poem opens with Uddhava seated under the canopy of five branches of the kadamba tree and surrounded by the young Gopīs of Vṛndāvana. The ladies naturally became exceedingly pleased to find their dear Kṛṣṇa and took the opportunity to give vent to their pent-up feelings of deep anguish and great remorse at the indifference of their once most beloved companion and began to utter bitter reproaches to the familiar scenes and objects of the Vṛndā groves. The Gopīs' lament begins in verse 3 and extends up to the 16th verse. Their reproaches are directed at first to the mount Govardhana (3), to the cuckoo (4 and 5), to cloud (6-8), to the river Yamunā (9), to the black bee (10), to the animals of the forest like the deer and peacock (11), to the mango tree (12) and lastly to the Vṛndāvana itself which was once the scene of their confidential talks and meandering walks. This wail of the ladies moved Uddhava who was deeply pained at finding the love of the Gopīs disregarded by his own companion. But he must perform his duty and this he did in no mincing terms. He gave them the message of true and noble love which always becomes, in spite of physical separation, firmly fixed

5 Vide *Kāvya-saṃgraha*, Part II, pp. 171-197.

and greatly developed in intensity under such trying circumstances (19). After this, Uddhava returned to Mathurā where he gave to Kṛṣṇa a full and glowing description of the noble sentiments of the Vraja Gopīs and of the deep agony of their heart due, as it was, to cold indifference shown to them by his friend. This speech of Uddhava forms the main body of this Kāvya and extends from 21st to 82nd verse. The description of Gopīs' condition had its own desired effect upon Kṛṣṇa's mind, who was deeply touched by this recital (83). With this the poem comes to an end. The last two verses in anuṣṭubh metre contain the name of the poet, the date of composition and the purpose for which the poem came to be written.

Merits and Demerits

This is, in brief, the contents of the poem from which the readers will obtain some idea of the excellent conception and charming description contained in the poem. The earlier attempts of poets like Rūpa Goswāmn and others are quite successful in depicting the true and noble emotion of the ladies of Vṛndāvana but this enterprise on the part of our author is no less successful and differs much in details from the previous attempts in this line. We feel confident that our author has achieved an eminent success in placing before his readers his own conception of true love and in describing the noble emotions of human heart when separated from one who is truly lovable. The message of Kṛṣṇa when addressed to Gopīs in these simple words contains the philosophy, as it were, of Platonic love :—

वियोगः शारीरः स खलु हृदयासक्तिकरणो
दृढप्रेम्णो हेम्नः सदसदुपवीक्षानिकषणः ।
स च प्रेमा क्षेमाकर इति मतो धीरनिकरैः
स च क्षेमः प्रोक्तः परमपुरुषार्थादनितरः ॥

The manner of describing the inner feelings of these Gopīs is truely poetic and it is so such surcharged with विप्रलम्भरस that it cannot but touch the heart of true सहृदय. At times, these ladies lay bare before their hearers their deep pang of separation due to the simultaneous mal-treatment received from the moon and Love; at another time they administer very severe scoldings to their old companion of the Vṛndā forest, who now having attained to a position

at once supreme and royal, has been found wanting in the discharge of his noble duty towards his once very dear and devoted friends. The reason assigned by our poet to the Moon and Lord Cupid for their ill-treatment of these ladies is truly poetic:

भवद्गृह्या मत्वा कुसुमविशिखो नः प्रहरति
पराभूतः कान्त्या तव जगदनन्याश्रयजुषा ।
तव श्यालश्चन्द्रस्तपति किरणैर्नः स्वभगिनी-
द्विषन्मन्नी नो वारयसि कितवागच्छसि न किम् । (v. 31, p. 17).

A fine satire on the kingly life of Kṛṣṇa is contained in the following verse:

न कुञ्जेष्वास्या ते वयमभिसरामः सपदि यां
न शृणुमः पीयूषप्रजयि मुरलीस्वानमपि वा ।
इदानीं प्रासादे वससि शृणुमो यं जिगमिषून्
जनान् दत्त्वार्द्धेन्दुं परिभवति दौवारिकगणः ॥ (v. 49, p. 26)

How the mere mention of the name Mādhava produces a curious effect upon the agitated mind of the ladies of Vṛndāvana has been very charmingly expressed in the following verse:

श्रुते मासेऽप्याल्याः सखि समुदितो माधव इति
दशौ दिग्द्वादिक्षुंश्चकितचकिताः पङ्कजदृशः ।
अथो दृष्ट्वा कूजत्पिकमधुकरं पुष्पितवनं
रुषा प्रोचुस्तान्ता व्रणलवणयोगं कलयसि । (v. 58, p. 31)

Kṛṣṇa is, in fact, the rain-giving cloud because in his absence the whole of Vraja appears to be engulfed in a curious sort of calamity:

नतभ्रूसस्याली विरहदहनावग्रहयुता-
तरङ्गा कालिन्दी न च शिखिगणो नृत्यति मुदा ।
वनाली व्यालीढा हरिविरहदावेन परुषा
व्रजं सर्वं दावोऽभिभवति विना कृष्णजलदम् । (v. 38)

The verses quoted above will give an idea of our author's poetical talents and will show that the poem is of real worth as a beautiful specimen of Sandeśa-kāvya. But the beauty of the poem[6] has been

6 The poem was published by Pandit Nṛsiṃha Datta under the order of H. H. Maharaja of Benares (1881, Benares). The references above are to this edition of the work, which is the earliest and the only edition known to the writer.

marred here and there by occasional use of certain words which, though grammatically correct, are unusual and rare in our literature. Only a few words of this type are mentioned below:

(i) इति श्रुत्वा गोपीप्रलपितमतोपीद्धरिजनो
(अतोपीत्=नाशितवान् from √तुप् हिंसायाम्)

(ii) मनोमीनं दीनं प्रणयवडिशाकर्षविवशं
कृपालुः प्रख्यातः क्षिपसि परिवाणे शमपथे ।(v. 17)
(परिवाणे=शुष्क from √ओ वै शोषणे ।
ओदित्त्वात् निष्ठातस्य नः । कृत्यच इति णत्वम्)

(iii) यदारम्भो मोदं कलयसि परीणामविषमम् ।
(परीणामम्=परिणामम्)

(iv) हते कंसे कामः पुनरपि च कंस्ते सहचरीः ।
(कंस्ते=पीडयति from √कसि गतिशातनयोः)

In spite of certain irregularities in use and formation of certain words, the book as a whole is an interesting piece of composition and it will not, I hope, fail to find a suitable place in a complete history of Dūta-kāvyas when it comes to be written in near future.

BALADEVA UPADHYAYA

The Buddhist Manuscripts at Gilgit

This is the fourth Gilgit manuscript examined by me in Kashmir.[1] It is a very small ms. consisting of 22 leaves written on birch-bark in clear upright Gupta characters of the sixth century A. D. The condition of the ms. is good. The scribe must have been a poor Sanskritist for the ms. bristles with numerous mistakes even in spelling. The treatise contains two dhāraṇīs. The first is entitled एकादशमुखं नाम हृदयम् (vide leaf 1 b, l. 4) which in the Tibetan translation appears in a fuller form as आर्य अवलोकितेश्वर एकादशमुखं नाम हृदयम् with the following Tibetan translation: འཕགས་ པ་སྤྱན་ རས་གཟིགས་ དབང་ ཕྱུག་ཞལ་ བཅུ་གཅིག་པ་ཅེས་ བྱ་བའི་གཟུངས། (Kanjur, rgyud, pha, f. 410 b).

The Tibetan version follows our text up to verse 11(a) and after a few concluding remarks closes the *Dhāraṇī*. Our text also puts here the words एवं मूलमन्त्रः। Evidently the mantras appearing after these words were additions made later on, and they look like general ritualistic directions to be carried out after the utterance of the main mantra. They are स्नानोपस्पृशनवस्त्राभ्युत्क्षिपण-मन्त्रः ; धूपदीपनिवेदन-मन्त्रः ; गन्धपुष्पदीपनिवेदनमन्त्रः ; वलिनिवेदनमन्त्रः ; होममन्त्रः। Then follows the second dhāraṇī entitled हयग्रीवविद्या which in Tibetan is entitled अवलोकितेश्वर-हयग्रीवधारणी। As we propose to deal with this dhāraṇī in detail in a future issue, we have reproduced here the Sanskrit text only just as it appears in the ms.

In Nanjio's *Catalogue*, two texts are mentioned with the title Ekādaśamukham, one (No. 321) a translation of Yaśogupta (A.D. 557-581) and the other of Hiuen-tsang (A.D. 656). In the Tokyo edition of the Tripiṭaka, these two appear in vol. XX, under the titles: No. 1070: 十 一 面 觀 世 音 神 呪 經 No. 1071: 十 一 面 神 呪 心 經

The Chinese texts also follow the Tibetan in extent, closing the text with the *mūlamantra*, which appears in these in Chinese transcript.

From the Chinese rendering of the word *dhāraṇī* by 神 呪 it is evident that it meant *ṛddhimantra*, a magical charm. The *dhāraṇī*, as the term implies, was, in fact, a mantra written on a brich-bark or palm-leaf and put within an amulet to be worn by a person to avert evils. This interpretation is fully supported by the present ms., verse 19b, l. 1.

The edition offered here is wholly a tentative one with a view to acquaint the readers with the contents of a ms. which otherwise would have remained locked up in the Kashmir Secretariat.

एकादशमुखम्

1 (a)

१ ओं नमः सर्वबुद्धबोधिसत्त्वेभ्यः ॥ [1]एवं मया श्रु[तमेक-]
२ समये भगवांच्छ्रावस्त्यां विहरति स्म करी[रीम-]
३ ण्डले च[1] । अथ खल्वार्यावलोकितेश्वरो बोधिस[त्त्वो]
४ महासत्त्वोऽनेकविद्याधरकोटीनियुतशतसंह[स्रे ण]

(b)

१ परिवृतो[2] येन भगवांस्तेनोपसंक्रामदुपसंक्रम्य भगव-
२ तः पादौ शिरसा वन्दित्वा भगवन्तं प्रदक्षिणीकृत्वा[3] [ए]का
३ न्ते न्यसीद्[4] भगवन्तमेतदवोचत् । इदं मम भग-
४ वन्नेकादशमुखं नाम [5]हृदयमेकादशभिः [कल्पको][6]

1...1 Tib. has no corresponding passage. Cf. *Dīgha Nikāya*, II, p.1: Ekaṃ samayaṃ Bhagavā Sāvatthiyaṃ viharati Jetavane Kareri-Kuṭikāyaṃ...Kareri-maṇḍala-māḷe.

2 རིག་ སྔགས་ འཆང་ དུ་ མས་ ཡོངས་སུ་ བསྐོར་ ཏེ

3 བཅོམ་ལྡན་ འདས་ཀྱི་ཞབས་ལ་ ལ་ ལན་ གསུམ་ etc. = भगवतः पादौ त्रिःप्रदक्षिणीकृत्वा

4 འདུག་ སྟེ= निषद्य

5 སྙིང་ པོ་ གདོང་ བཅུ་ གཅིག་ པ་ ཞེས་ བགྱི་ བ .

6 བྱ་ བ་ ཕྲག་ བཅུ་ གཅིག་ གིས་ གསུངས་ པ་ ལགས་ ཏེ

2 (a)

१ टीभिर्भाषितम् । अहं चेत्तर्हि भाषिष्यामि सर्व[सत्त्वाना-]
२ मर्थाय हिताय सुखाय[7] सर्वव्याधिप्रश[म-]
३ नाय सर्वपापालक्ष्मीदुःस्वप्नप्रतिनिवारणा,
४ य सर्वाकालमृत्युप्रतिनिवारणाय अप्रसादानां

(b)

१ प्रसादनाय सर्वविघ्नविनायकानां[8] प्रशमनाय । ना[हं]
२ भगवन् समनुपश्यामि सदेवके लोके समारके
३ सब्रह्मके सश्रमणब्राह्मणिकायाः प्रजाया
४ यदनेन हृदयेन रक्षे कृते[9] परित्रे[10] परिग्र[हे शा]

3 (a)

१ न्तिस्वस्त्ययने[11] दण्डपरिहरे शस्त्रपरिहरे विष[प्रहा][12]
२ णे कृते यः कश्चिदतिक्रमे[त्] न प्रशमे[त्] नेदं [स्था]
३ नं विद्यते[13] स्थाप्य पौराणां[14] कर्म विपच्यते । [15]तद्-
४ स्य च कल्पयतोऽभिश्रद्दधतः सर्वेण सर्वं न भवि-

7 སྨན་པ་ Tib. omits हिताय सुखाय

8 བགེགས་ དང་ ལོག་ འདྲེན་ རྣམས་ cf. S. C. Das, Tib. Dict., p. 1223.

9 སྲུང་ བར་ བགྱི་ར་

10 ཡོངས་སུ་ བསྐྱབ་ པ་= परित्राणे

11 ཞི་བ་ དང་ བདེ་ལེགས་ འགྱུར་ བར་ བགྱིས་པ་

12 དག་ གཞིལ་ ན་ བགྱིས་ པ

13 यः...न विद्यते= གང་ ལ་ ལ་ ཞིག་ འགལ་ བར་ བགྱིད་ པ་དེ་མ་ མཆིས་ ཏེ །

14 སྔོན་ གྱི་ ལས་ ཀྱི་རྣམ་པར་ སྨིན་ པ = पूर्वकर्मणां विपाकं

(b)

१ ष्यति[15] । [16]सर्वबुद्धस्तुतः समन्वाहृतोऽयं हृदयं सर्वत-
२ थागतानुमोदितोऽयं हृदयम्[16] । स्मराम्यहं भगवं
३ गङ्गानदीवालुकासमानां कल्पानां परेण [17]श-
४ तपद्मनयनचूडा प्रति[illegible]वेलाकिरण [राजा]

4 (a)

१ नाम तथागतस्य । मया तथागतस्यान्ति [के]
२ श्रुतमयं हृदयं उद्गृहीतं [च] ।[18] इह प्रतिलंभे[न]
३ दशसु दिक्षु सर्वतथागताः सुमुखीभूता अनुत्प-
४ त्तिकधर्मक्षान्तिप्रतिलब्धाः । एवं बहुकरोयं हृ-

(b)

१ दयं तस्मात्तर्हि श्राद्धेन कुलपुत्रेण वा कुलदुहित्रा वा
२ सत्कृत्यायं हृदयं साधयितव्यम् । अनन्यमनसा नि-
३ त्यं साधयितव्यम् । कल्यमुत्थाय अष्टोत्तरवारशतं
४ प्रवर्तयितव्यम् । दृष्टधर्मिका गुणा दश परिगृही[तव्याः] ।

5 (a)

१ कतमे दश । यदुत निर्व्याधिर्भविष्यति । सर्व[तथागतै[:]
२ परिगृहीतश्च भविष्यति । धनधान्यहिरण्या[भर-]

15...15 It is not in Tib.

16...16 སྙིང་པོ་ འདི་ ནི་ སངས་ རྒྱས་ བཅོམ་ ལྡན་ འདས་ ཐམས་ ཅད་ ཀྱིས་ བསྟོད་ ཅིང་ དགོངས་ པ་ ལགས་ སོ་ །

17 སྤྱན་ གཙུག་ གིས

18 གཅེས་ བདག་ གི་ སྙིང་ པོ་ འདི་ ནི་ དེ་ བཞིན་ གཤེགས་ པ་ ཐམས་ ཅད་ཀྱིས་ རྗེས་སུ་ཐུགས་ རངས་ པར་ མཛད་པ་ ལགས་ སོ །

३ णमस्य अक्षयं भविष्यति । सर्वशत्रवो वश्या
४ अवमर्दिता भविष्यन्ति । राजसभायां प्रथममालपि-

(b)

१ तव्यं मंस्यति । न विषं न गरं न ज्वरं न शस्त्रं काये क्रमिष्य-
२ ति । नोदकेन कालं करिष्यति । नाग्निना कालं करिष्यति ।
३ नाकालमृत्युं नाकालश्च करिष्यति । अपरे चत्वारो
४ गुणानुशंसा उद्ग्रहीष्यति । मरणकाले तथा[गतद-]

6 (a)

१ र्शनं भविष्यति । न चापायेषूपपत्स्यते न [विघ्ना-]
२ परिहारेण कालं करिष्यति । इतश्च्युतः सुखा-
३ वत्यां लोकधातावुपपत्स्यते । स्मराम्यहं भग-
४ वन्ति दशानां गङ्गानदीवालुकासमानां कल्पा-

(b)

१ नां ततः परेण परतरेण मन्दारवगन्धो नाम तथाग-
२ तोऽभूत् । तत्र मया[19] गृहपरिभूतेनायमुद्गृहीतम् । च-
३ त्वारिंशत् कल्पसहस्राणि संसारान्[20] पृष्ठान्मुखी-
४ कृतानि । एष च मया हृदयं प्रवर्तित्वा स[र्वस्मि-][21]

7 (a)

१ न् करुणायनज्ञानगर्भबोधिसत्त्वविमोक्षं प्र[तिल-]
२ ब्धम् । ये बन्धनबद्धा ये बध्यप्राप्ता
३ ये उदकाग्निविविधदुःखाभ्या-
४ हता तदनेनाहं सर्वसत्त्वानां लयनं त्राणं श-

19 ཁྱིམ་པར་གྱུར་པས་

20 Ms. संसारां

21 ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི་སྙིང་རྗེ་འཇུག་པ=करुणायन

(b)

१ रणं परायणं भवामि । यत्[22] [illegible]राक्षसाना-
२ मनेन[23] हृदयेण कर्षित्वा [illegible] [न्][24] द[illegible]
३ कृत्वानुत्तरायां सम्यक्संबोधौ प्रतिष्ठा-
४ पयामि एवं महर्द्धिकोयं[25] मम भगवन् हृ[दयं]

8 (a)

१ एकवेलां प्रकाशित्वा[26] चत्वारो मूलापत्तयः क्ष[यं]
२ गच्छन्ति पञ्चानन्तर्याणि कर्माणि निरवयवं तन्वी
३ चरिष्यन्ति । कः पुनर्वादो[27] यथाभाषितं प्रतिपत्स्य-
४ न्ति । अनेकबुद्धशतसहस्रावरोपितकुशल-

(b)

१ मूलं भविष्यति ये श्रोष्यन्ति प्रागेव जपसाधनादिभिः । स-
२ र्वमनोरथं परिपूरयिष्यामि यश्च[28] चतुर्दशीपं-
३ चदशी[29] मामुद्दिश्य [30]उपवसति । चत्वारिंशकल्पस
४ हस्राणि संसारात्[31] पश्चान्मुखीकरिष्यन्ति । तेन ना[मधे-

9 (a)

१ यमपि ग्रहणेन भगवन् सह सोयं बुद्धकोटीनियुत[शतस-]
२ . हस्रातिरेकसमम् । मम नामधेयग्रहणेन [स-]

22 Ms. ॰यः   23 Ms. मनया   24 Ms. ॰चित्ता

25 Tib. རྫུ་འཕྲུལ་ཆེ་བ

26 ལན་ཅིག་བརྗོད་པས

27 The meaning becomes clear if the words तेषां ये are inserted after पुनर्वादो.

28 It would have been better if यश्च could be replaced by तेषां ये च.

29 In Sanskrit it should be चतुर्दश्यां पञ्चदश्यां.

30 བདག་གི་སྐད་དུ

३ र्वसत्त्वाश्चावैवर्त्तिकत्त्वं प्रसवन्ति। सर्वव्याधिभिः [प-]
४ रिमुच्यन्ते। सर्वावरणेभ्यः सर्वभयेभ्यः सर्वकायवा-

(b)

१ ङ्मनोदुःश्चरितेभ्यः परिमोक्ष्यन्ते। तेषामेव करतलगता बुद्ध-
२ बोधिर्भविष्यति। भगवानाह। साधु साधु कुलपुत्र यत्
३ सर्वसत्त्वानामन्तिके एवंरूपा महाकरुणा शक्ष्य-
४ सि त्वं कुलपुत्रः अनेनोपायेन सर्वसत्त्वाना[मनुत्तरा-]

10 (a)

१ यां सम्यक्संबोधौ प्रतिष्ठापयितुम्। उद्गृहीतं च [मया]
२ हृदयमनुमोदितम्। भाषध्वं कुलपुत्र। ततः ख-
३ ल्वार्यावलोकितेश्वरो बोधिसत्त्वो उत्थायासनादे-
४ कांसमुत्तरासङ्गं कृत्वा भगवतश्चरणयोः प्र-

(b)

१ णिपत्य इदं [illegible]र्तयति स्म ॥
नमो रत्नत्रया-
२ य नमो वैरोचनाय[32] तथागताय[33] नम आर्यावलो-
३ कितेश्वराय बोधिसत्त्वाय महासत्त्वाय महा-
४ कारुणिकाय[34] नमः अ[illegible]नागतप्रत्युत्प[न्नेभ्यः]

11 (a)

१ सर्वतथागतेभ्योऽर्हद्भ्यः सम्यक्संबुद्धेभ्यः ॐ [धर धर धिरि धिरि][35]
२ धुरु धुरु इट्टे विट्टे चले चले प्रचले प्रचले [कुसुमे][36]

31 Ms. संसारा

32 Tib. नम आर्यज्ञानसागरवैरोचनबुद्धराजाय

33 Tib. adds अर्हते सम्यक्संबुद्धाय—नमः सर्वतथागतेभ्यः अर्हद्भ्यः सम्यक्संबुद्धेभ्यः

34 Tib. adds तद्यथा ॐ.

35 Supplied from Tibetan.

36 Supplied from Tibetan.

३ कुसुमवरे इलि मिलि त्रिटि[37] स्वाहा ॥

एवं मूलमन्त्रः[38] ॥

४ नमो रत्नत्रयाय। नम आर्यावलोकिते-

(b)

१ श्वराय बोधिसत्त्वाय महासत्त्वाय। तद् यथा हा [हा हा] हा

२ इमे तिले चिले भिले खिले स्वाहा ॥ स्नानोपस्पृशन

३ वस्त्राभ्युक्षिपणमन्त्रः सप्तजापेन ॥

नमो रत्नत्र-

४ याय। नम आर्यावलोकितेश्वराय बोधिसत्त्वा[य म-]

12 (a)

१ हासत्त्वाय। तद्यथा टुरु टुरु हा हा हा हा स्वाहा ॥ धू [पदी]-

२ पनिवेदनमन्त्रः ॥

नमो रत्नत्रयाय। नम आर्या-

३ वलोकितेश्वराय बोधिसत्त्वाय महासत्त्वाय।

४ तद्यथा थिरि थिरि धिरि धिरि स्वाहा ॥ गन्धपु-

(b)

१ ष्पदीपनिवेदनमन्त्रः ॥

नमो रत्नत्रयाय। नम आर्यावलो-

२ कितेश्वराय बोधिसत्त्वाय महासत्त्वाय महाका-

३ रुणिकाय। तद्यथा सादे सादे सिदि सिदि सुद्ध सु-

४ द्ध स्वाहा ॥ बलिनिवेदनमन्त्र एकविंशतिजापेन ॥ न-

37 Tib. चितिज्वलमवनय

38 The Tibetan rendering finishes up the text here by a few concluding remarks about the merits of the mantra, mentioning the title at the end.

13 (a)

१ मो रत्नत्रयाय । नम आर्यावलोकितेश्वराय [बोधिस-]
२ त्त्वाय महासत्त्वाय महाकारुणिकाय । तद्यथा
३ मसिद्धसि चरि हुरु इचुरुः सुरुः मुरुः स्वा-
४ हा ।। होममन्त्रः ।। अनेन मन्त्रेण ज्ञातीनाष्टै (?) रश्मिं प्रज्वा-

(b)

१ ल्य दधिमधुघृताभ्यक्तानामहोरात्रोषितेन एकेन तृश-
२ ता होमः कार्यः ततः कर्म समारभेत् ।।

नमो रत्नत्रया-

३ य नम आर्यावलोकितेश्वराय बोधिसत्त्वाय महा-
४ सत्त्वाय महाकारुणिकाय । तद्यथा इलि मिलि

14 (a)

१ तिलि तिलि हिलि स्वाहा ।। दिशाबन्ध उदकने [× ×]
२ [र्वा] भस्मना वा सप्तजापेन ।।

नमो रत्नत्रयाय । न-

३ म आर्यावलोकितेश्वराय बोधिसत्त्वाय महास-
४ त्त्वाय महाकारुणिकाय । तद्यथा पिटि पिटि तिटि ति-

(b)

१ टि विटि विटि गच्छ गच्छ भगवानार्यावलोकितेश्वर स्वभव-
२ नं स्वभवनं स्वाहा ॥ उदके सप्तवारा परिजप्य चतु-
३ र्दिशं क्षिपे आर्यावलोकितेश्वर गच्छ स्वभवनम् ॥

हयग्रीवविद्या

४ नमो रत्नत्रयाय । नम आर्यावलोकितेश्व-

15 (a)

१ राय बोधिसत्त्वाय महासत्त्वाय महाकारुणिकाय ।
२ नमः सर्वसत्त्वव्यसनघातिने । नमः सर्वसत्त्वभय-
३ प्रशमनकराय । नमः सर्वसत्त्वभयोत्तारणा-
४ कराय । नमः सर्वविद्याधिगताय । नमः सर्वविद्या-

(b)

१ विधिगतमूर्तये महाकारुणिकाय । नमो महाविद्या-
२ राजप्राप्तये महायोगिने । तस्मै नमस्कृत्वा इ-
३ दमार्यावलोकितेश्वरमुखोद्गीर्णं वज्रधरमहीयं
४ हयग्रीवं नाम परमहृदयमावर्तयिष्यामि [स]-

16 (a)

१ र्वकर्मार्थसाधकं असह्यं सर्वभूतानां यक्षाणां च [ना]-
२ शकं अमोघं सर्वकर्मणां विषाणाम् । तद्यथा
३ ॐ तरुल तरुल विरुल विरुल सर्वविषघा-
४ तक ज्वलितविस्फुलिङ्गाट्टहास केसराटोपप्रवृद्ध-

(b)

१ वेग वज्रखुरनिर्घातक चलितवसुधातल निःश्वसितह-
२ सितमारुतोत्क्षिप्तधरणीधर परभृतगणसमूह-
३ विक्षोभणकर परविद्यासंभक्षणकर सर्वग्राहो-
४ न्मादनकर परमशान्तिकर सर्वग्रहप्रशमनकर

17 (a)

१ बुध्य बुध्य धाव धाव च भगवा हयग्रीव खाद खाद प[रमं]
२ त्रां रक्ष रक्ष क्षमस्व क्षमस्व म
३ याभिहितां मन्त्रां सिद्धिं मे दिश आविश आविश
४ घोरपिशाच सर्वग्रहेष्वप्रतिहतोपम वरवज्र-

(b)

१ दंष्ट्र किं चिरापयसि इदं दुष्टग्रहं दुष्टसत्त्वं दुष्टपिशा-
२ चं वा अधुन विधुन कम्प कम्प मथ मथ प्रमथ प्र-
३ मथ । तथागताज्ञां पालय बुद्धधर्मसंघानुज्ञा-
४ तं मे कर्म शीघ्रं कुरु कुरु मा विलम्ब हयग्री[वा]-

18 (a)

१ य फट् वज्रखुराय फट् वज्रदंष्ट्राय फट् ॥ वज्रद
२ तुफट् भयभैरवाय फट् ॥ परविद्यासंभक्षणाय
३ फट् ॥ परमन्त्रविनाशकाय फट् ॥ सर्वग्रहो-
४ त्सादकाय फट् ॥ सर्वविषघातकाय फट् ॥ सर्व-

(b)

१ ग्रहेष्वप्रतिहताय फट् ॥ वडवामुखाय फट् ॥ सर्व-
२ ग्रहपिशाचान् मे वशमानय । यावन्तो मम
३ अहितैषिणः तान् सर्वान् वडवामुखे
४ न निकृन्तय फट् ॥
नमो नम आर्यावलोकितेश्वराय

19 (a)

१ बोधिसत्त्वाय महासत्त्वाय । सिध्यन्तु मम
२ स्या मंत्रपदा हयग्रीवो भगवां आज्ञा [प]
३ यति स्वाहा ॥ अयं हयग्रीवविद्या आज्ञापित
४ सिद्धः उपचारः आत्मरक्षाजापेन पररक्षा पंच

(b)

१ रंगी सूत्रं एकविंशतिग्रन्थाय कृत्वा बन्धितव्यं यावजी-
२ वं रक्षा कृता भवति डाइनीग्रहगृहीतस्य प्रति-
३ कृतिं कृत्वा पिण्डशस्त्रेण छेतव्या सर्वपरकृता मंत्रा-
४ श्छिन्ना भवन्ति सर्वशत्रुस्तंभनं मनसा व्यवहारे सु-

20 (a)

१ खं मुखे कृत्वा विद्या जप्तव्या उत्तरायति स्पृष्टावेशन
२ स्नातं शुचिवस्त्रप्रावृतं शुचौ प्रदेशेषु मनसा [ ]
३ बद्ध्वा आवेशये शुक्लवलिर्यथालंभेन ॥ चन्द्रग्र-
४ हे सूर्यग्रहे घृतं ताम्रभाजने कृत्वा ताव जपेद्या

(b)

१ वचन्द्र मुक्तो भवति तं घृतं पिवे मेधावी भवति एकेनो
२ द्देशेन श्लोकशतमुद्गृह्णाति ।। पद्मां (?) जुहेधतम
३ क्षयं भवति ।। अथ साधितुमिच्छेन् । तृणमयं लो-
४ केश्वर प्रतिमा कर्त्तव्या दक्षिणेनार्यवज्रधरः वा[मे]

21 (a)

१ नार्यावलोकितेश्वरः त्रिमूर्त्ति कार्याः सर्वोपरि वडव
२ मुखः परविद्या संभक्षण ।। तस्याग्रतः अयं
३ हयग्रीवो विद्या राज्ञा अष्टसहस्रं जपेत् । ततः
४ सर्वकर्माणि कुर्या[द]ष्टावेशनं गुग्गुलधूपेन स-

(b)

१ ततजापेन सर्वकार्या शीघ्रं भवति सर्वडाइनी दुष्टमा-
२ त्रा वशीभवन्ति भस्मना सर्षपेण उदकेन सप्त
३ जप्तेन रक्षा कर्त्तव्या सीमाबद्धः कृतो भवति सर्व
४ मुद्रामोक्षणं उदकेन वशीकरणं फलपुष्पाद्यैः

22 (a)

१ अयं पठित सिद्धा असाधित [एव सर्व कर्मा[णि कु]
२ रुते ।।०।।

ANOTHER DHĀRAṆI

नमो बुद्धाय संघाय । नमश्च ॐ वज्रपाण
३ ये महायक्षसेनापतये । तद्यथा उग्राय स्वाहा ।। अति उ
४ ग्राय स्वाहा । उग्रप्रियाय स्वाहा। [अति] उग्रप्रियाय स्वाहा ।।

(b)

१ उग्रक्रोधनाय स्वाहा अत्युग्रक्रोधनाय स्वाहा वज्ररोषणाय
२ स्वाहा । रोषप्रशमनाय स्वाहा । प्रहरणी वज्रह-
३ वणी अष्ट्ये वष्ट्ये वह्ने निहसे स्वाहा महारक्षय ।

NALINAKSHA DUTT

1 For the previous ms., see *IHQ.*, vol. IX, pp. 567-575.

MISÇELLANY

Alexander and Alexandria in Indian Literature

The Indian æsthetics, primarily based on imagination, excludes from art all positive appeal to reality. We know from the Greco-Roman evidences to what a large degree there had been commercial exchange between India and the Hellenic West. The Indian literature has, however, lost all memory of it. The name of Alexander the Great which has maintained the same prestige in the traditions of the Near East as in those of the West has not yet been discovered even in a single Indian text. Towards the middle of the 3rd cent. B.C., however, the inscriptions of the Emperior Aśoka mention a Greek king called Alexander whose reign in that era was contemporaneous with that of Antiochus, Ptolemy, Antigonus and Magas. He might have been either Alexander of Epirus (272-255), or Alexander of Corinth (252-244). We learn from the Edict XIII preserved on the North-Western frontier at Shahbazgarhi, Mansehra and at Kalsi in the upper valley of the Ganges that this name was rendered, at least according to the official usage of India, as *Alikasudara* (north-west) and *Alikyasudala* (Kālsi). If we take into account the tendency, natural to all people and particularly to the Indian mind, to interpret the foreign names in a pejorative sense, it would be tempting to discover in this seeming transcription two Sanskrit words—*alīka* and *sundara* "the unreal handsome man." The substitution of the vowel *u* for *a* of *sandros* then does not seem to be accidental. *Sandros* might have very well suggested also Sanskrit *candra* "the moon" and in fact the Indian monarch who conquered the Indian provinces of the empire of the Macedonian after his departure and subsequent death bears the name of Candragupta which the Greek and Latin historians generally render either as Sandracottos or some analogous form. A notice of Hesychius of which A. W. Schlegel had pointed out the importance from the very dawn of Indian studies (*Indische Bibliothek*, II, p. 296, Bonn 1823) suggests a very peculiar application of this equivalence. Under the word Sandarophágos, Hesychius writes.—"Sandarophagos; the river had its name changed

by Alexander and was called Akesines." One can easily imagine what had passed. The name of Candrābhāgā normally sounded Sandrophágos in the ears of the Greek soldiers. This equivalence in the time of Alexander is attested by a number of transcriptions. Sandrophágos meant "devour (Ale)xander"—an omen which was dangerous for the men who were already on the way of demoralisation. But fortunately Candrabhāgā bears another name since very early times, which is preserved in the religious texts; it is Asiknī 'the black'. The omen is therefore easily corrected and Asiknī becomes through an easy metathesis Akesin- which means 'the cure'. Alexander is saved, so also the morale of the army.

I believe the echo of the name of Alexander can be still discovered, nine centuries later, in the play on words in the work of an author who had fascination for it. In the *Harṣacarita*, the romantic biography of his royal patron, written without doubt about 630 A.D., Bāṇa describes the princes at the court of Harṣa who talk of undertaking a conquest of the world. They recall the fabulous heroes who had succeeded in doing it and place in contrast the less ambitious rulers who stopped in the midst of their exploits. "*Yudhiṣṭhira*, for a king was contended with too little and tolerated everybody near him while (his brother) *Dhanañjaya* had through his victories made the world and the kingdom of the Kimpuruṣas[1] tremble. And this idle *Caṇḍakośa* who, the conqueror of the world, did not penetrate into the Kingdom of Women!" (*santuṣṭo rājā Yudhiṣṭhiro yo hy asahata samīpa eva Dhanañjaya-jaya-janita-jagatkampaḥ kimpuruṣāṇāṃ rājyam. alasaś Caṇḍakośo yo na prāvikṣat kṣmāṃ jitvā strīrājyam—Harṣacarita*, 7th *ucchvāsa*, p. 239, Bombay edition, Śaka 1814). *Alasaś Caṇḍakośa*, reduced to its thematic form, gives *alasacaṇḍakośa* and *alasacaṇḍa* cannot but evoke immediately the name of Alexander. The mention of the Kingdom of Women makes this first impression certain. In the Romance of Alexander, in the form in which Pseudo-Callisthenes has supplied the model to all east, the episode of the Amazons (chap. 25-26) marks the last step of the conqueror before his return to the west. Alexander, in

1 The name of the *Kimpuruṣas* literally means—"Are they really men?" This is the name of mythical people living to the north of the Himālaya.

a threatening letter intimates to these warriors the order for recognising his sovereignty. They gracefully submit to it but Alexander by an unique favour does not enter their territory. The message of submission which they send to the king ends, in one of the recensions of the Greek text, thus—"We have decided to remain in our territory and to obey you as our master;" in another recension as "Send us your statue so that we may render homage to it instead of yourself." Thus the spiritual allusion of Bāṇa is the only index but a sufficient index to prove that the romance of Alexander was known in India, to the literati as well as princes of the royal courts, in the 7th century A.D.

But how to explain the addition of the word *kośa* to the Sanskritised name of Alexander? As Bāṇa had separated the first element to make it an epithet meaning *alasa* 'lazy', the word *caṇḍa* only remained as the name of the king. This is a term which may appear at the beginning of a royal name: the king of Ujjayinī in the times of Buddha is Pradyota, also called *Caṇḍa Pradyota*. Aśoka, before he became the model of Buddhist piety, was known as Caṇḍa Aśoka. The royal names are as a general rule composed of two terms: *Çandra-gupta*, *Bindu-sāra*: the full name of Aśoka is *Aśoka-vardhana*. And to pass from the Macedonian period on to the times of Bāṇa, the patron of this writer, the great king generally known as Harṣa is officially called Harṣa-vardhana, and his elder brother Rājya-vardhana. It was therefore necessary to find out another word to be combined with *Caṇḍa* to form an appropriate name. And it is here that the Rabelaisian imagination of Bāṇa works. Kośa literally means 'a cover', 'a sheath', and from its are derived twenty other meanings like 'bud of a flower', 'egg' etc. One of the most usual meanings is 'treasure', 'royal treasure', 'wealth', a notion which is naturally associated with the royal majesty. But *kośa* has another current meaning—'purses', 'testicles', as in the famous list of the thirty-two signs of Buddha. Alexander would have therefore an advantage appreciated by the heroes of Rabelais and thus would be more hated for not having visited the Kingdom of Women.[2] But the title of *Caṇḍakōśa* reveals still another malice. The word *kośa* leads to another

2 We should also note that as a joke *caṇḍa* can also mean "one who has lost his hairs" (*hīnaroma*) and the "circumcised" (*dvinagnaka*).

derivative adjective *kauśika;* on the other hand its homophone *kauśika* means the descendants of the sage Kuśika. Caṇḍakauśika, the indomitable Kuśika, is the name of a muni who took part in the intrigue of the *Mahābhārata* (II, 17, 698; 19, 741). The same name is also applied to the terrible grandson of Kuśika-Viśvāmitra, the poet Kṣemīśvara, posterior to Bāṇa, has selected the title *Caṇḍakauśika* for one of his dramas in which he has presented the story of the misfortune of the virtuous king Hariścandra, tossed by the implacable wrath of Viśvāmitra. And the entire *Harṣacarita* as well as the *Kādambarī*, the other master-piece of Bāṇa, are from the beginning to the end written in a style full of double and triple meanings.

The city of Alexandria had no greater luck than that of its founder. As far as I know, not a single Brāhmaṇical text has been so far found which contains even an allusion to this great port where the trade routes from the East and the West met. Nevertheless many a pilot, many a sailor and many a merchant, natives of India, who disembarked either at Berenike or any other port of the Red Sea must have followed the caravans till the valley of the Nile and the shores of the Mediterranean—not to speak of those singular pilgrims, the benevolent missionaries, the adventurers and the story-tellers whom India had never ceased to send along the routes of the world, such as Zarmanochegas, native of Baragoza (Bharukaccha, Broach) who solemnly mounted on the pyre before the Athenians who were as much surprised as the soldiers of Alexander when Kalanos calmly proceeded to his own cremation. About these anonymous travellers there is a precious information in Photius which Lassen had already utilised (*Ind. Alt.*, 112, p. 378) but almost lost in this immense compilation it has never been properly utilised. Photius, while reviewing the works in his library, analyses (n. 242) a work of Damaskios called the *Life of Isidore* (Bios Isidorou). In this work a certain Severius is mentioned. He was born in Rome, was the Consul in 470 and later on settled down in Alexandria.[3]

"Now the Brahmins who were in Alexandria came to Severius and the latter received them with due respect. And these Brahmins living in this country lived in all purity, without using the public

3 The Greek text of Photius.

baths or exposing themselves to the people of the town. They avoided all obligations of going out and lived on dates and rice and simple water as their drink. These people were neither the Brahmins who lived in the mountains nor those who lived in the towns but they really lived these two sorts of life making themselves the middlemen between the Brahmins of the mountains and those of the cities according to the necessity of their service. On the subject of the Brahmins of the mountain they repeated what the writers have narrated, that they produce by their prayers rain and draught, remove famine, pest and other kinds of diseases as far as the destiny yields the remedy. They also said that in their country there are men with one foot, dragons of extraordinary dimensions with seven heads and other equally impossible things."

Alexandria therefore in the 5th century A.D. possessed her theosophists and such other visitors as a seat of theosophy attracted, and the information furnished by these visitors had this parálogos character which they knew how to improvise to the taste of their hosts. The information about the West which they carried to the East proceeded without doubt from the same kind of imagination.

The missionary spirit which has always animated Buddhism put them very early in touch with the Greeks. The work which is associated with the origin of a Buddhist convent in the Punjab relates the conversations of the Greek King Menander (Milinda) and a Buddhist Doctor Nāgasena. Probably composed at first in a more or less dialectal Sanskrit it has been preserved in a Pāli recension (*Milinda-pañha*, ed. Trenckner, partly translated in French by M. Louis Finot in the Series *Les Classiques de l'Orient*, 1923) and in two Chinese translations (translated into French by M. Paul Demiéville, *BEFEO.*, t. XXIV, 1924). In course of the talk Nāgasena asks the king (Trenckner, p. 82. Finot, p. 137): "Which is your native country?" Milinda replies—"It is a part of the world (or island *dvīpa*) called *Alasanda*." "What is the distance of *Alasanda* from here?" "Two hundred leagues." The corresponding passage in Chinese is as follows: (Demiéville, p. 168): "In which country is the king born?" "I am born in the country of *Ta ts'in* (Hellenised East)—the country is called *A-li-san*." "How many leagues from here is *A-li-san*?"—"Two thousand leagues." In the question that

follows Nāgasena returns to the name of *A-li-san* (Demiéville, p. 169). "Let the king try to think of the country of *A-li*." "I have thought of it."—"Let the king again think of *Ki pin* (Kásmir which is very near)." "I have thought of it." "While thinking of these countries which of them has occured to your mind more quickly?" "Both of them have occurred to me equally quickly." The Pāli version in regard to this second question has not preserved the name of Alasanda. The identity of *Alasanda* and *Alexandria* has never been questioned but there were more than one Alexandria. Rhys Davids the first translator of the *Questions of Milinda* identified it with "Alexandria (in Baktria), built on an island of the Indus." Prof. Rapson takes it to be Alexandria on the Indian Caucasus, located in the region of Charikar. M. Pelliot who has discussed the proper names of the *Milindapañha* (*Journ. Asiat.*, 1914, II, 379 seq.) from the point of view of Chinese transcriptions and M. Demiéville (p. 168 n.). have protested against these interpretations. They have reminded that the Chinese recensions twice (Demiéville, IX and XXIII) locate the birthplace of Mi-lan (Milinda) "on the sea-shore" and that consequently the place is no other than Alexandria in Egypt. This discussion could have been avoided if one had referred to another section of the *Milindapañha* (the Chinese translations stop just before this section) in which *Alasanda* is mentioned in a list of the sea-ports. "It is thus, Great King, that a wealthy Captain when he has paid all the dues at the port can sail in the great ocean and go to Vaṅga, Takkola, Cīna, Sovīra, Suraṭṭha, Alasanda, Kolapattana, Suvaṇṇabhūmi or any other port of the sea" (Trenckner, p. 359). A little before this (*ibid.*, p. 331), the name of Alasanda is mentioned among other countries: "Suppose that a contractor wants to build a big city and then people of Saka, Yavana, Cīna, Vilāta (Cilāta), Ujjeni, Bharukaccha, Kāsi, Kosala, Aparānta, Magadha, Sāketa, Suraṭṭha, Pāṭheyya, Koṭumbara, Madhurā, Alasanda, Kasmīra, Gandhāra......will come to settle there." A third list (*ibid.*, p. 327) which is shorter also mentions the name of Alasanda: Saka and Yavana, Cīna and Vilāta (Cilāta), Alasanda, Nikumba, Kāsi and Kosala, Kasmīra and Gandhāra......" It will be seen from these to what degree Alexandria was familiar to the compilers of the *Questions of Milinda*; their Alasanda was certainly the Alexandria of Egypt.

Another Buddhist work in Pāli, the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the chronicle of Ceylon, composed around the nucleus of a monastic chronicle mentions also the name of Alasanda in a curious context. During the inauguration of the Mahāthūpa, built by the king Duṭṭhagāminī in the 2nd century B.C. the monks from the whole Buddhist world come to attend the solemn function. "And from the city of the Greeks (Yona), Alasanda, the Greek (Yona) Mahā Dhammarakkhita who was a *thera* (elder) came bringing with him 3000 monks (*bhikkhus*)" (XXIX, 39). A later compiler, the author of *Thūpavaṃsa* (about 1250?). substitutes for the city of Alexandria "the monastery of Alexandria" (Alasanda-vihāra). Who could say that this interpretation was absolutely inexact?[4].

Besides these positive mentions the memory of Alexandria has survived to a very small degree. The sacred literature of the Śvetāmbara Jainas, written in Prākṛt, has preserved amongst the stereotyped lists which are abundant in it an enumeration of eatable grains (*dhānya*) pell-mell with all varieties of lentils, peas, haricots and in this list we find mention of a species called *ālisaṃdaga* (*Bhagavatī*, 6. 7; *Sthānāṅga*, 5. 3. 459; also *Daśavaikālika* and *Jambudvīpaprajñaptiṭīkā*, reference furnished by the *Abhidhāna-Rājendra* which I have not been able to verify). *Ālisaṃdaya* appears in this list after *kulattha* name of a kind of chick pea (either *cicer arietinum* or *dolichos biflorus* or *uniflorus*:

4 The name of Alexandria appears in an important work of Indian Buddhism of which the original is lost but it is preserved in a Chinese translation—it is the commentary of the *Prajñāpāramitā* which is attributed to Nāgārjuna. In chap. 3. of the Chinese translation (*Ta tche tou louen*; Tok. XX. I.. 22b, col. 6) Nāgārjuna quotes as examples of big cities—*Wou-tchi-ni*, *Fou-lou-na-po-tan*, *A-lan-tche-to-lo*, *Fou-kia-lo-p'o-to*; one can immediately recognise amongst the transcriptions the names of *Ujjayinī* and *Puṣkalāvatī*; *A-lan-tche-to-lo* 阿藍車多羅 is certainly Alexandria. The translator Kumārajīva, who was a native of Central Asia, does not know this name and he reads by an interchange of *anusvāra* *Alaṃchatra* instead of *Alachaṃtra*. A Chinese commentator of whom the notes were collected by the compiler of *Fan fan yu*, chap. 8, section XLIV, names of cities where the character 監 *kien* (=*kan*) has been substituted for 藍 *lan* (*Taishô*, LIV, p. 1038a) has thought of exercising his reason by substituting *hi* 喜 for 藍 *lan* and interpreting *a-hi* as serpent (*ahi*) and *cha-to-lo* as umbrella (*chatra*). Ahicchatra is the name of a region and a city of India but its name never occurs amongst those of great cities.

vulg. *kulith*, *kulthi*, *kurthi* etc.), and in fact the commentator Abhayadevasūri in his "Notes on the Bhagavatī" explains the word *ālisaṃdaga* thus: "a variety of *cavalaka*, according to others it is the same as *cavalaka* (*cavalaka-prakāra*, *cavalaka evanye*)". In his "Notes on the Sthānāṅga" he sides with "the others" because he simply says: *āliṣaṃdaga* (which he writes *ālisaṃdaga*) is *cavalaka*. The *cavalaka* is a variety of *chick* pea, a sort of small haricot (*vigna catjang*, *Walp.*) of which the cultivation is limited to India. It is not found at all in the Punjab, and very little in Bengal; the real zone of its cultivation is the coasts of Guzerat and Kanara. This localisation is in harmony with the name of *ālisaṃdaga* which Weber (*Ind. Stud.*, XVI, 303) did not hesitate to explain as a word derived from the name of Alexandria (aus Alexandria kommend) 'the Alexandrine.'

Another object of commerce, the coral, has been connected with the name of Alexandria. There is unique evidence of it in a work discovered in the beginning of the 20th century and about which much noise has been made since—the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra*. In Germany and in India scholars have tried to prove that it is an authentic work of Kauṭilya-Cāṇakya—the *Machiavelli* of India who also played the rôle of Richelieu because as minister of the famous Candragupta who had seen Alexander pass through India he had helped the foundation of the first great empire that India had ever known, namely the empire of the Mauryas. The *Arthaśāstra*, the political testament of Kauṭilya would thus present a picture of India of about 300 B.C. Unfortunately all the criterions, of whichever order they may be, go against such an assumption. And the coral comes in its turn to protest against it.

The 29th chapter of the *Arthaśāstra* deals with the "examination of jewels to be introduced into the royal treasury" (*kośapraveśyaratnaparīkṣā*). The coral is mentioned there just after diamond and before precious wood. The author with his customary brevity gives hardly two lines to it: "The coral is *Ālakandaka* and *Vaivarṇika*, red and ruby, the *karaṭa* and *garbhiṇikā* are to be rejected (*pravālakam ālakandakaṃ vaivarṇikaṃ ca raktaṃ padmarāgam ca karaṭagarbhiṇikāvarjam*). The two editors Shama Shastri (p. 78, 1), and Ganapati Sastri (I, 187, 1) give the same text. Ganapati adds besides a commentary (which he really borrows from Bhaṭṭasvāmin):

Pravālakam Ālakandakam: Alakando nāma Barbarakūle samudraikadeśas tatra bhavam. Vaivarṇikam: Vivarṇo nāma Yavanadvīpe samudraikadeśas tatrotpannam ca—iti dviyonikam. raktam padmarāgam ceti dvivarṇakam. karaṭagarbhiṇikāvarjam iti dvidoṣatvavacanam. Karaṭam krimijagdham garbhiṇikā sthūlamadhyam ca varjayitvā anyat pravālakam upādeyam ity artha.

"*Ālakandaka*:—*Alakanda* is a place near the ocean on the coast of Barbara; the *ālakandaka* comes from there. *Vaivarṇika*:—*Vivarṇa* is the name of a place near the ocean in the country of the Greeks; the *vaivarṇika* comes from there. The coral has therefore two origins. It has also two colours—red and ruby. The *karaṭa* and the *garbhiṇikā* are to be rejected. These indicate two defects: *karaṭa*—eaten by worms and *garbhiṇikā*—with a swelling in the centre. All other corals are to be accepted."

Thanks to Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi who has published a very interesting note on "Two Cryptic Words in the Arthaśāstra" in a local Review of which the circulation is very limited—the *Tirumalai Sri Venkatesvara*, Madras, I, 1932, p. 46 ff., we are now in possession of a commentary on this passage composed by a Buddhist monk, Bhikṣu Prabhumati,—commentary which goes back to a very early period because Buddhism disappeared from India about a thousand years ago. The Bhikṣu reads *ālakṣāndraka* and *ālakṣāndra* and instead of *Vaivarṇika* he reads *Vaivalguka* and explains these words as derived from the places of their provenance. The coast of Barbara, Barbaria of the Periplus, is the coast of Somali on the gulf of Aden where the port of Berbera still preserves the ancient name. The country of Alexandria for an Indian would be really located in that region. Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi says that the mention of Alexandria "does not materially affect the date

5 The commentary of Bhaṭṭasvāmin, as cited by M. Ramakrishna Kavi, *loc. laud.* is slightly different:

Pravālakam dviyonikam dvivarṇam dvidoṣam ca āha, pravālakam ityādi. tatra Alakandro Barbarakūle samudraikadeśaḥ; tatra jātam Ālakandrakam raktavarṇakam, Yavanadvīpe Vivarṇo nāma samudraikadeśaḥ; tatra bhavam Vaivarṇakam, tat-padmarāga-padmavarṇam, cakārāt raktam ca bhavati karaṭam krimibhir upalakṣitam, garbhiṇikā madhye sthūlā yaṣṭiḥ—The Malayalam commentary which follows Bhaṭṭasvāmin, confirms the reading *Ālakandraka* and *Alakandra* as against the reading adopted by Ganapati Sastri.

of Kauṭilya." . On the contrary it is irreconcilable with the attribution of *Arthaśāstra* to Cāṇakya.

The coral, in fact, is unknown to the entire Vedic literature. Neither Pāṇini nor Patañjali mentions the coral although these names, *prabāla (pravāḍa)*, "young branch" and particularly *vidruma*, "the strange tree," a curious formation derived from *druma*, 'tree', were of a kind to arrest the attention of a grammarian. The coral appears for the first time in works which got their final shape about the beginning of the Christian era — namely the great epics, the classical medical treatises (*Suśruta*, Sūtra xlvi, 329b sq., *Utt. t.*, xvii, 98, xvii, 24; *Bower ms.*, ii, p. 27, v. 22, p. 41, v. 300).

The explanation of this fact is furnished by Pliny in his *Hist. Natur.*, XXXII, xi:

Quantum apud nos Indicis margaritis pretium est.......tantum apud Indos curalio.........Gignitur quidem et in Rubro mari, sed nigrius,.........laudatissimum in Gallico sinu circa Stoechadas insulas et in Siculo circa Aeolias ac Drapanum...Auctoritas baccarum ejus non minus Indorum viris quoque pretiosa est, quam feminis nostris uniones Indici. Aruspices eorum vatesque imprimis religiosum id gestamen amoliendis periculis arbitrantur. Ita et decore et religione gaudent. Prius quam hoc notesceret, Galli gladios, scuta, galeas adornabant eo. Nunc tanta penuria est vendibili merce ut perquam raro cernatur in suo orbe.

"The Indians attach to corals as much value as we do to Indian pearls. There are, it is true, corals in the Red Sea but these corals are blacker than ours............ The most esteemed corals are found in the Gulf of Gall around the islands of Stoechades and in the Sea of Sicily around the Ionian Islands and the Cape of Drapanum. ... The coral grains are as much esteemed in India even by men as are the big Indian pearls by our women. Their aruspices and sages think that it is an excellent amulet for avoiding dangers, so much so that the coral is an object of decoration and also of religion for them. Before the predilection of the Indians for pearls was known, the Gallic people used to decorate their swords, shields and caskets with them. But now due to exportation it has become so rare that one can hardly see it in the country which produces it."

We find here a typical fact regarding the economic world which the Indo-Greek trade had created. The very recent competition of the Indian buyers in the first century of the Christian era had diverted a product of the Mediterranean world to the Eastern markets. This is why the sailor merchant, who had composed the *Periplus* about the time when Pliny lived, does not fail to notice that the corals were exported from Egypt to the region from Aden (Ss. 28) on the coast of Barbara (Ss. 39) to Baragoza, (*Bharukaccha*) and to Ozene (*Ujjayinī*) in Limyrike i.e. to Malabar (Ss. 56). The information which Pliny had gathered about the price attached to coral in India is in complete agreement with what we find in the texts: The *Rājanighaṇṭu*, XIII, teaches that "the coral brings virility and grace" (*vīryakāntikara*) and the *Madanapālanighaṇṭu*, IV, declares with still greater precision that the coral "supplies nourishment, force and grace, increases the power and genital semens" (*puṣṭikāntibalakaraṃ vardhanam balaśukrayoḥ*). The mention of Alakasāndraka coral, as we see, is an information of exceptional value.

As the romantic story of Alexander had penetrated into India in the 7th century an enigmatic passage of the account of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuan Tsang can now be explained in this light. He visited India between 630 and 644 and became the guest of King Harṣa Śīlāditya during the first few months of the year 643. He had gathered on his way still very vague information about Persia and introduced in his *Memoirs on the Western Countries* a notice on that kingdom (Julien, II, 178-180). In this connection he mentions Fu-lin (Rum, the Roman Empire) "contiguous to this country in the North-West." The notice ends thus:

"In an island situated to the South-West of the Kingdom of Fu-lin is found the Kingdom of Women of the West. Only women are found there and not a single man. This country contains a large number of rare and precious objects which are sold in the country of Fu-lin. This is why the king of Fu-lin sends them every year men to unite with them, but if they give birth to male children the custom of the country does not permit them to bring them up."

The term rendered here as 'island' also means a country in general as is the case with *dvīpa* in Sanskrit. The country situated to the South-

West of Fu-lin i.e. the Byzantine Empire, is the famous country of the Amazons governed by the Queen Candace who has a large place in the development of the romance of Alexander. The yearly despatch of men to the Amazon country is not mentioned, so much as I know, in the numerous recensions of this Romance but it occurs more than often in the literature of the Physiologues and Marvels. The Chinese monk therefore had gathered a form of this story which had suffered from contamination. He might have himself mixed up two stories which he had heard. With a mind both credulous and positive he had taken these fabulous tales literally and gives them a place in his account along with others of the same order.

He was more disposed to accept them as he had heard from other sources about other kingdoms of women. While travelling in the North-West of India he had heard people speaking "on the northern frontiers of the kingdom of *P'o-lo-ki-mo-pu-lo* amongst the high snowy mountains there is the kingdom of Suvarṇagotra where a superior kind of gold is found. The name of the country is derived from it. This kingdom extends from the East to the West and is narrow between the South and the North. This is why it is called the Kingdom of the Eastern Women. It is said that for centuries a woman reigns there and hence it is called the Kingdom of Women..............On the eastern side the country borders on the Kingdom of T'u fan (the Tibetans). On the North it is contiguous to Yu tien (Khotan)" (*Mem.*, I, 252). Here also inspite of the apparent precision we are in the domain of fables. The country of gold mines recalls the region of mining ants referred to in Indian legends (*Mh. Bhār.*, II, 1860: *uddhṛtaṃ yat pipīlikaiḥ jātarūpam*) and made famous in the accounts of Herodotus (III, 104). The semi-fabulous geography of India locates, in fact, a kingdom of women (*strīrājya*) amongst the populations of the farthest North-West of India (*Mh. Bhār.*, III, 51, 1991: Yavana, Śaka, Hārahūna, Cīna, Tukhāra, Sindhava, Jāguḍa, Ramaṭha, Muṇḍa, Strīrājya,.........Cf. also XII, 4, 114 *Bṛh. S.*, XIV, 22: Tukhāra, Tāla, Haḷa, Madra, Aśmaka, Kulūta, Lahaḍa, Strīrājya; also XVI. 6; *Rāj-tar.*, IV, 173 sq.). China on her side knows already before Hiuan Tsang a kingdom of women in this direction (Soei shu, Chap. LXXXIII, 101a, quoted by O. Franke—

Türkvölker und Skythen Zentral Asiens, p. 37 who refers also to Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, p. 200 sqq. and to Yule, *Marco Polo*, II, 339; Rockhill, *Land of the Lamas*, pp. 339-341).

The Chinese legends speak of still another Kingdom of Women situated to the south-east, in the Ocean. The monk Hoei shön is said to have visited it (*Leang shu*, LIV, 28). The ship-wrecked sailors used to receive there an impressive reception but soon expiated by death (*Chau Ju Kua*, translated by Hirth, p. 151 and notes). This is the island which figures so often in the Buddhist legends of India under the name of *Rākṣasīdvīpa*—the island of she-devils. Hiuan Tsang in another part of his *Memoirs*, II, pp. 131 sqq. through a naïve procedure of simplification identified this island with the Kingdom of the Women of the West. In regard to Ceylon, which he had not visited personally he informs us how by an extraordinary chance the son of a royal princess and a lion landed on the island (the island of lion, Sk. *siṃha* from which *Siṃhala*, Ceylon). From the same union was born also a daughter who after romantic adventures was placed on a ship abandoned to the mercy of the waves. "The vessel which carried the young girl reached the western coast of Persia. Having had communication with the spirits and demons she gave birth to a large number of daughters on account of which the country came to be known as the kingdom of the Women of the West." He then tells us in detail after "the sacred Buddhist texts" the well-known story of the Rākṣasīs and the merchant of Siṃhala. Thus the island of Rākṣasas, the island of the Rākṣasīs and the Kingdom of the Women of the West are inextricably confounded with each other. The method of Hiuan Tsang is clearly seen in this case when this great precursor of Marco Polo is no longer contented with his personal observations.

SYLVAIN LÉVI

This paper of Prof. Lévi was originally published in French in the *Memoires de l' Institut Français*, vol. lxvii—*Mélanges Maspero*. vol. II. Shortly before his death he sent the article with supplementary notes to the Editor, requesting him to have it translated by Dr. P. C. Bagchi and to publish it in the Quarterly, as he thought that there was little likelihood of the original article reaching the Indian Scholars. The Greek and Chinese quotations have been left out for the difficulty in printing them. The Editor offers his thanks to Dr. Bagchi for translating the paper from French into English.

The Bhāvaśataka, is it an Old Work ?

The *Bhāvaśataka*[1] is a collection of 102 artificial verses, consisting of puzzles. The title probably means "A hundred (verses) with an (intended) meaning (to be guessed)."[2] Each stanza describes some person in a certain situation, generally (though not always) of an erotic nature, and the reader has to guess, why the person is acting in such and such a way. The solution of the puzzle is added in prose: whether by the author himself or by an interpreter, it is difficult to say. A few examples will give an idea of the character of the verses:

5. "Tormented by thirst, a beautiful maiden went in the summer to the nectar-like Gaṅgā, took water with both her hands, looked at it—and did not drink it, why?" /On account of the glittering reflection of her beautiful hands, she thought the water to be blood and was afraid of drinking it./

9. "Sporting in a pavilion, decorated with jewels, a clever loving woman kicked her lover with her foot without any fault of his." /For she saw her own reflection in the jewels and took it for another woman./

24. "A man who day by day walks in the right path, as it is described in the excellent lawbooks, and which is rooted in good deeds, and who ever seeks the welfare of all human beings, such a man makes the breast of the foe of the demons quite empty." /The righteous man is capable of tearing Lakṣmī away from the breast of her husband Viṣṇu./

45. "Listen, O Nāgarāja, when formidable with the sword raised, thou art eager to crush the impudent enemies, then the ocean, beauti-

1 Edited in the *Kāvyamālā*, Part IV, pp. 37 ff.

2 It is also possible that *bhāva* in the title means "feeling of love," so that *bhāvaśataka* would be a synonym of *śṛṅgāraśataka* which also occurs as title of the work (see Aufrecht, *Catalogus Catalogorum*, I, p. 661). It is, however, not at all likely that Bhāva is to be taken as the name of the poet, as is assumed by R. SCHMIDT, Das ältere und moderne Indien, Leipzig 1919, p. 184, and A. B. KEITH, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford 1928, p. 234.

fully shining by its hundreds of moving waves, gets into a state of extreme delight." Why? /In the hope of fresh streams of blood./

70. "When thou, Nāgarāja, whose eyes are like the fresh lotus, proceedest on the sport of hunting, the female antelopes show no fear, but their delight only becomes manifest." /Because they are confused by love, falling in love with the king./

From the literary point of view the *Bhāvaśataka* would hardly deserve more than a passing reference in any history of Sanskrit literature. It has become important only by the name of Nāgarāja, with whom it is connected, and by the historical significance which has been given to that name. In the introductory verse 2, and in the colophon a poet Nāgarāja is said to have composed the work. But in other verses (29, 45, 70 and 76) the king Nāgarāja is addressed. And in a long Praśasti at the end of the work (vv. 98-102) this king Nāgarāja is eulogised. It is clear that it was written by some court poet of Nāgarāja and attributed to him *honoris causa*.[3]

Verse 2 runs in the Kāvyamālā edition (Part IV, p. 38):

Nāgarājaśataṃ granthaṃ Nāgarājena tanvatā/
agāri gatavaktraśrīr Nāgarājo girāṃ guruḥ//

For *gatavaktraśrīr*, in this verse, Mr. K. P. JAYASWAL[4] has found in a MS. from Mithilā the reading '*gajavaktraśrīr*, and has drawn far-reaching conclusions from this reading. He takes *gajavaktraśrīḥ* as equal to *śrīgaṇapatiḥ*, and concludes that the author of the work is Gaṇapati Nāga, the king who fought against the emperor Samudragupta about 300 A.D., so that "in the Bhāvaśataka we have a work of 300 to 350 A.D., that is, a work just before Kālidāsa's time." In verse 80 he also finds a mention of Gaṇapati, and in verse 100 an allusion to Padmāvatī, the town of Gaṇapati Nāga. In his *History of India c. 150 A.D. to 350 A.D.*,[5] Mr. JAYASWAL treats the *Bhāvaśataka* actually as an historical document for the history of

3 In the colophon also Nāgarāja is said to be the author.

4 *A Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts in Mithilā*, vol. II, Patna 1933, No. 102, p. 9. For *nāgarājaśatam* the MS. has: *nākarājasamam*.

5 *JBORS.*, vol. XIX, 1933, Parts I-II, pp. 33 ff., 38, 95.

Gaṇapati Nāga, "the chief sovereign among the Nāga rulers in the Vākāṭaka times," who ruled between 310 and 344 A.D. from his capital Padmāvatī.

The whole theory of Mr. JAYASWAL rests on the one reading *gaja-vaktraśrīr* in one MS.[6] I am not aware that the honorific *śrī* is ever placed at the end of the name. The reading of the Kāvyamālā edition is unobjectionable: "Nāgarāja, in whose mouth Śrī resides, is a master of speeches."

Verse 80 describes a mythological situation: "The lords of snakes having become ornaments on the whole body of Śiva, who is to be waited upon by the six-mouthed (god Skanda), all look frightened upon Gaṇapati," (viz. frightened at the sight of Skanda's vehicle, the peacock, they look upon Gaṇeśa's trunk for a shelter). I do not see what this can have to do with Gaṇapati Nāga. Again in verse 100 Padmālayā certainly is an epithet of the goddess Lakṣmī, and has nothing to do with the city of Padmāvatī. It is said in the line that Vāc (Sarasvatī), and Lakṣmī, having given up their quarrel, shine after having come to meet in the king.

From the Praśasti we learn that Nāgarāja was a grandson of Vidyādhara of the *Karpaṭigotra*, and the son of Jālapa, belonging to the *Ṭākavaṃśa*. It is impossible that in the five long verses of the Praśasti the name Gaṇapati would not have been mentioned, if we had to deal with Gaṇapati Nāga. On the other hand, in the historical records we have of Gaṇapati Nāga, there is nowhere any mention of his belonging to the *Ṭāka* family, or having any connexion with the *Karpaṭigotra*.[7] The Ṭākas are one of the 36 Rājput families, alluded

6 The MS. described by P. PETERSON, *Three Reports on a Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts*, Bombay 1887, p. 338 agrees with the reading of the Kāvyamālā edition. The MS. described by R. G. BHANDARKAR, *Report on Search for Sanskrit MSS. for 1882-83*, pp. 9 f., 198 seems to differ much from our text, for Bhandarkar says that some of the verses are in Prākrit, while our text has only Sanskrit verses.

7 On Gaṇapati Nāga see E. J. RAPSON, *Indian Coins* (Grundriss II, 3 B, 1897), p. 26 and Plate I, No. 2; John ALLAN, *Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasties*, London 1914, pp. xxi f.; R. BASAK, *History of North-Eastern India*, London 1934, p. 28.

to already in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, VII, 1617, and known even today.[8]

I do not know, on what authority Pandit Durgāprasāda and K. P. Parab, the editors of the *Kāvyamālā*, describe Nāgarāja as Dhārānagarādhipaḥ.

From the artificial style and language of the *Bhāvaśataka* it is far more probable that it was composed centuries after Kālidāsa than that it should be a pre-Kālidāsean work.

M. WINTERNITZ

8 Cf. C. V. VAIDYA, *History of Mediæval India*, II, p. 23. The Ṭākas are mentioned along with Gurjaras, Nepālas, and Turakas, S. Aufrecht, *Bodleia Catalogue*, 757 b, 338 f. R. G. Bhandarkar, *Report on Search of Sanskrit MSS.*, *1882-83*, p. 10, says that the Ṭāka race, to which Madanapāla (*c.* 1360-1370 A.D.) belonged, "was a family of petty Chiefs whose capital was Kāṣṭhā on the Yamunā to the north of Delhi." Karpaṭas are mentioned along with Mālavas in the *Mahābhārata*, II, 32,7. A Brāhmaṇa, named Karpaṭikka, is mentioned in the Damadarpur copperplate inscription, No. 1 (Bühler, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, 130 f.) dated 443-44 A.D.

The Problem of Ancient Indian Terracottas

In the course of a recent paper on early Indian terracottas Major Gordon has remarked, "Certain terracottas have been singled out and quite arbitrarily classified as 'Primitive' and 'Pre-Mauryan.' Mr. K. de B. Codrington has already done much to show that the alleged primitive characteristics are largely illusory, and that in any case primitiveness unaccompanied by other confirmatory evidence does not indicate great antiquity."[1] Codrington has published two papers[2] in which he has made the above-mentioned assertion criticising the view of Marshall regarding the age ascribed by him to certain terracottas unearthed at Bhīṭā and labelled by him as 'primitive' on the ground of archæological stratification.[3] The main point which Codrington has made against him is that "among the terra-cottas called 'Primitive' there are many that are definitely comparable with the sculpture of Barhut and Sanchi [second-first century B.C.]."[4] This statement seems to be, in all probability, unacceptable. For example, if anybody studies the modelling of the chief Maurya figural sculptures belonging to the indigenous type,[5] he will most probably conclude that long before the Maurya age there had been prevalent some types of sculpture which were, to some extent, akin to these specimens and which served as prototypes for the Maurya sculptures mentioned above.[6] But this assertion does not mean that all the terracotta-figurines of the post-Indus Valley pre-Maurya age are akin to the known Maurya sculptures; on the coontrary, it means that they might be either akin to or different from Maurya sculptures because all sculptural types do not persist in the succeeding ages.

1 *Man*, 1935, 129.

2 *Man*, 1929, 101; *IA.*, 1931, August, pp. 141-45 with one plate.

3 *Archæological Survey of India*, Annual Report, 1911-12, pp. 71, 72-73, pl. XXII, 1-8.

4 *Man*, 1929, 101.

5 L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, vol. I, pl. 9, 10, 11; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, pl. III. no. 8.

6 In this connection one statement made by Bachhofer regarding the origin of these figural sculptures is highly instructive. (*op. cit.*, p. 12).

The points of similarity as well as difference between the sculptures belonging to the Indus Valley and Maurya ages and the highly finished nature of the Maurya figural sculptures, which could not have been, in all probability, possible with the denial of some preceding and, to some extent, similar specimens, naturally lead us to visualise a post-Indus Valley pre-Maurya age when terracotta-figurines might have been made. At the site of Bhir Mound in Taxila Marshall unearthed a number of terracotta-figurines.[7] Regarding the age of these specimens he remarks, "Of the rest of the miscellaneous objects figured on Plate XI the only one which does not come from the top stratum is No. 13......... Figs. 9 and 14 are characteristic specimens of the primitive terracotta work of this period, and Fig. 15 is a typical example of children's toys.........All that can safely be said is that the top stratum belongs unquestionably to the third or fourth century B.C."[8] In the annual report of the following year Marshall illustrates a number of terracottas unearthed at the same site.[9] Regarding the age of these specimens he has not said anything very definite but has remarked that there are four clearly defined strata at Bhir Mound and that the uppermost of all these strata "must.........be referred to the 3rd or 4th century B.C."[10] This shows that the above-mentioned terracottas cannot, in all probability, be placed later than the post-Indus Valley pre-Maurya or Maurya age.

At Bhīṭā Marshall has discovered a number of terracottas which, as has been shown beforehand, may be ascribed to the post-Indus Valley pre-Maurya age.

At Buxar Banerji-Sastri has unearthed a number of terracotta-figurines[11] some of which should be placed in this age on the consideration of archæological stratification and style. Regarding the find-spot of these antiquities he remarks, "The site at Buxar is an exten-

7 *Archæological Survey of India*, Annual Report, 1919-20, pl. XI. 9, 14, 15.

8 *Ibid.*, 1919-20, pp. 23, 24.

9 *Ibid.*, 1920-21, pl. XVI.

10 *Ibid.*, 1920-21, p.18.

11 *Journal of the Bombay Historical Society*, 1930, pp. 187-91 with nine plates; *JBORS.*, 1932, March pp. 1-3 with one plates; *K. B. Pathak Commemoration Volume*, Poona, 1934, pp. 248-61 with ten plates.

sive mound about a quarter of a mile in length, rising about 30 feet from the present level of the town, and 52 feet from the bed of the Ganges..........Burrowing underground from the present surface level was unearthed the Mauryan stratum about 35 feet below, with contemporary brick structures and terracotta including a seal inscribed in Aśokan Brāhmī and in pure Māgadhī reading -śadaśa[ṇ]aśa; cf. plate II. Below this level, down to the bed of river, 52 feet from the present surface, were laid bare the remains of a finely-built city of the chalcolithic period, and beneath this city, layer after layer of earlier structures, erected successively on the ruins of their predecessors."[12] This remark leads to the probable conclusion that the terracotta-specimens found at the strata below 35 feet at this site may be ascribed to the post-Indus Valley pre-Maurya age. Further the consideration of style which consists mainly in the peculiar head-dresses worn by these figurines probably leads one to the same conclusion.

At Bulandi Bagh ancient terracotta-figurines have been found some of which may be attributed to this age on the consideraton of archæological stratification. In this connection special importance should be attached to a glass-seal found in square N33C3 at a depth of 7 ft. 6 in. and inscribed *abhayavamaśa*[13] and to another glass seal found in square N34D at a depth of 13 ft. 6 in. and inscribed *mamạ(śa)*[14] at Bulandi Bagh. No inscribed antiquity is reported to have been found below the stratum of 13 ft. 6 in. at Bulandi Bagh. The palæographical study of *ma* as found on the first-mentioned seal is important. It is in an inverted form which is found notably in the Bhaṭṭiprolu inscriptions[15] which have been ascribed to the Maurya age by Bühler.[16] Moreover the undoubted similarity of *a*, *bha*, *va*, *ya* and *śa* inscribed on this seal to similar letters found in the inscriptions of Aśoka leaves no doubt that this seal should be ascribed to the Maurya age. The letters *ma* and (*śa*) found on the second seal are also similar to such letters found in the inscriptions of Aśoka. This shows that the strata

12 *K. B. Pathak Commemoration Volume*, Poona, 1934, pp. 249, 250.

13 *JBORS.*, 1924, pp. 191-92, 198, plate facing p. 189.

14 *Ibid.*, 191, 199, plate facing p. 189.

15 *EI.*, vol. X, appendix-notices nos. 1329-39.

16 *Siebzehn Tafeln zur Indischen Palæographie*, tafel II. 32. XIII-XV.

between 7 ft. 6 in. and 13 ft. 6 in. at Bulandi Bagh are definitely Maurya. Therefore the strata lower than 13 ft. 6 in. and the strata higher than 7 ft. 6 in. may be either Maurya or non-Maurya. The present author has had the opportunity of carefully studying all the terracotta-figurines, unearthed at Bulandi Bagh and preserved in the Patna Museum, with the help of the official record containing exact information regarding the actual find-spot of these figurines and of the above-mentioned two inscribed seals, and found that four terracotta-specimens,[17] of which three have been tentatively ascribed to the post-Indus Valley pre-Maurya age by Coomaraswamy,[18] may be placed in this age if we assume that the strata lower than 13 ft. 6 in. are post-Indus Valley pre-Maurya. The peculiar head-dress, dress and ornaments worn by two of these specimens[19] probably differentiate them from the Maurya specimens; but the other two specimens[20] whose facial type has resemblance to that of some Maurya and Suṅga sculptures may also be ascribed to the post-Indus Valley pre-Maurya age for the reasons stated above in connection with the criticism of Codrington's remarks regarding the attribution of age to some terracottas by Marshall.

The writer of the present note believes that a very strong case may be made for the hypothesis of the existence of the post-Indus Valley pre-Maurya terracottas if those unearthed at ancient sites of India, e.g., Taxila, Buxar, Patna University Area, Kumrahar, Bulandi Bagh and others be more thoroughly studied with the help of the knowledge of the actual find-spot of the terracottas and inscribed antiquities.

C. C. Dás Gupta

17 *Archæological Survey of India*, Annual Report, 1917-18, pt. I, pl. XVI, figs. 1-4.

18 *IPEK.*, 1928, p. 70. tafel 2, nos. 14, 16; Tafel 7, no. 51.

19 *Archæological Survey of India*, Annual Report, 1917-18, pt. I, pl. XVI, figs. 3, 4.

20 *Ibid.*, pl. XVI, 1. 2.

The Coronation of Harṣa

The date of the coronation of Harṣa is not definitely known, and it is a matter for conjecture why he did not ascend the throne of Kānyakubja when it was offered to him by Bhaṇi, the representative of the people and nobles of Kānyakubja, after he returned from the Vindhya forest, on the conclusion of a successful search for his sister Rājyaśrī, the wife of the Maukharī king, Grahavarman. Yuan Ch'wang states that Harṣa was reluctant to crown himself, and mentions that he agreed to do so, if Avalokiteśvara whose shrine was situated in the precincts of Kānyakubja, advised him to that effect. Historians like V. A. Smith, Panikkar, R. K. Mookerji etc. note his reluctance to take the inevitable step, but leave the reason unexplained. I propose to give below an explanation why Harṣa could not have been crowned an emperor *de jure* at the age when the crown was offered to him.

Harṣa was only 15 years of age, when his brother Rājyavardhana was foully murdered by the Gauḍa king Śaśāṅka. It is plain that he was still unmarried. Probably Rājyavardhana was himself unmarried, as he was enticed to attend a dinner given in his honour by the Gauḍa king Śaśāṅka who had promised the hand of his daughter to him.[1]

Now the *Rājyābhiṣeka* ceremony as laid down in the Śāstras, which, as shown by Mr. Jayaswal (*Hindu Polity*, Part II, p. 17), required not only the presence of a Mahiṣī or the chief queen but also that of the Vāvāta and Parivṛkti as so many Ratnins, could not be performed with Harṣa still unmarried. What has therefore, been portrayed by historians as reluctance on the part of Harṣa was probably nothing

1. An old commentator of *Harṣacarita* (Śaṅkara by name), while explaining the two introductory verses of the 6th chapter, speaks of Śaśāṅka as the murderer of Rājyavardhana, and says that he enticed the Vardhana king, through a spy, by the offer of his daughter's hand:

अनेनोच्छ्वासार्थः संगृहीतः। तथाहि कृतोऽन्तो विनाशो येन स शशाङ्कनामा गौडाधिपतिः। शूराणां राज्यवर्द्धनानुचराणां प्रधानराजपुत्राणां तत्सहितानां संग्रहमकरोत्। तथाहि तेन शशाङ्केन विश्वासार्थं दूतमुखेन कन्याप्रदानमुक्त्वा प्रलोभितो राज्यवर्द्धनः स्वगेहे सानुचरो भुञ्जान एव छद्मना व्यापादितः।

Harṣa carita, ed. K. P. Parab, N. Sagar, 3rd edition, p. 175.

but a legal incompetency, without remedying which he could not raise himself to the imperial dignity. Six or seven years later, his position was regularised by his marriage, with whom it has not yet been discovered. Did Śaśāṅka purchase his life and throne by giving away his daughter to him, the daughter whom he had already promised to his elder brother? Otherwise, it is not possible to account for the continued survival of Śaśāṅka as the king of Gauḍa for the next seven years, in spite of the fact that Harṣa had vowed not to rest till he had avenged the murder of his brother and ill-treatment of his sister.

In an inscription of 619 A.D.[2] Śaśāṅka is called *Mahārājādhirāja*. He could not have been so styled unless he had been permitted to adopt the style by Harṣa or had carried out a successful revolt against him. The ultimate inclusion of the western half of his kingdom in the empire of Harṣa and the eastern half in the dominions of Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa points to the conclusion that a successful revolt was out of the question. On Śaśāṅka's death in 619 A.D., or a little later, leaving behind a son, Mānava, who reigned for a few months only, his kingdom must have reverted to his son-in-law, who must have given away a portion of it to Bhāskaravarman, his ally, as a reward. No authorities are available to prove that Śaśāṅka after his defeat in the battle of Puṇḍra raised his head against Harṣa again, and it is therefore unnecessary to assume that he ever carried out a successful revolt against him and assumed sovereign powers. The most probable surmise is that he was defeated and humbled, compelled to cede some of his dominions and give his daughter in marriage to Harṣa.[3] The conquest and

2 Vide Ganjam copper-plate of Mahārāja-Mahāsāmanta Mādhavarāja II, who calls himself a Mahāsāmanta of Śaśāṅka (*Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 144).

3 The *Mañju-śrī-mūlakalpa* makes it clear that Śaśāṅka was defeated and confined to his own kingdom or more probably expelled and prevented from returning to it.

पराजयामास सोमाख्यं दुष्टकर्मानुचारिणम् ।
ततो [illegible]षिद्धः सोमाख्यो स्वदेशेनावतिष्ठतः ॥

He was succeeded by his son Mānava—ततः परेण सुतस्तस्य सोमाख्यस्य मानवे- who reigned for 8 months and 5 days. Karṇa-suvarṇa which was subsequently destroyed by 'Divine agency' could not, therefore, have been incorporated in Bhāskaravarman's dominions till after the death of Mānava which must have been followed

subjugation of Śaśāṅka must have taken at least 6 years, at the conclusion of which Harṣa must have returned to Kānyakubja a married man and past the age of minority.

Dr. Jayaswal has tried to show (*Hindu Polity*, II, p. 52) that the minimum age for coronation was 25 years and gives the instances of the coronations of Aśoka and Khāravela, who had to pass a considerable period after the demise of their predecessors before they could ascend the throne. He thinks that this was due to their non-attainment of 25 years. It is difficult to say if this attainment of 25 years was a *sine qua non* for the *Rājyābhiṣeka* or the coronation ceremony to take place, for nowhere in Dharmaśāstra works can any definite evidence be found in support of it, but there is reason to believe that marriage was an essential element. As Manu says—

ब्राह्मं प्राप्तेन संस्कारं क्षत्रियेण यथाविधि ।
सर्वस्यास्य यथान्यायं कर्त्तव्यं परिरक्षणम् ॥

I would explain *Brāhma-saṃskāra* as उपनयनादि Saṃskāras, which would include marriage. This, and not the attainment of 25 years, was the *sine qua non* for the celebration of the coronation ceremony.

The joint rulership with Rājyaśrī which is so prominently assumed in the beginning was probably meant only to ward off possible hostility from the partisans of the dispossessed dynasty and was subsequently dropped, when the style of Kumāra was replaced by the imperial title of Parama-Bhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja.[4].

S. N. Jharkhandi

by a period of anarchy giving Bhāskaravarman the much desired opportunity of annexing his kingdom. See *Imperial History of India*; (*c.* 700 B.C.—700 A.D.) by K. P. Jayaswal, pp. 50-51.

4 Compare On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India (Watters, Pt. 1, p. 346), in which the term 'Chu'i' is explained as denoting 'don the imperial robe.' This may now be taken literally as stating that Harṣa assumed the imperial dignity after the successful conclusion of the six years war of conquest against the five Indies.

A New Genealogy of the Rāṭhoḍas

A document containing a genealogy of the Rāṭhoḍas seems to have been originally drawn up at the time of Rāo Sūjojī who ruled at Jodhpur from 1491 to 1515 A. D. A later copyist brought it up to the reign of Rāo Māladeva (1531—1562 A. D.) for whose long life he prays. The last addition was, however, made under Rājā Rāya Singhjī who ascended the throne of Bikaner in 1571 A. D., and is mentioned as ruling there.

The interest of the document lies not merely in being the earliest document, carrying the pedigree of the Rāṭhoḍas of Jodhpur and Bikaner up to Śiva and Śakti, but also in differing in some important respects from the well-known genealogies of this family contained in the *bahīs* of Jodhpur, and the Bikaner fort inscription of Rājā Rāya Singhji, translated and published by Dr. Tessitori in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1920. The genealogy regards, for instance, the Rāṭhoḍas as lunar *kṣatriyas* descended from Śāntanu, and not as solar ones, descended from Kuśa, the elder son of Rāma.* Moreover, it does not put one but three rulers between Setarāma and Jayacandra, the last Gāhaḍavāla king of Kanauj. When we consider the fact that Jayacandra met his death in the battle of Candāwar, fought in 1194 A. D., and Sīhājī, the younger brother of Setarāma had an inscription engraved in 1273 A. D., we feel inclined to agree with the document under discussion. It allows 20 years each to the intervening rulers, and this is all that is generally required for a correct chronology. The Purāṇic genealogy given here is defective in many particulars, but the Jodhpur and Bikaner genealogies are materially correct, and in this respect the document is valuable. Jayacandra has been called *Pañgaula*. For its explanation one might refer to the *Rambhāmañjarī Nāṭikā*, wherein it is stated that Jayacandra earned the title 'Paṅgu' on account of being unable to move his vast armies without the help of the two sticks, the Ganges and the Yamunā.

The document belongs to my friend, Mr. Agarchand Nāhaṭā, and is written on one side of a paper, measured 9 ½″ × 4 1/10″.

TEXT

६० आदिहिं शिवनइं शक्ति। १ शक्तितणउ विगत। २ विगत तणउं अविगत-नाथ। ३ अविगतंनाथ तणउ इंद्र। ४ इंद्रतणउ इंद्राधिपति। ५ इंद्राधिपतितणउ उबुद्

* The present writer does not regard this view as acceptable. The Rāṭhoḍa tradition is almost unanimous in regarding them as *Kṣatriyas* of the solar race.

बुदाकार । ६ बुद्बूदाकारतणउब्रह्मा । ७ ब्रह्मातन मरीचि । ८ मारीचितणउ समुद्र । ६ समुद्र तणउच्चन्द्रमा । १० चंद्रमात तणउक्रतु । ११ क्रतुतणउ विधा तरू । १२ विधातरु तणउ मचुकंदु । १३ मचुकंदुतणउहरिणाख्य । २४ हरिणाख्य तणउ प्रहराज । १५ प्रहराज तणउ विरोचनु । १६ विरोचनु तणउ बलि । १७ बलि तणउ इग्याध । १८ इग्याध तणउ सहस्रार्जुन । सहस्रार्जुन तणउ करूप । २० करूप तणउ चंद्रप्रहास । २१ चंद्रप्रहास तणउ परूरवा । २२ परूरवा तणउ वेल । २३ वेल तणउ प्रथकु । २४ प्रथकु तणउनल । २५ नल तणउ निधु । २६ निधु तणउ हरिसेन । २७ हरिसेन तणउ धीरसेन । २८ वीरसेन तणउ विकुवति । २६ विकुवति तणउ वाराह निधि । ३० वाराहनिधि तणउ अत्यादिक । ३१ अत्यादिक तणउअमरोपम । ३२ अमरोपम तणउ सत्यास । ३३ सत्यास तणउ श्रीपुंजराज । ३४ श्रीपुंजराज तणउ श्रीशान्तनराजा । ३५ श्रीशान्तनराजा तणा बेटा १ गांगेय २ चित्र ३ विचित्र । ३६ विचित्र तणउ धृतराष्ट्र । ३८ चित्र तणउ राजा पांडु । ३८ कुरुक्षेत्रि संग्राम हुअउ कलिंग ऊगर्यउ । ३६ कलिंग तणउ मेघमल्ल । ४० मेघमल्ल तणउ चंपसेन । ४१ चंपसेन तणउ विश्वावसु । ४२ विश्वावसु तणउ मदभ्रम । ४३ मदभ्रम तणउ कृशभ्रम । ४४ कृशभ्रम तणउ ध्वज । ४५ ध्वजतणउ कमध्वज । ४६ कमध्वज तणउ अदचंद्र ४७ अदचन्द्र तणउ विजयचंद्र । ४८ विजय चन्द्रतणउ पांगुलउ जयचंद्र । ४६ जयचंद्र तणउ कर्म्मेणु । ५० कर्म्मेण तणउ योगरा । ५१ योगरा तणउ भद । ५२ भद् तणउ शीतरावण । ५३ शीतरावण तणउ आस्थाम । ५४ अस्थाम तणउ धूहड़ । ५५ धूहड़ तणउ रायपाल । ५६ रायपाल तणउ कान्हरा । ५७ कान्हरा तणउ आल्हण । ५८ आल्हण तणउ छाडउ ५६ छाडउ तणउ तीडउ । ६० तीडउ तणउ सलषउ । ६१ सलषातणउ बीरमु । ६२ बीरम तणउ चउंडउ । ६३ चउंडा तणउ रिणमल्ल । ६४ रिणमल्ल तणउ जोधपुरे श्री जोधउ । ६५ जोधा तणउ राय श्रीसातल । ६६ सातलपट्टे भ्राताश्रीसूर्यमल्ल । ६७ चिरस्थायी चिरं जीयात् राय श्रीसूर्यमल्ल पट्टे रायश्रीगांगा । ६८ तत्पट्टे राजश्रीमालदेव चिरञ्जीवी भवतु ॥ बीकानयरिरइ वइसणइं । जोधा पट्टे रायश्रीवीका । बीकापट्टे लूणकर्ण ६७ । लूणकर्ण तणउ राय श्रीजयतसी । ६८ जयतसी तणउ राय कल्याणमल्ल । ६६ कल्याणमल्ल तणउ महाराय श्रीरायसिंघ राज्यं करोति । इति राष्ट्रकूटानां पट्टपट्टावली ज्ञातव्या ।

TRANSLATION

In the beginning there were Śiva and Śakti (1). Śakti's son was Vigata (2). Vigata's son was Avigatanātha (3). Avigatanātha's son Indra (4). Indra's son was Indrādhipati (5). Indrādhipati's son was Budbudākāra (6). Budbudākāra's son was Brahmā (7). Brahmā's son was Mārīci (8). Mārīci's son was *Samudra* (the sea) (9). *Samudra's son was Candramā (the moon)* (10). Candramā's son was Kṛtu (11). Kṛtu's son was Vidyātaru (12). Vidyātaru's son was Macukandu (Mucukunda) (13). Macukandu's son was Hariṇākhya (14). Hariṇākhya's son was Praharāja (Prahlāda) (15). Praharāja's son was Virocana (16). Virocana's son was Bali (17). Bali's son was

Igyādha (18). Igyādha's son was Sahasrārjuna (19). Sahasrārjuna's son was Karūpa (20). Karūpa's son was Candraprahāsa (21). Candraprahāsa's son was Purūravā (22). Purūravā's son was Vela (23). Vela's son was Prathaku (24). Prathaku's son was Nala (25). Nala's son was Nidhu (26). Nidhu's son was Harisena (27). Harisena's son was Vīrasena (28). Vīrasena's son was Vikravati (29). Vikravati's son was Vārāhanidhi (30). Vārāhanidhi's son was Atyādika (31). Atyādika's son was Amaropama (32). Amaropama's son was Satyāsa (33). Satyāsa's son was Puñjarāja (34). Puñjarāja's son was Śāntana (Śantanu) (35). Śantanu had three sons, Gāṅgeya, Citra, and Vicitra (36). Vicitra's son was Dhṛtarāṣṭra (37). Citra's son was Pāṇḍu (38). The war of Kurukṣetra was now fought. Kaliṅga survived (39). Kaliṅga's son was Mēghamalla (40). Mēghamalla's son was Campasena (41). Campasena's son was Viśvāvasu (42). Viśvāvasu's son was Madabhrama (43). Madabhrama's son was Kṛśabhrama (44). Kṛśabhrama's son was Dhvaja (45). Dhvaja's son was Kamadhvaja (46). Kamadhvaja's son was Adacandra (47). Adacandra's son was Vijayacandra (48). Vijayacandra's son was Jayacandra the *Paṅgula* (49). Jayacandra's son was Karmaṇu (50). Karmaṇu's son was Yogarā (51). Yōgarā's son was Bhadda (52). Bhadda's son was Sītarāvaṇa (Sētarāma) (53). Sītarāvaṇa's son was Āsthāma (54). Āsthāma's son Dhūhada (55). Dhūhada's son was Rāyapāla (56). Rāyapāla's son was Kāṅharā (57). Kānharā's son was Jālhaṇa (58). Jālhaṇa's son was Chāḍā (59). Chāḍā's son was Tīḍā (60). Tīḍā's son was Salakhā (61). Salakhā's son was Vīrama (62). Vīrama's son was Cauṇḍa (63). Cauṇḍa's son was Riṇamalla (64). Riṇamalla's son was Rāi Sri Jodhā at Jodhpur (65). Jōdhā's son was Rāi Śri Sātala (66). *On the throne of Sātala is his brother Rāi Śrī Sūryamalla* (67). *May he remain established long. May he live long.*[1] Rāi Śrī Gāṅgā ascended Sūryamalla's throne (68). *May Rājā Śrī Māladeva live long on his throne* (69). At Bikaner the Rājā ascended the throne, in the following order: Jodhāji was followed by Rāi Śrī Bīkā, Bīkā by Lūṇakarṇa (67). Lūṇakarṇa by Rāi Śrī Jaitsī (68). Jaitsī by Rāi Śrī Kalyāṇamalla (69). *Kalyāṇamalla's son Mahārāja Śrī Rāi Singh is reigning.* Thus should the genealogy of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa rulers be known.

DASARATHA SARMA

1 The letters have been italicised to show the three instalments in which the genealogy was completed.

The Date of the Fall of Nadia

One of the most important landmarks in the chronology of the early Muslim in Bengal, is the date of Muhammad in Bakht-yar's conquest of Nadia. But on this point the opinions of competent authorities differ:

(1) Major H. G. Raverty	...	...	590 A.H. = 1193 A.D.
(2) H. Blochmann	...	...	594-5 A.H. = 1197-8 A.D.
(3) E. Thomas	...	...	599 A.H. = 1202-3 A.D.
(4) C. Stewart	...	...	600 A.H. = 1203-4 A.D.

The reasons, for which we have to reject the date of Raverty, have already been well stated by Blochmann,[1] and they need not be recapitulated here. But, in passing we may point out, that in 588 A.H. the Cāhamāna king Pṛthvīrāja was defeated by Muhammad ibn sām of Ghor, at the second battle of Tarain or Talawari. Minhāj says that in 589 A.H. Kol was taken, but *Tāj-ul Ma'asir* places it in 590 A.H. Subsequently this was given to Hashām-ud-din Āghul-Bak. It was this Mālik who took Muhammad ibn Bakht-yār in his service and bestowed on him the *parganāhs* of Bhiuli and Bhugwat. It was therefore physically impossible for Muhammad to conquer Nadia in 590 A.H., notwithstanding the support it has received from Sir Wolseley Haig.[2]

We shall now concern ourselves with theories of Blochmann, Thomas and Stewart. From *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī* we learn, that after the successful attack on Nadia, Muhammad ibn Bakht-yār left it in desolation and made Lakhnāwatī (Lakṣmaṇāvatī) his capital. Minhāj passes on rapidly. But, we have to pause here and take into account certain factors inherent in the statement. The fall of Nadia does not imply the surrender of Lakhnāwatī. Leaving Nadia, the Muslim army marched through an unknown country. Then on arrival, they probably occupied the city, without much resistence from the local Hindus, who seem to have been already demoralised by the unearthly method of Turkish warfare, the fate of Nadia and the flight of Rai Lakhmaniā to his ancestral capital at Vikramapura.[3] The march from Nadia and capture

1 *JASB.*, 1875, pt. i, pp. 275-77.

2 *Cambridge History of India,* vol, III, p. 42.

3 *Indian Culture,* vol. II, pp. 771-76.

of Lakhnāwatī must have taken considerable time. After the capture of the city it was made the capital(?). This probably implies that it was made the base of operations against the territories which was in the immediate neighbourhood of the city. That this was actually the case, is apparent from the next statement of Minhāj, according to whom, after making Lakhnāwātī his capital Muhammad subjugated the whole country (probably the ancient Gauḍa *deśa* or *maṇḍala*). The climatic condition of North Bengal, at present, does not seem to have differed much from those bygone days. Muhammad could not have carried on his campaign during the monsoon. The mobile Afghan cavalry, on which he mainly relied, would have been useless, when the rivers were in full flood. This piecemeal occupation took time.

Muhammad's next task was to order the reading of *khutabāh* and issue coins, probably in the name of Muhammad Ghori. This was done to prove that Islamic sovereignty was established in these territories. These preliminaries over, the question of settlement cropped up. The conquered territories, whatever its extent, must be properly ruled. The machinery of the government, even if very primitive, had not only to be established, but set in motion. The former Hindu owners of landed property were dispossesed of ownership and distribution of the same amongst the khalj followers of Muhammad ibn Bakht-yār took place. This was necessary. The invading Turks were an insignificant minority. Around them the whole countryside was teeming with Hindu population. Forcible conversion of the defeated people certainly took place, but their loyalty to their new rulers was still an uncertain quantity. Indeed, for the very existence of the new muslim state, in this farthest corner of India, it was necessary to encourage settlement in large numbers of muslim immigrants.

When this was done, the rulers had to cater for the needs of the pious. In this Muhammad ibn Bakht-yār gave the lead by establishing mosques, darghās, etc. But it was beyond the slender resources of the state to carry out the scheme in every nook and corner of the country. Hence the nobles were encouraged to follow the example set by their leader. Thus we are told by Minhāj that 'through his and the zeal of his Amīrs mosques, colleges, etc. were established in different parts of the country.' This was not an empty boast as some scholars are inclined

to believe. Throughout the conquered territories, the new rulers built structures, approved by their faith, mostly with the materials of demolished pagan shrines. The ruins, of Dev-Koṭa or Devī-Koṭa within *mouzāh* Gangārāmpur, in the district of Dinajpur, bear eloquent testimony to the building activity of Muhammad ibn Bakht-yār and his nobles.

After some years had passed away[4] Muhammad conceived the idea of conquering Tibet(?). He began to make enquiries about the route and the nature of the countries to be traversed. Satisfied with his preparations, he moved out of Devī-Koṭa in 601 A.H. and returned to the same place months afterwards, after sacrificing the whole of his army. He died at Devī-Koṭa in 602 A.H.

If Nadia fell in 599 A.H. or 600 A.H., as postulated by Stewart and Thomas, how is it possible to place, all the facts stated above, within a period of two or three years? Would it not be too close a computation? Therefore, it appears that of all the four theories, Blochmann's is the most plausible one. Again, his theory is confirmed by an indirect evidence, supplied by *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*, to which our attention was first drawn by the late Mr. M. Chakravarti.

"Subsequently, in the year 591 H., Ṭhānkīr was taken; and in 593 H., Qutb-ud-din marched towards Nahrwālah and attacked Rai Bhim Deo and took vengeance on the tribe for Sultān-i-Ghāzis defeat. He likewise subdued other territories of Hindusthan, as far east as the frontier of the territory of Ujjain; and Mālik Izz-ud-din, Muhammad, son of Bakht-yār, the Khalj, in his time and during his government subdued the cities of Bihar and Nadia, and that country as will hereafter be related."[5]

According to the late Mr. Chakravarti, the sequence of events in the above narrative implies that, the sack of Bihar took place in 593 A.H. Minhāj tells us that after his return from Qutb, Muhammad ibn Bakht-yār subdued Magadha. Allowing one or two years for the visit to Qutb and subjugation of Magadha, we may place the conquest of Nadia in 595 A.H.

4 *Tabakāt-i-Nāsirī*, ed. by Raverty, pp. 516-17.
5 *J & PASB.*, (NS), vol. V, p. 51.

Before we conclude, one point requires to be disposed of. *Tāj-ul-Ma'asir* states that on Monday the 20th Rajab 599 A.H., Qutb-ud-din conquered the fort of Kālañjar. Shortly afterwards Bakht-yār came to pay his respects from Oudh, and Bihar.[6] If Bihar was taken in 599 A.H., Nadia could not have been captured in 595 A.H. On the other hand, if we accept this date, 600-1 A.H. becomes the date of conquest of Nadia, which is impossible. *Tāj-ul-Ma'asir* was composed by Sadr-ud-din Muhammad ibn Nizāmi. It was commenced in the year 602 A.H., the year in which the conqueror of Bengal and Muhammad Ghori died. Minhaj tells us that Muhammad went to Delhi to meet Qutb-ud-din Aibak, but Sadr-ud-din takes him to Mahobā. It is therefore clear that our two principal informants contradict each other. The probability, in my opinion, lies in favour of Minhāj, as he had opportunity of getting more accurate information about Muhammad ibn Bakht-yār than the author of *Tāj-ul-Ma'asir*.

ADRIS BANERJI

Historical Information in the Prākrta Paiṅgala

In his note on the historical information contained in the illustrative verses in the Prākrta Paiṅgala, in *IHQ.*, XI, 3, pp. 564-569, Dr. D. C. Ganguly says: "There is a large number of verses in the book referring to some historical incidents. . . . . So far as I know, these verses have not hitherto been noticed in any book or article on Indian history. Hence it may be worth while to examine their historical importance for our future guidance."

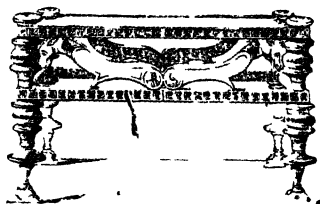
I may be allowed to point out that as early as 1897, the historical materials in the illustrative eulogies in the Prākrta Paiṅgala were reviewed by the late Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, in his *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency during the years 1887-91*. In the Notice of Mss. at the end of that Report, he has analysed the commentary of Lakṣmīnātha on the Prākrta Paiṅgala as also the text of the Prākrta Paiṅgala, and there, he has dealt with the kings mentioned in the illustrative verses (pp. lxxi-xxx).

6 Elliot, vol. II, pp. 231-32.

Dr. D. C. Ganguly has identified the Hammīra of the verses as the Cāhamāna Hammīra of Ranthombhor (latter part of the 13th century A.D.), chiefly on the evidence of the mention of his general Jajjala, also mentioned (as Jaja) in the Hammīra mahākāvya of Nayacandrasūri. On the strength of this same evidence, Dr. Bhandarkar also made that identification (pp. lxvii-lxxviii).

Dr. Bhandarkar could not identify the Kāśī king of the verses (p. lxviii), by whose identification, Dr. Ganguly has made a valuable contribution. Dr. Bhandarkar deals with Kalacūri Karṇa on pp. lxxviii-lxxx.

Besides, Dr. Bhandarkar has spoken of two more kings, not examined by Dr. Ganguly. Dr. Bhandarkar has suggested that the Caṇḍeśvara of the verses is probably "Caṇḍamahāsena or Caṇḍa of the Cauhan race, who ruled over Dholpur and built a temple dedicated to Caṇḍasvāmin and consecrated it in the Vikrama year 898 or 842 A.D." (Inscription translated by Dr. Hultzsch in *ZDMG.*, XL, 38). Dr. Bhandarkar deals with the Sāhasāṅka of the verses also, though he is not quite sure of his identity. He suggests that this Sāhasāṅka may be the prince of Kanoj "who is mentioned by Maheśvara in the introduction to his Viśvaprakāśa" or Rāṣṭrakūṭa Govinda IV.

V. RAGHAVAN

1—Huviska.
2—Huviṣka (*obv.*).
3—Huviska (*rev.*).
4—Huviska (*rev.*).
5—Kujula (*obv.*).
6—Kujula (*rev.*).
7—Sella Curulis.
8—Vima.
9—Vima.
10—Bisellium.
11—Huviska.
12—Vima.
13—Huviskā.

NOTE. Figs. 7 and 10 are reproduced from *The Life of the Greeks and Romans*, by Guhl and Koner, Eng. trans.

To face p. 145.

Huviṣka as Mahāsena

The style Mahāsena is known, from Mbh... and other sources, to have been affected in the 6th century B.C. by Pradyota, king of Ujjayinī, who is identical with "Pajjota" of Buddhist literature.[1] It seems likely that Huviṣka also affected the same or a similar style pertaining primarily to Kārttikeya, the War-god.

In a Kuṣāṇa Brahmī inscription discovered at Mathurā,[2] we find Huviṣka referred to as *śaraśatava-mahārāja*. The reading given in Lüders' List is *...asatama-mahārāja;* but *va* is certain, as a comparison with *va* in the name *Huviṣka* and a contrast with *ma* of the word *mahārāja* in the same inscription will shew. The language of the records is usually described as "Mixed Dialect", that is to say, a mixture of Prakrit with Sanskrit. We may reasonably analyse the compound as composed of Skt. *śara*, "reed", as the first element, and regard °*satava* as a Pkt. form of Skt. *sattvavat*, "living", "existing"; so that the meaning of *śara-satava* would be something like "living or existing in reeds." We are at once reminded of expressions like *śara-janman*, *śara-bhū*, etc. applied as epithets to Kārtikeya who, according to mythology, was born among reeds out of the seed of Śiva.

Huviṣka appears to be actually alluded to simply as Mahāsena in a Kharoṣṭhī inscription unearthed at Peshawar.[3] It is incised on a casket enshrining relics of the Buddha. Its first line is badly damaged, and I do not see any reason for agreeing with Prof. Konow that it should be read as—*Saṁ* [*1 ma*] [*haraja**] *sa kani*(*ṇi*) [*ṣhkasa**]. ....About the rest of the record, however, we may feel sure that the learned Professor is right in reading—

l.2—*deyadharme sarvasatvana*[*ṁ*] (*ṇaṁ*) *hidasuhartha*[*ṁ*] *bhavatu*

1 Deb, *Udayana Vatsarāja* (Calcutta 1919); Rapson, *Cambridge Hist of India*, vol. I, p. 310 (Cambridge 1922).

2 *Ep. Ind.*, I. 9; X. 7; yr. 58.

3 *Kharoshthī Inscriptions* (Corpus Inscrip. Ind.), pl. xxv. I.

l.3—*dasa Agiśala ṇa(na)vakarmia* [*Ka**]*ṇe(ṇe)shkasa vihare Mahasena(ṇa)sa saṁgharame*

l.4—*acharyana(ṇa) sarvastivatina(ṇa) pratigrahe*

which may be translated—

"........May the Religious Gift be for the welfare and happiness of all beings! The slave Agiśala [was] the architect; in the *vihāra* of [*Ka*]*neṣka;* in the *saṃghārāma* of *Mahāsena* for the acceptance of Sarvāstivādin teachers."

We may observe that *vihāra* is here distinguished from *saṁghārāma;* perhaps *vihāra* signifies 'dwelling for monks', while *saṁghārāma* denotes 'park (*ārāma*) for the assembly (*saṁgha*)'. A Kanheri inscr. (Lüders, *List.* No. 988) records construction of a *saṃghārāma* at a pre-existing *vihāra.* Our inscr. thus bears witness to the fact that [Ka]neṣka built a *vihāra,* to which Mahāsena added a *saṃghārāma.* About the identity of [Ka]neṣka, we are not left in doubt; he must be the homonymous Kuṣāṇa king responsible for the issue of coins with "Sun" and "Moon" reverses, since there is a representation of that monarch between similar figures of Sun and Moon amongst the designs on the casket. We may infer that Mahāsena, spoken of in the same breath with [Ka]neṣka, was a person of like status.

Corroboration comes from Kuṣāṇa coinage. The monetary issues of Huviṣka often depict the War-god as MAASENO-SKANDO-KOMARO-BIZAGO. What is more, there is no other Kuṣāṇa king whose coins figure this deity. Analogy with Vima Kadphises is instructive. Vima's coins do not figure any deity save Śiva, also known as Maheśvara; and the Pkt. legends on his coins give to Vima the epithets *Mahiśvara* and *sarva-loga-iśvara,* where Mahiśvara can be regarded as Pkt. for Skt. Maheśvara, just as *sarva-loga-iśvara* must be taken as Pkt. for Skt. *śarvalokeśvara.* The obverse portrait represents Vima as 'rising from clouds', or with 'flames issuing from shoulders'—features indicating claim to divine affinities. Similar features are associated with portraits of Huviṣka on his coins; and it is permissible to think that he adopted some epithet of Kārttikeya, just as Vima adopted an epithet of Śiva.

Mythology represents Kārtikeya as a son of Śiva. Has this divine relationship a counterpart in the human relationship

between Huviṣka and Vima? The answer should, I think, be in the affirmative. These rulers believed themselves—or at any rate pretended—to be gods on earth. It would be perfectly logical if Huviṣka, being a son of Vima, deemed it fit to adopt a style belonging to the divine son of the deity whose epithet his father had assumed. Such a relationship is indeed implied in a fragmentary Mathura inscription apparently referring to the grandfather (*pitāmaha*) of Huviṣka as bearing the epithet *satya-dharma-sthita*. As perceived by Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri,[4] the expression *satya-dharma-sthita* corresponds to the style *sachadharmathita* found applied to "Kadphises I," the father of Vima, upon his coins; and the style is not known to have been borne by any other Kuṣāṇa ruler. If I may rely on my reading from the original stone during my visit to Mathura ten years ago, another epithet of the *pitāmaha* of Huviṣka can be recognized as *Kara* which is likewise peculiar to "Kadphises I", unless we choose to deny to that monarch the Kuṣāṇa coins of the "Bull: Bactrian camel" type.[5]

An intimate relationship between Huviṣka and Vima is also very strongly indicated by the obverses of their coins. On his gold issues, Huviṣka never appears in the standing attitude, the attitude almost always[6] preferred by Kaniṣka; his portrait occurs instead as a bust. The bust is known in four varieties, denominated A-B-C-D by Cunningham (*Num. Chron.*, Ser. III, vol. XII, pl. IX) three of which, B-C-D agree closely with the bust on gold issues of Vima (*Ibid.*, pl. V, 3-6).[7] Upon one type in gold, Vima is shown seated on a *bisellium* (*Ibid.*, pl. V. 1),[8] and there is a corresponding type in copper for Huviṣka (*Ibid.*, pl. IX. F).[9] Another type in gold depicts Vima

4 *Political History of Ancient India* (3rd ed.), p. 325.

5 D. R. Sahni also reads.........*na karasya satyadharmasthitasya*......... *JRAS.*, 1924, p. 402. I owe this reference to Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri.

6 Not invariably, as Mr. Allan seems to suppose (*Cambridge Shorter History of India*, pp. 76-7—"the bust-type favoured on the gold coins of Kadphises is not used by Kanishka"). See *Num. Chron*, Ser. III, vol XII, pl. vii, 12-13.

7 See plate, Figs. 1, 2, 4, 8.

8 The legs of the seat prove this identity; see plate, Fig. 10 for a representation. The *sella curulis* occurs on *rev.* of coins of "Kadphises I" bearing on *obv.* a Roman imperial head (plate, Figs. 5-6). See plate, Fig. 7 for a representation.

9 See plate, Figs. 9-11.

sitting cross-legged (*Ibid.*, pl. V. 2), for which we have a corresponding type in copper from Huviṣka (*Ibid.*, pl. IX. G).[10] Finally, there is generic correspondence between the obverse of an issue by Vima showing him as 'Chariot-rider' (*Ibid.*, pl. V. 7) and the obverse of a coin of Huviṣka showing him as 'Elephant-rider' (*Ibid.*, pl. XII. I), both poses being essentially military.

HARIT KRISHNA DEB

10 See plate, Figs. 12.13.

REVIEWS

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE SANSKRIT MSS. IN THE VANGIYA SAHITYA PARISHAT by Chintaharan Chakravarti, Kavyatirtha, M.A., Lecturer, Bethune College, Calcutta: Sahitya Parishat Series No: 85. Published by the Vangiya Sahitya Parishat, pp. xlv+270:

The Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad (Academy of Bengali Literature) is the representative institution of the Bengali-speaking people for the study of Bengali culture primarily through language and literature. As a national institution for the fostering of the national language and literature and for the safe-guarding and studying of the vestiges of national culture in all the wakes of life, its activities, naturally enough, cannot remain confined to the local language and literature only, although its name would restrict it merely to these. The Pariṣad for the last 42 years has been collecting Bengali Mss., and specimens of Bengal's art whether hieratic or popular, and has in addition been publishing editions of texts and monographs on different subjects. A great deal of the intellectual activities of the Bengali people, as of the people in other parts of India, found expression through Sanskrit; and Sanskrit literature and Sanskrit Mss. obtained in the different linguistic tracts are bound up inextricably with the local literature and culture, through the script in the first instance, and through agreement with the vernacular literatures in their mental and spiritual contents. The Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad consequently could not neglect or refuse to collect Sanskrit Mss. found within the area of its activities, and as a result we have in the Pariṣad a collection of some two thousand Sanskrit Mss. in addition to about six thousand Bengali Mss. it possesses. Most of these Sanskrit Mss. are in the Bengali character, Mss. in Devanāgarī numbering not even 250: no other provincial alphabet is represented in this branch of the Pariṣad collection. This is to be explained by the fact that the Devanāgarī Mss. are mostly importations from Northern India—from Benares and other centres: Devanāgarī as the Pan-Indian character for Sanskrit is of recent growth, the English

spirit of centralisation and the unification of the system of Indian education through the Universities being responsible for it during the last 80 years or so.

The Mss. described and docketed in this volume give in the first instance a valuable indication of the range of intellectual culture during the period of Muhammadan rule in Bengal. Secondly, these Mss, have a unique importance in the study of the evolution of the Bengali script. Mss. (whether Sanskirt or Bengali) older than 1500 A.D. are rare, and of Mss. prior to 1500, Sanskrit works are more largely available than Bengali ones. The age of the Ms. of the *Śrīkriṣṇa-Kīrttana*, the oldest Middle Bengali work that we have (which is the oldest book in the Bengali language after the *Caryāpadas* discovered in Nepal and published from the Pariṣad by the late Mm. Haraprasād Śāstrī some 20 years ago) is doubtful—the late Rakhaldas Banerjee thought it belonged to the end of the 14th century, but other views would place it between 1450 and 1520. But in front of the extreme rarity, or absence of Bengali Mss. written before 1500, we have several Sanskrit Mss. in the Bengali character, with dates of writing indicated, which belong to the 15th century. Some of these belong to the Ms. collection of the Dacca University, and one such Ms. we have in the Sāhitya Pariṣad (a Ms. of the *Harivaṃśa*, dated 1387 Śaka=1465 A.D.). The value of these old Mss. as documents of the Bengali alphabet can be well imagined. The Mss. are valuable from many other points of view also, which specialists can appreciate.

Prof. Chintaharan Chakravarti, one of our brilliant younger men in the domain of Sanskrit and allied research in Bengal, has already made a name for sober and systematic work in this particular line of study—that of studying and describing old Mss.—embracing the collections of the Vangiya Sahitya Parishad, the Sanskrit Sahitya Parishad and the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The study and description of Mss. form one of the fundamentals of research, which require not only learning but also patience, and patient labour. Prof. Chakravarti shows himself in an admirable form in the present work. He has given a brief description of each Ms., in the usual style of columnar classification, giving subject number, general number, name of the work, author's name, indication of pages, date of writing if available, script, and remarks if

any are required on the special features of the Ms. or the work and its author. This portion of the work is the foundation on which his Introduction of 45 pages is based, and here he has pointed out for us all that we should know about the treasures we have in the Parishad collection of Sanskrit Mss. Prof. Chakravarti shows how Veda Mss. (Saṃhitā texts) are found in the Bengali character, as well as Upaniṣad Mss., which would show that Bengal did have some local Vedic study in the past and was not dependent on Benares only. The oldest Mss. in order of their dates are also noted. The different heads like Veda, Tantra, Purāṇa, Grammar, Lexicography, Kāvya etc. also are described in reference to the collection with relevant quotations from the Mss. themselves. This 45 page-introduction forms very informative reading even for an ordinary man of culture.

It is gratifying indeed to find that the Parishad collection has at last through Prof. Chakravarti's Catalogue been made useful to outside scholars, for now people working in different branches of Indology can easily find out whether the Parishad has to offer them any material in the shape of Mss. The Bhandarkar Research Institute at Poona in bringing out their critical edition of the Mahābhārata found, among other Mss., one from the Parishad collection useful. A catalogue like this makes co-operation among learned bodies easy. And the Parishad as well as Prof. Chakravarti deserve to be complimented for serving science in this way. The printing and general get up are quite good.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

DHOLA-MARU-RA DUHA, an old Rājasthāni love-ballad edited by Thakur Ramsingh, M.A., Pandit Surya Karaṇ Pārek, M.A., and Sri Narottama Dasa Swami, M.A. Published by the Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā, Benares.

The work under review is the most popular love-ballad of Rajputana. Composed originally somewhere about the middle of the 15th century, it was so much added to by various bards and poets that a Jain poet named Kuśalalābha had to compose a number of *chaupais* to maintain unbroken the thread of the narrative. The work gained great popularity in this new form. But that the older forms did not entirely disappear is shown by our editors' success in unearthing a fairly large number of manuscripts belonging to the older recensions. The present edition is based primarily on these, and on a very old manuscript of Kuśalalābha's recension obtained from Jaisalmer.

The work is useful from various points of view. To the historian, it presents a faithful picture of the Rajput society existing in the early Muslim Period. To the philologist, it supplies the missing link between Apabhraṃśa on the one side, and later Rājasthānī and Hindi on the other, and to the literary critic it is welcome as a good specimen of the better type of Rājasthānī folk-songs.

The editors' work has been done well. Besides giving the literal Hindī translation of the *dūhās*, they have supplied us with a lengthy and learned introduction dealing with almost every conceivable point about the *dūhās* that required to be considered. We hope that they will find time to enrich Rājasthānī and Hindī literature by giving us some more editions of this type.

DASARATHA SARMA

CANDRAGUPTA MAURYA: By P. L. Bhārgava, with Foreward by Dr. R. K. Mookerji, Lucknow, 1936. Pp. viii + 138 + a map:

It is an irony of fate that notwithstanding the great progress that has been made recently in the study of Ancient Indian historical biographies and dynastic history, the life-history of the founder of the greatest imperial dynasty of Ancient India has remained unwritten up to now. This want has now been largely filled up by the interesting monograph under notice. In this short work the young and promising author has shown not only a wide mastery of facts, but what is more important, a sound critical judgment, enabling him on the whole to present a reliable biography of the great Emperor. The arrangement of topics is satisfactory: the preliminary chapters are devoted to the study of chronology and the early history of Magadha, one chapter summarise the known events of Candragupta's life, the following chapter deals with administration, social and economic life, literature and art of the period, while the concluding chapter brings together in the fashion of Vincent Smith's *Life of Aśoka* the group of legends that have clustered round the hero. Three appendices and an index conclude this useful work, which is enriched by an illustration of Pāṭaliputra excavations and a map.

On a number of points a few remarks may be made. The author's chronology of the kings of Magadha from Bimbiśāra downwards and specially his dates for Candragupta's conquest of the Punjab and accession to the Magadhan throne (ch. I) though differing somewhat from generally accepted theories, are supported by weighty arguments. The author takes (p. 45) the curious Mahāsthān inscription to imply the inclusion of Bengal in Candragupta's empire, but the scholarly edition of this inscription by Dr. B. M. Barua (*IHQ.*, vol. X, 1934, pp. 57ff.) to which he makes no reference, does not bear out this view. The author throughout accepts the tradition that the *Arthaśāstra* was the work of Candragupta's minister: it would have been well, to say the least, to refer to the opposite view on the subject. In his account of Candragupta's administration the author follows Mr. Jayaswal's interpretation of *Paura* and *Jānapada* as popular assemblies and ascribes to them considerable powers, thus altogether ignoring the important criticism of Dr. Narendra Nath Law (*IHQ.*,

vol. VI (1930), pp. 181ff). The translation of *pariṣat* as a sort of parliament (p. 51) is untenable. The account of Candragupta's land revenue system (p. 60) is incomplete and makes no reference to the contribution of the present reviewer (*Hindu Revenue System*, p. 167ff). The rendering of *Pauravyavahārika* (p. 56) as the head of city affairs is untenable. The account of certain officers mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*, such as Samāhartā and Pradeṣṭā is insufficient, while no reference is made to other officers like the Nāgaraka, the Sthānika and the Gopa. The association of a superintendent (*adhyakṣa*) with the City Boards mentioned by Megasthenês is gratuitous. The description of slavery (pp. 73-75) takes no notice of the different classes of slaves mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra*. It is difficult to accept the statement (p. 75) that the Vedic sacrificial religion was still predominant in Candragupta's time and it is hard to follow the author's view that the most popular form of *this religion* was the Bhāgavata faith. In the sketch of the economic condition reference might well have been made to Mr. Jayaswal's ingenious attribution of certain types of punch-marked coins to the Maurya sovereigns. The author's critical estimate of Candragupta does but scant justice to Akbar and Napoleon with whom, among others, he draws a parallel (pp. 103-4). To say that Akbar inherited the resources needed for building up an empire and that his success was due more to the quality of his ministers than to himself is wide of the truth. Equally one-sided is his view that France gained nothing by Napoleon's splendid exploits.

We have noticed a few slips: Mulaner (p. 37), Shwanbeck, Laassen and Shleged (p. 38 and n. 1). The complete absence of diacritical marks is regrettable.

U. N. GHOSHAL

ASAMAR PADYA-BURANJI, or a Metrical Chronical of Assam: Edited by S. K. Bhuyan, first edition, 1933: Published by the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam.

Since Gait wrote his *History of Assam* (First edition, 1906), the wealth of original material bearing on the subject has been largely increased by the publication of a number of *buranjis*, both in prose and verse, for which the credit is almost wholly due to the enthusiastic labours of Prof. S. K. Bhuyan and not less to the enlightened patronage of the Assam Government, which could find sufficient funds for the purpose during a period of admitted financial strain. Of the works thus brought to light, mention may be made particularly of the Kāmarūpa Buranji from the earliest times to 1682 A.D. (containing a contemporary account of the struggle between the Mughals and Āhomas in the 16th century), the Tungkhungia Buranji from 1681-1806 and the Deodhāi Assam Buranji from the earliest times to 1648 A.D. In the present work Prof. Bhuyan has edited with his usual ability two late Assamese metrical chronicles, accompanying the text with introductions in English and Assamese and a synopsis of contents. Both these works appear to be of first-rate importance. The first presents a complete history of Assam from 1679-1758 and, as the editor points out, more than half of its contents is based upon first-hand or at any rate contemporary knowledge of the author. The second, though a much shorter work, embracing only the last phase of Āhom rule (1792-1819) is, as the editor observes, one of the very few contemporary documents of the Burmese invasions. Both these works bear the impress of Assamese Vaiṣṇava political literature. Both again are impregnated with epic and Purāṇic tradition: witness *e.g.*, the significant title of the first work, Kali-bhārat, with which, we may compare the title, Kalikāla-Vālmīki, assumed by Sandhyākara Nandī in his *Rāmacarita* [Prof. Bhuyan thinks that the title Kali-bhārat is a reflection of the author's faith in the fulfilment of the prophecies regarding the Kali Age, so commonly found in Vaiṣṇava poetry. May it not after all be simply a reminiscence of its model and exemplar, the Great Epic?] Both works again were written about the same time and practically under the same auspices. Dutirām, author of the first chronicle, wrote his work apparently between 1846 and 52 at the instance of

Prince Purandar Siṃha and his son, while Viśveśvara, author of the second work, wrote, as it seems, between 1833 and '46 under the auspices of the same Purandar Siṃha. Here, however, the resemblance ends. Dutirām was a baniyā by caste, though certainly a well-read and accomplished man of his time, his style is plain and matter of fact and has little pretension to poetry. Viśveśvara, on the other hand, was a Grahavipra, and his work, according to the editor, deserves to rank as a literary masterpiece.

Both the present chronicles have been edited from single MSS. But while the first Ms. is a complete one, the second is full of *lacunae* and what remains of it is in a sad state of preservation. It is somewhat puzzling to find that the editor has filled up the gaps of the second work with his own composition, lest the reader's "enjoyment of the author's beautiful narrative might be impeded." It may be surmised that the same motive has led the editor to improve the admittedly mutilated text, for he nowhere gives the corrupt readings in the original. As the present volume consists of two chronicles, its title seems to be a little inappropriate. Proper prominence has not been given to the fact that the title of the second chronicle, *Belimarar Buranji*, "chronicle of the sun-set", has been coined by the author for want of a known designation.

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Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Acta Orientalia, vol. XIV, pars III

J. GONDA.—*Zur Homonymie in Altindischen* (Homonyms in Old Indian).

A. M. HOCART.—*The Basis of Caste.* The writer is of opinion that the caste-system is a sacrificial organisation. Castes are families to which various offices in the ritual were assigned.

J. PH. VOGEL.—*A Standard Work on Indian Architecture.* This is an appreciation of the merits of the *Mānasāra*, a treatise on architecture and sculpture, edited by Dr. P. K. Acharya.

STEN KONOW.—*Note on Khotanī Saka and Central Asian Prakrit.*

Buddhaprabha, October, 1935

D. M. TATKE.—*The Law of Karma.*

M. VENKATA RAO.—*Influence of Buddhism on the Life and Spirit of Japan.*

Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol. VIII, parts 2 and 3

EDITH M. WHITE.—*Bibliography of the Published Writings of Sir George A. Grierson.*

L. ALSDORF.—*The Vasudevahiṇḍi, a specimen of Archaic Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī.*

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.—*Does Khaṛi Bolī mean nothing more than Rustic Speech?*

JULES BLOCH.—*La Charrue védique.*

T. BURROW.—*The Dialectical Position of the Niya Prakrit.*

JARL CHARPENTIER.—*Śakadhūma.* *Śakadhūma* is the king of the stars in the Atharvaveda. The sense of the word is 'dung-smoke,' or 'smoke of burning (lumps of) dung.' The writer of the note suggests that originally the Pleiades or Kṛttikās were called *Śakadhūma.*

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.—*Purāṇa Legends and the Prakrit Tradition in New Indo-Aryan.*

A. CUNY.—*Les nasales de mot en sanskrit (et latin).*

ALBERT DEBRUNNER.—*Der Typus tudá-im Altindischen.*

FRANKLIN EDGERTON.—*The Prakrit underlying Buddhistic Hybrid Sanskrit.*

LOUIS H. GRAY.—*Observations on Middle Indian Morphology.*

SYLVAIN LEVI.—*Mālavihāra.*

HANNS OERTAL.—*The Expressions for "the year consists of twelve months" and the like in Vedic Prose.*

E. J. RAPSON.—*Sanskrit sá and sáḥ.*

BABURAM SAKSENA.—*Pāli bhūnaha.* Disagreeing with the interpretations of the Sutta-nipāta commentary as also of some modern scholars, the writer shows that the word *bhūnaha* in Pāli corresponds to Sanskrit *bhrūṇahan* "the killer of an embryo, one who causes abortion."

E. J. THOMAS.—*Tathāgata and Tathāgaya.*

F. W. THOMAS.—*Some Words found in Central Asian Documents.*

R. L. TURNER.—*Sanskrit ā-kṣeti and Pali acchati in Modern Indo-Aryan.*

J. WACKERNAGEL.—*Atindische und mittelindische Miszellen.*

WALTHER WÜST:—*Wortkundliche Beiträge zur arischen Kulturgeschishte und Welt-Anschauung. II.*

Calcutta Oriental Journal, vol. III, no. 3 (December, 1933)

KSHITIS CHANDRA CHATTERJI.—*Jagannātha and Bhaṭṭoji.* The discussion in the paper centres round a grammatical topic where Jagannātha Paṇḍita attacked Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita.

P. K. GODE.—*Ekanātha's commentary on the Kirātārjunīya called Prasannasāhitya-candrikā and its probable date between A.D. 1400 and 1583 or the latter half of the 15th century.*

Y. MAHALINGA SASTRI.—*Kavirākṣasīya.* The *Kavirākṣasīya*, a minor Kāvya in double entendre, is being edited with an original commentary in Sanskrit and English Translation and Notes.

MALATI SEN.—*Kāvyālaṃkārasūtravṛtti with a commentary.*

Ibid., vol. III, no. 4 (January, 1936)

KSHITIS CHANDRA CHATTERJI.—*Sundarī and Kamalā, the learned wives of Ghanaśyāma.*

Y. MAHALINGA SASTRI.—*Kavirākṣasīya.*

KOKILESWAR SASTRI.—*A Contradiction reconciled in Śaṅkara-Vedānta.*

B. C. SEN.—*Inscription as a Source of History: (1) The Edicts of Aśoka.*

MALATI SEN.—*Kāvyālaṃkārasūtravṛtti with a commentary.*

Ibid., vol. III, no. 5 (February, 1936)

KSHITIS CHANDRA CHATTERJI.—*Some Technical Terms of Sanskrit Grammar.*

HAR DATTA SHARMA.—*Sūktisundara of Sundaradeva.* The article treats of a small work of anthology compiled in the 17th century A.C.

B. C. SEN.—*Inscription as a source of History: (1) The Edicts of Aśoka.*

MALATI SEN.—*Kāvyālaṃkārasūtravṛtti with a commentary.*

Dacca University Studies, vol. I, no. 1 (November, 1935)

S. N. BHATTACHARYYA.—*On the Transfer of the Capital of Mughal Bengal from Rajmahal to Dacca by Islam Khan Chishti.* Islam Khan, the viceroy of Jahangir, had to deal with the rebellious Zamindars of south-eastern Bengal and to combat the inroads of the Arrakan king and the Magh and Feringi pirates of Chittagong. The exigencies of the military and political situation were the main factors that led to the rise of Dacca. The loss of the strategic importance of Rajmahal owing to a change in the course of the Ganges also prompted Islam Khan to transfer his capital to Dacca. About two years elapsed in the process of the change of head-quarters from 1610 to 1612, when the new capital was renamed Jahangirnagar.

PRAMODE LAL PAUL.—*The Date of the Khadga Dynasty.* From a palæographic study of the Ashrafpur plates of the Khadga kings of Samataṭa the writer concludes that the letters in that record bear affinity to the Aphsaḍ and Deo-Baranark inscriptions of the later Gupta dynasty of the 8th century, and differ considerably from the characters in the Khālimpur plates of Dharmapāla. So the Khaḍga kings should be assigned to the 8th century and not to a posterior date as some incline to do.

SUKUMAR RAY.—*The Death of Hīmū.* Abu-l-Fazl's statement that out of magnanimity to a defeated enemy Akbar refused to take the life of Hīmū in spite of the prospect of gaining the title of *ghāzī* by killing the infidel is disbelieved here on the basis of contemparary evidences. Akbar, who was only 14 years old at the time, struck Hīmū with a sword and was helped by Bairām Khān in the act.

HIMANSU BHUSAN SARKAR.—*An Old Javanese Inscription of the Saka year 841.*

M. J. BORROH.—*An Account of the Immigration of Persian Poets into Bengal.*

PRAKASCHANDRA LAHIRI.—*Jagannātha's Treatment of the Guṇa concept in Sanskrit Poetics.*

Études Traditionelles, No. 193, January, 1936

ANANDA K. COMARASWAMY.—*L'idée de création éternelle dans le Ṛg-veda.*

Indian Art and Letters, vol. IX, no. 2

O. C. GANGOLY.—*Discovery of Cola Frescoes in Tanjore.*

A. J. BERNET KEMPERS.—*Hindu Javanese Bronzes.*

ARTHER UPHAM POPE.—*Some Interrelations between Persian and Indian Architecture.*

DAYA RAM SAHNI.—*The Eight Great Places of Buddhist Pilgrimage.*

Indian Culture, vol. II, no. 3 (January, 1936)

A. S. ALTEKAR.—*The Śilāhāras of Western India.* The paper furnishes the names and dates of the kings of the three Silāhāra families ruling in South Konkan, North Konkan and Kolhapur and discusses the administrative, religious, social and economic conditions under them.

MD. ENAMUL HAQ.—*The Ṣūfī Movement in India.*

S. K. DE.—*The Theology and Philosophy of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism.* This instalment of the paper deals with the *Bhāgavat-sandarbha* of Jīva Gosvāmin, in which the concept of the Bhagavat is explained.

ANILCHANDRA BANERJI.—*Kingship and Nobility in the Fifteenth Century.* The conflict that ensued between the rulers and the noble men at Delhi in the 15th century after the death of Mahmūd Tughluq (1412 A.C.) is narrated in this note.

B. K. GHOSH.—*Pischel on Characteritics of Prakrit Languages (II).*

B. A. SALETORE.—*The Submarine Fire in Indian History.* The notices of the Submarine fire as found in the Hindu literature and various epigraphs, with an account of the menace as given in the annals of the southern islands of Malaya and Sumatra have been put together.

ADRIS BANERJI.—*New Light on Bengal History.* It is known from some literary and epigraphic evidences that after the fall of the Imperial Guptas and before the rise of the Pālas, Bengal was a victim of constant foreign invasions. Conditions of monuments excavated in the different parts of Bengal also show that the 7th and 8th centuries were a period of destruction in Bengal. Materials of older shrines used in the rebuilding of temples and such other evidences found at places like Mahāsthāngaḍ indicate that the older structures were razed to the ground by invaders and rebuilt at a later time when political stability was regained.

HIMANSU BHUSAN SARKAR.—*The Inscription of Trawulan.* The inscription issued in 1358 during the reign of king Rājasanagara *alias* Hayan Wuruk is important for the history of ancient Java.

MRS. C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS.—*A Historical Aspect of Nirvāṇa.*

V. R. RAMCHANDRA DIKSHITAR.—*The Sattiyaputras, Sātakarṇis, Sātvatas and Nāsatyas.*

H. C. RAYCHOWDHURI.—*Some Problems of Early Maurya History and Chronology.*

Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. 55, no. iv (December, 1935)

A. K. COOMARASWAMY.—*Angel and Titan: An Essay in Vedic Ontology.*

Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society

vol. IX, part 4 (April, 1935)

B. V. KRISHNA RAO.—*Revised Chronology of the Eastern Cālukya Kings.*

B. A. Salatore.—*The Rāja-guru of the Founders of Vijayanagara and the Pontiffs of Śṛṅgeri Maṭha.* The early rulers of Vijayanagara were under the spiritual guidance of Kāśīvilāsa Kriyāśakti Paṇḍita, an ācārya of the Kālamukha sect. They associated, out of political necessity only, with the heads of the *Śṛṅgeri* Maṭha—Vidyātīrtha and Vidyāraṇya.

K. Iswara Dutt.—*Campaigns of Śrī Kṛṣṇadevarāya* (a Vijayanagara ruler of the early 16th century).

Journal of the Annamalai University, vol. V, no. 2 (March, 1936)

K. R. Pisharoti.—*Śikhara.* It discusses the meaning of the architectural term *śikhara* which, it is shown, corresponds to the roof of the temple.

V. A. Ramaswami Sastri.—*Jagannātha Paṇḍita.* A discussion on the differences of opinion regarding literary criticism as found in the works of Appayya Dīkṣita and Jagannātha Paṇḍita is continued in this instalment of the paper.

K. R. Pishorati.—*Abhiṣeka-nāṭaka.* Translated into English with Notes.

R. Ramanujachariar and K. Srinivasachariar.—*Siddhitraya.* The *Ātmasiddhi* of Yāmunācārya is being edited with an English Translation and Notes.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Letters), vol. I, 1935, no. 2

S. Wajahat Husain.—*Maḥmūd Gāwān.* This is an account of the career of Maḥmūd Gāwān, the famous minister of the Bahmanī kingdom.

Muhammad Ashraff.—*Life and Conditions of the People of Hindūstān (1200-1550).* Information regarding the political, economic and social conditions of India under the Muslim Sultāns of Delhi have been collected here mainly from the Islamic sources.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,
vol. XXI, part IV (December, 1935)

Sarat Chandra Ray.—*Report on Anthropological Work in 1934-35—the Migration of the Khāriās.*

—*Ethnographical Investigation in Official Records.*

RAHULA SANKRITYAYANA.—*Vādanyāya.* This work of the Buddhist logician Dharmakīrti of the 7th century is edited here from a ms. found in Tibet. The first section viz. nigrahasthānalakṣana have been published in this instalment.

Journal of Indian History, vol. XIV, part 3 (December, 1935)

M. GOVIND PAI.—*Chronology of Sakas, Pahlavas and Kushanas.*

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.—*Date of Kadamba Mṛgeśavarman.* In the light of a statement found in a grant of Mṛgeśavarman, his date of accession is calculated to be A.C. 470.

V. VENKATASUBBA AIYAR.—*Date of Rājādhirāja II.* It is maintained that Rājādhirāja's coronation took place in 1166 A.C.

S. K. BANERJI.—*Humayun, the Prince—1580-30.*

BURJOR BOMANJI ICHAPORIA.—*Portraits of the Greater Moghuls.*

SITA RAM KOHLI.—*The Army of Maharaja Ranjit Singh.* This instalment of the paper deals with deductions of pay on account of absence from duty, overstaying leave or other lapses, as well as with fines and rewards.

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. IX, part IV (October-December, 1935)

S. S. SURYANARAYAN SASTRI.—*The Advaitavidyāmukura.* This is an account of the contents of the *Advaitamukura* of Raṅgarāja, father of Appayya Dīkṣita, the celebrated South Indian scholar of the 16th century. It is inferred from a fragmentary manuscript of the work that it was written to answer dualistic attacks upon the Advaita doctrines.

W. CALAND.—*The Origin of the Sāmaveda* (translated from German by K. A. Nilakantha Sastri).

C. R. SANKARAN.—*Accentual Variation in Relation to Semantic Variation.*

T. R. CHINTAMANI and T. V. RAMCHANDRA DIKSHITAR.—*Pūrvamīmāṃsāsaṃgrahadīpikā.* This is an edition of the *Pūrvamīmāṃsāviṣayasaṃgrahadīpikā,* a short treatise by Appayya Dīkṣita summarising the contents of Jaimini's *Pūrvamīmāṃsāsūtras.*

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.—*Guṇaviṣṇu and Sāyaṇa.* The opinion that

Guṇaviṣṇu, the author of a commentary on a selection of Vedic mantras was earlier than Sāyaṇa is opposed in this paper.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, January, 1936

E. H. JOHNSTON.—*Cattle Theft in the Arthaśāstra.* It contains an interpretation of two sentences of the *Arthaśāstra* dealing with the theft of cattle.

Philosophical Quarterly, vol. XI, no. 3 (October, 1935)

T. R. V. MURTI.—*Types of Indian Realism.*

Prabuddha Bharata, vol. XLI, no. 2 (February, 1936)

M. WINTERNITZ.—*Ethics in Brāhmaṇical Literature.*
H. ZIMMER.—*Indian Views on Psychotherapy.*
M. SARKAR.—*Yoga as a Means to Self-realisation.*
B. K. SARKAR.—*The Pluralistic Universe in Hindu Social Philosophy.*
P. K. ACHARYA.—*The Revelation of the Vedas.*
B. R. CHATTERJI.—*Indian Cults in Indo-China, Java and Sumatra.*
E. E. SPEIGHT.—*Vedantic Thought in English Literature.*
A. C. BOSE.—*Cave Temples at Elephanta and Ellora.*
MRS. C. A F. RHYS DAVIDS.—*Zen, Dhyāna and Jhāna.*

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Battles of Guru Gobind Singh by Sunder Singh. Amritsar 1935.

Life of Banda Singh Bahadur by Ganda Sing. Amritsar 1935.

Chandragupta Maurya by Purushottam Lal Bhargava. Lucknow 1935.

Early History of Ceylon by G. C. Mendis. Y.M.C.A. Publishing House. Calcutta 1935.

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Buddhist Philosophy of Universal Flux by Satkari Mookerjee. University of Calcutta. Calcutta 1935.

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Medieval Mysticism of India by Kshitimohan Sen: authorized translation from the Bengali by Manomohan Ghosh. London 1936.

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Obituary Notices

Sylvain Lévi

Born in Paris in 1863 Professor Sylvain Lévi, the great French Orientalist, passed away on the 6th November, 1935 at the age of 72. Even shortly before his death he attended the International Oriental Conference at Rome, and made the proceeding of the Indian Section of the Conference lively by taking part in all the discussions. He was first appointed Professor of Sanskrit in the École des Hautes Études in the Paris University in 1890, and was raised to the position of Professor of Sanskrit and Indian Civilisation in the Collège de France in 1894. He had been a worker in the field of Indology for nearly half a century, and carried on the great traditions of Eugène Burnouf and Abel Bergaigne.

The first mark of Lévi's genius was made in *Le Theâtre Indien* which appeared in 1890. Though other books have been written since then on ancient Indian stage and new details have been brought forward Lévi's book still remains unsurpassed, particularly on account of the masterly presentation of the subject, the fixation of the dates of the authors with accuracy for the first time and sound arguments put forward to refute the theory of Windisch on the Greek origin of the Indian theatre.

Since the publication of his first book Lévi had been working incessantly on various aspects of Indian history, Indian religion—Vedicism and particularly Buddhism, geography, history of literature, political history, Buddhist philosophy and language. An important work on the *Doctrine du sacrifice dans les Brahmaṇas* appeared in 1896, three volumes on the history of Nepal—*Le Népal* came out in 1904 and 1908, the *Mahāyāna-Sūtrālaṃkāra*, the first positive document for the study of the Yogācāra system of philosophy in 1907, the *Vijñaptimātratā-siddhi* of Vasubandhu, a text of the greatest importance for the study of Vijñānavāda philosophy in 1926 and the *Materiaux pour l'étude du système Vijñaptimātra*, in 1932.

The special feature of Lévi's scholarship is its expansive character.

He alone after Burnouf had realised that the history of India cannot be treated in an isolated way without reference to the history of the contiguous countries. To put in Lévi's own words: "I have always thought that one cannot settle and interpret Indian Buddhist texts without comparing them with their Tibetan and Chinese translations. This method proved to be fecund in the field of philology and it has since been employed in the same effective way to bring to light the expansion of Indian civilisation even in unexpected quarters beyond the limits of modern India. Thus the purely scientific study of a literature has resuscitated in a different field the sentiment of a greater India." The application of this method in the study of Indology initiated Lévi early to the study of Chinese and Tibetan. Apart from bringing together purely Chinese materials on Indian history as for example in his *Notes sur les Indo-Scythes* (1896), *L'itinéraraire de Wou-k'ong* (1895) and *Les Missions de Wang Hiuan-ts'e dans l'Inde* (1900) he, whether for the problems of Buddhist literature or for explaining different other aspects of Indian history, went to the Chinese and Tibetan sources for more complete elucidation, cf. for example: *Notes Chinoises sur l'Inde* (1802-1903), *L'Apramādavarga—une étude sur les recensions de Dhammapada* (1912), *Le Catalogue géographique des Yakṣa dans le Mahāmāyurī* (1915) etc.

The name of Lévi will remain associated with the discovery and interpretation of a forgotten Indo-European language which is wrongly known as "Tokharien B" but which he himself persisted in calling Kuchean. The archæological missions to Central Asia particularly that of Pelliot had brought to light fragments of manuscripts of various descriptions. The decipherment of the Mss. in Brāhmī belonging to the Pelliot Mission was entrusted to Lévi and from amongst these Mss. was discovered the Kuchean language which was once spoken in the northern parts of Eastern Turkestan. Lévi not only deciphered this language, he explained it with the help of parallel passages from Chinese and Sanskrit Buddhists texts, restored the ancient history of the country in which the language was spoken from Chinese sources and thus afforded a solid basis for the work of the linguists and historians of Central Asia.

In another sphere, in the modern vestiges of the ancient archives of island of Bali, Lévi lately discovered the fragments of more or less

extensive Sanskrit works for the same purpose of going deeper into the problem of the expansion of Indian civilisation outside India. These texts were published in 1934 in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series—*The Sanskrit texts from Bali.*

In matters of organisation Lévi was always guided by his vision of the greater India. In 1927 when he was sent to Japan for the third time—and this time for laying the foundations of a Research Institute called the *Maison Franco-Japonaise*—the first work which was undertaken by him was the publication of an Encyclopædic dictionary of Buddhism in collaboration with the Japanese scholars. The encyclopædic character of this dictionary is evident from the first few parts which have already come out under the name *Hobogirin.* This dictionary was one of the very early dreams of Lévi's life.

Lévi came to India thrice once in 1897-98 in connection with his studies on the history of Nepal, the second time in 1920 on the joint invitation of the Calcutta University and the Viśvabhāratī and the third time in 1929 while on his way back to France from Japan. He had received an invitation from the Calcutta University in 1914 but the declaration of the war stood in the way of his accepting the invitation immediately.

Though he had not lived in India long his love for India was deep. Whoever has seen him in Paris knows how anxious he was to help all Indian students, whatever their subject of study might be. His house was always open to receive the Indian students and those who had come in his contact cannot forget the great qualities of his heart. He has been often seen amongst his manifold pre-occupations, running at the age of 60 from hotel to hotel to find out a convenient room for a newly arrived Indian student, introducing his French pupils who might be of use in teaching him French, preparing his programme of studies and assuring him of necessary help.

Prof. Lévi was instrumental in founding the *Institut de Civilisation Indienne* in the Paris University in 1929 and this Institute was again one of his old dreams. In organising this Institute he had received the ready co-operation from a number of his Indian friends in Paris and some of them are still anxious to contribute to further development of the institution. After Sénart, he was the chief figure in the

Association de l'ami de l'orient which had been organised to establish a bond of closer friendship with the Orientals coming to Paris. With his death Indianism loses its last leading figure, India one of her best friends and his students a kind and loving teacher.

LIST OF WORKS

[The list does not pretend to be exhaustive. For want of reference books I have not been able to verify the titles of some of the articles. They are distinguished by *query marks*. The names of books have been marked with *asterisk*].

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Jarl Charpentier

On July 5th, 1935, Professor Jarl Charpentier of Upsala (Sweden) died suddenly as the result of an accident. Philology and indology lost in him a prominent and zealous votary, whose work has left its mark in the most diverse branches of these great sciences. As he was a writer on early Indian history and a contributor to this periodical, a few particulars about his life and work may be desirable.

Jarl Charpentier was born in Gothenburg on Dec. 17th, 1884. He belonged to an old family, which had emgrated to Sweden during the Huguenotic wars; its first Swedish member fought honourably under Gustavus Adolphus. Charpentier could claim kinship with several distinguished men, but his predisposition for scholarly pursuits may perhaps be best explained by his relationship, both on his father's and his mother's side, with Erik Gustaf Geijer (1783-1847), Sweden's most famous historian and one of the most illustrious figures in Swedish cultural life. He passed his examinations at the University of Upsala at an unusually early age; he devoted himself chiefly to the study of classical languages and Sanskrit, although, at the same time, he took a deep interest in history, where, thanks to a fabulous memory, he literally knew everything by heart. He graduated as a doctor in 1908 and was appointed a lecturer in the same year. After having filled this post uninterruptedly for twenty years, he was made a professor in 1928, as a successor to K. F. Johansson. Among the honours conferred on him up to this time one might mention the membership of the Jain Literature Society in London. In 1924 he was made an honorary professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology at the Andhra Research University at Vizianagram, India.

In his youth Carpentier was very much influenced by Prof. Jacobi, who in Bonn initiated him into the Middle Indian languages. Later on he was more and more attracted to England. He was a devoted friend of this country and went there on many and prolonged visits; when there he was mainly occupied with manuscript work in the British Museum, catalogue work, and lectures,

chiefly in London and Cambridge. Although he often expressed a desire to visit India, he never had the opportunity of doing so. Nevertheless he took a very deep and warm interest in that country. He wrote a great history of India for the Swedish public and brought out a beautiful book on the Great Moghul dynasty; he also published a great many popular articles in newspapers and periodicals. Professor Charpentier died leaving no near relations.

In Charpentier's research-work two main lines may be traced. The first was due to his studies under K. F. Johansson in Upsala, one of the greatest authorities on comparative Indo-European philology. Through him Charpentier was at an early date initiated into the methods of this science, and, chiefly during the first part of his career, he published a series of etymological treatise, testifying no less to a comprehensive knowledge of language than to an extraordinary skill in tracing the connections and the origin of words. The number of these works amounts to at least twenty-five; they appeared in Le Monde Orental (Upsala), Beiträge zur Kunde der indo-germanischen Sprachen, Zeitschrift für dei Kunde des Morgenlandes, Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Archiv für slavische Philologie, and other learned periodicals. As mentioned above, they belong chiefly to the earlier stage of Charpentier's career. After 1917 he published only seven works of this kind; these deal exclusively with Indian and Iranian material.[1] In fact, Charpentier had gradually come to adopt a more and more critical attitude towards comparative philology, especially in the form in which it was carried on in his youth; he frankly expressed doubts about some of his own earlier etymological combinations, and he was, to say the least, suspicious of many of the attempts in this direction made by other scholars. An interpretation of the word-material, beginning with the conditions in the separate languages and necessarily based on a minute and

1 The most important of these works are: "Beiträge zur alt- und mittelindischen Wortkunde," Zeitschrift der deutsch. morgenländ. Gesellschaft, Bd. 73, 1919; "Zur alt- und mittelindischen Wortkunde," Le Monde Oriental 13, 1919 "Beiträge zur indo-iranischen Wortkunde," *ibid.*, 18, 1924; "Beiträge zur indischen Wortkunde," *ibid.*, 26, 1932.

thorough investigation of the occurrence of the material in literary language, dialects, inscriptions, and lexicographic collections—regard being paid to possible influences from non-Indo-European languages (in India, e.g., from the Dravidian and Indo-Austro-Asiatic languages)—this now seemed to him the only practicable line of approach.

It should, however, be mentioned that Charpentier by no means neglected the other branches of Indo-European philology, although he devoted himself to them more sporadically. He discusses, morphological and grammatical problems in "Die Desiderativbildungen der indoiranischen Sprachen" (Archives d'Études Orientales, vol. 6, Upsala 1912); "Die altindischen Perfektformen vom Typus *dadaú*" (Indogerm. Forschungen, Bd. 32, 1913); "Die verbalen r-Endungen der indogermanischen Sprachen" (Skrifter utgivna av Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Upsala, 18: 4, 1917) and "Altindisches Futurum II in imperfektivischen Gebrauch" (Studier tillegnade Esaias Tegnér, Lund 1918). His work on the desideratives aroused special interest.

A further reason why Charpentier's production in the linguistic sphere now gradually decreased was his growing interest in Indian culture and history. We now come to the other line followed up by Charpentier in his work. Side by side with his linguistic research in the Brugmann-Schmidt-Johansson spirit he devoted himself to indology. The starting-point was his work under Jacobi in Bonn (1907 and 1911). With the productivity peculiar to him he soon published a series of treatises in this field, beginning with the one which gained him his doctor's degree, "Studien zur indischen Erzählungsliteratur I. Paccekabuddha-Geschichten" (1908). Here Charpentier shows deep insight into early Indian narrative literature, such as is found especially in the Buddhist Jātakas and works centering round them, in the Sanskrit epics, in the Bṛhatkathā, and in the legend collections in the Jaina canon. It is the inner connection between these great literatures that he studied.[2] This aroused his interest in Jaina literature as a whole and he acquired a thorough and comprehensive

2 Cf. also "Studien über die indische Erzählungslitteratur," *ZDMG.*, 62, 1908; 64, 1910; 60, 1912; "Textstudien zu Mahāvastu," Le Monde Oriental 3,

knowledge of this subject. As early as 1910 he began to study the Uttarādhyāyana-Sūtra ("Zu Uttarajjhayana XXV," *WZKM.*, 24); he continued in "Le commentaire de Bhāvavijaya sur la neuvieme chapitre de l'Uttarādhyāyana," *Journal Asiatique*, T. 18, 1911), and in "Uber eine alte Hand-schrift der Uttarādhāyanaṭīkā des Devendragana" (*ZDMG.*, Bd. 67, 1913); finally he brought out a complete edition of the Sūtra ("The Uttarādhyāyana Sūtra, being the first Mūlasūtra of the Svetāmbara Jains, edited with an introduction, critical notes and a commentary," *Archives d'Etudes orientales*, vol. 18, Upsala, 1922). In his introduction he gives among other things a survey of the whole of the Jaina canon. In other ways too Charpentier showed his interest in Jainism. In addition to some papers on religious ideas and holy persons (e.g. "Die Legende der heilligen Pārśva," *ZDMG.*, 69, 1915), he gave a comprehensive acount of the history of Jainism in the *Cambridge History of India*, vol. I, (1914-22).

It might seem that the branches of study I have mentioned should have been sufficient to absorb the energy of even such an assiduous investigator as Charpentier. But this was not the case. He was naturally a keen student of Vedic literature; not only did comparative philology in general deal more with these texts than with the later, classical ones, but K. F. Johansson, being also a professor of Sanskrit was a Vedic scholar. Although Johansson did not make any very important contributions in this field (his chief work here was devoted to the Viṣṇu religion: Solfageln i Indien (The Sunbird in India, Upsala 1910), he always gave his pupils instruction in this subject and encouraged them to independent research. Charpentier's "Kleine Beiträge zur indoiranischen Mythologie" (*Upsala Universitets, Arsskrift*, 1911) is a valuable work; here he deals among other things with the animal shapes of some Vedic gods. Not until 1920 he was able to publish another extensive work in this field: "Die Suparṇa-Saga. Untersuchungen zur altindischen Literatur und Segengeschichte" (*Arbeten utgivna med understöd av V. Ekmans universitetsfond*, vol. 26). This is an edition of the important little tract Suparṇādhyāya, a work which as far as its

1909; "Sagengeschichtliches aus dem Arthaśāstra des Kauṭilya" (*WZKM.*, 27, 1913).

contents are concerned belongs to the *Mahābhārata*, but whose language is more archaic. In the appended commentary much valuable material is to be found—from Pāṇini to modern popular tales. Ten years later Charpentier published the comprehensive work, "Bráhman. Eine sprachwissenschaftlich-exegetisch-religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung I, II" (*Upsala Universitets Arsskrift*, 1932-1933). Contrary to the general view he tries to show that the word *bráhman*, which expresses one of the central ideas of Indian religion and philosophy, is most closely related to the Avestic barsman. "Bráhman" was his last important contribution—a fitting climax to his work as an indologist and a philologist. Unfortunately he did not live to finish the third part.[3]

As an historian Charpentier contributed to the discussion concerning the dates of the death of Buddha and Mahāvīra ("The date of Mahāvīra," *Indian Antiquary*, 43, 1914) and the dating of Zoroaster (*BSOS.*, 1923; *Andhra Research University Publications*, 1925); he contributed also to the study of the Greek and Indo-Scythian periods in the history of India.[4] But particularly noteworthy are his merits as an investigator into the early connections between India and Europe. In this field he will always be reckoned as one of the leading authorities. From about 1917 a growing interest in questions of this kind is noticeable in Charpentier's work. In books and articles written for Swedish readers he describes the ideas of India current among the ancients and the impressions of that country gained by early European travellers, especially Jesuit missionaries. Not until 1924, however, did he present a work in this field to an international public: "Cesare di

3 Valuable, too, are his translation of the Kāṭhaka-upaniṣad (*IA.*, vols. LVII, 1928, and LVIII, 1929) and "Some Remarks on the Bhagavadgītā" (*ibid.*, LIX, 1930), where he discusses the original form of the Gītā.

4 "Sakara" (*JRAS.*, 1925); "Vitastā-Hydaspes" (*ibid.*, 1927); "St. Thomas the Apostle and India" (Kyrko hist. Arsskrift /Sweden/, 1929; Charpentier's inaugural lecture); "Antiochus, King of the Yavanas" (*BSOS.*, 6, 1931); "Pherendates-Parṇadatta" (*JRAS.*, 1931); "The Indian travels of Apollonius of Tyana" (Skrifter utgivna av Kungl. Humanist. Vetenskapssamfundet i Upsala 29: 3, 1934) etc.

Frederice and Gasparo Balbi" (*IA.*, vol. 53).[5] At this period he made one of his most valuable manuscript finds in the British Museum, where, incidentally, he was a frequent visitor. He tells us about this in his "Preliminary Report on the 'Livro da Seita dos Indios orientais' (Brit. Mus. Ms. Sloane, 1820") in *BSOS.*, 2 1921-23. However, other matters supervened, and not until 1933—in a period of ill-health and adversities, when his achievement must arouse still more admiration—was he able to edit this work by an old Jesuit father, which is so important for the history of Indian culture and religion.[6] Meanwhile he had found time to prepare two other newly found manuscripts for publication, under the titles "A Treatise on Hindu Cosmography from the Seventeenth Century (Brit. Mus. Ms. Sloane 2748 A)" (*BSOS.*, III, 1923-25) and "The Brit. Mus. Ms. Sloane 3290, the common source of Baldaeus and Dapper" (*ibid.*). In "William of Rubruck and Rober Bacon" (in Hyllningsskrift för Sven Hedin 1935) he shows how R. Bacon, one of the geniuses of his time, inserted in his work *Opus Majus* a good deal that he had taken over verbatim from Rubruck.

It is impossible to conclude an account of Charpentier's life and work without mentioning his activity as a reviewer. In fact, to many he was better known through his reviews in *JRAS.* and *BSOS.*,[7] than through his own original works. Wide reading and critical judgment with a capacity to grasp the characteristics of an author, his method, and the relation between his conclusions and the material presented by himself or others—are the qualities that one expects to find in a good reviewer. Charpentier possessed them in a high degree, and he had, in addition, a benevolent and sympathetic turn of mind that made him inclined to praise rather than dismiss with carping and vindictive criticism. Although he was a Swede, he wrote a very good English, and he wrote with an extraordinary fluency. To his friends it was a mystery how he found time for his many works.

5 A revised version of a similar paper in *Geografiska Annaler* (Annals of Geography), Sweden, for the year 1920.

6 The Livro da Seita dos Indios Orientais (Brit. Mus. Ms. Sloane 1820) of Father Jacobo Fenicio, S. J. Edited with an Introduction and Notes" (in Arbeten, utgivna med understöd av Milh. Ekmans universitetsfond 40, 1933).

7 He also contributed to *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, Germany.

Personally Charpentier was an unusually authoritative figure, who never strove to assert himself but rather kept himself in the background. His enormous learning, which he was always ready to place at the disposal of others, was, in itself, sufficient to command respect. He moreover possessed an extraordinary insight into human nature and a remarkably clear and unerring judgment, which lent weight to anything he might have to say. He looked upon his fellow-men with a humorous, sometimes rather sarcastic, eye, and he was, at least when in good health, at heart an optimist and one not loath to enjoy life. He was always true to his friends. He might sometimes seem to neglect his own interests, but he never forgot the welfare of his friends. He leaves a void which cannot be filled, and it may perhaps be felt even in India that with him not only a great indologist but also a warm friend of the Indian people has passed into the Great Unknown.*

KASTEN RÖNNOW

* The last article of Charpentier was published by us in vol. IX of this journal.

A Proposal for the Compilation of a Chinese-Sanskrit Dictionary

The compilation of a Chinese-Sanskrit Dictionary suggested itself to European scholars some time ago, when the Buddhist Mahāyāna texts first began to attract the attention of Sanskritists. These texts, as for instance, the works of the philosophers of the idealistic school, proved to be very valuable in themselves and also for the study of Indian philosophy and culture in general. Unfortunately the Sanskrit originals in most cases are lost and at the present time exist only in Tibetan and Chinese translations, from which they have to be reconstructed.

This translation-literature forms the basis of Chinese and Japanese Buddhistic philosophy, the terminology of which can only adequately be understood by tracing back the original Sanskrit meanings. In addition there has been a number of Chinese philosophers and early Nestorian and Christian missionaries who made constant use, of Buddhist terms and adapted them to their own purposes. Even pure Chinese linguistic studies are not possible without Sanskrit.

Remarkable exertions have already been made to promote the matter. Louis de la Vallée Poussin, the eminent Belgian scholar and pioneer in the field of Buddhistic studies, was also the first to conceive the importance of a comprehensive Chinese-Sanskrit Dictionary and to suggest to his pupils the indexing of bilingual works in order to prepare the ground. He has been followed by several scholars throughout the world. Together with older attempts and the purely Chinese or Japanese Buddhist dictionaries, we possess already important preparatory material which can be arranged in three different parts:

(1) The editions of the ancient dictionaries used by Chinese and Tibetan translators.

(2) Sanskrit equivalents gained by comparative study of the different versions of the same work.

(3) The Japanese dictionaries containing the bulk of terminological explanations and definitions obtained from the most important works of the Tripiṭaka, but with the exception of the phonetic transcriptions having no Sanskrit translation.

The above-named efforts are not sufficient, because

(1) The aforesaid dictionaries are incomplete and often not reliable.

(2) The scattered notes and existing indices are limited to the material occurring in one single book.

(3) The Japanese dictionaries serve another purpose.

Personally I feel that an attempt should be made to compile a standard dictionary giving the equivalent Sanskrit terms for all the technical words (this is to be understood in a wider sense) occurring in the translated literature, as far as available. Reliable material can only be collected by indexing the most important texts, of which both the Sanskrit originals and the Chinese translations are preserved.

Considerable work has already been done, a part of the indices based on Sanskrit has only to be included. It can be hoped that more will be accomplished in France and Japan in the course of the next three years. It also may be that in other countries card registers exist which would be useful.

As to the procedure involved, the work naturally falls into two different parts, namely, (i) the completion of the card register, and (ii) the compilation of the dictionary. If it is decided from the beginning to make a lexicographical work, we do not need to print the indices separately. The work of collecting slips has not necessarily to be done by one man; even less experienced students can be used if they are trained according to a sound method, provided that every slip is checked, as is done by Prof. Wogihara. Later on, I will examine the problem of training students with regard to such a method.

It is evident that the writing and arranging of a Chinese card-register, the printing of Chinese characters and all other sorts of technical work can be best done in China or Japan. Only for reading Sanskrit texts European and Indian scholars are necessary, men who are familiar with the intricacies of Sanskrit grammar and Indian dialects. Other work certainly can be done more cheaply and faster in China.

W. Liebenthal

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On a Tantrik Fragment from Kucha (Central Asia)

Among the many manuscript fragments dug out from the Kucha oasis by the French mission to Central Asia ("Mission Pelliot") there appears a set of three complete leaves catalogued in the Rough List of the Mission as M. 777.—1, 2, 3. In contrast with most of these fragments, the handwriting looks careless, or at least cursive. One part of the text is Sanskrit, often incorrect and debased and the other part is written in the so-called Kuchean, the language that was spoken in the Kucha kingdom between the sixth and eleventh century A.D. and seems to have been forgotten after that time. It is now well known that the old languages of Kucha is a remote offshoot of the Indo-European family, showing strange features of likeness with the Italo-Celtic branch. As the study of Kuchean has not yet taken root in India, it may be interesting to bring before the Indian reader a specimen of this highly polished language which played such an important part in the spread of Indian culture, especially of Buddhism, among the Chinese and Turkish people. I may refer for particulars to an essay I have published long ago: Le "Tokharien B" langue de Koutcha, in *Journal Asiatique*, 1913, II, 311-380, and concerning the whole of the question to a substantial review given by Dr. P. C. Bagchi in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, X, 3, 585-592.

The text is evidently Tantrik; it consists of different parts which may have been sections of a larger work or may be as well short treatises grouped together by some copyist on account of their common character

of black magic (*abhicāra*). The first two lines of the first page preserved, give, it seems, the end (...*raṇaṃ* at the beginning of the third line is almost certainly to be restored: *prakaraṇaṃ*) of a treatise bearing on medicine and magic combined, as usual. Perhaps the word *cikitsopâlambhikam* is the title of the chapter; the meaning may be: "Blaming (*upālambha*=*nindâ*) or forbidding (*upālambha*=*pratiṣedha*) a medical treatment"; that meaning may fit with the preceding sentence: "No remedy ought to be taken by......(*naivoṣadhaṃ bhavati peyam* [*a*]*hâcareṇeti*)."

Then comes a set of seven ślokas, written in the most barbarous Sanskrit, so faulty that the scribe only may be responsible for so many blunders against grammar and metrics. "I shall proclaim the Brahmadaṇḍa, killing all enemies, by which an enemy is put to death." The Brahmadaṇḍa opens with a homage to the most unexpected assemblage of deities, starting with Ocean (*samudraṃ prathamaṃ vande*) and Mount Himavat, Meru king of mountains and Gandhamâdana. After a small gap, Vaiśramaṇa comes in, and king Varuṇa, Nārada (Narata) with Timburu, the Ādityas, the Vasus, the Rudras the Aśvins, the Maruts, the Sindhu(?) with the city of the Gandharvas and last of all "Brahmâ by whom the *daṇḍa* has been shaped (*prakalpita*). This *daṇḍa* is very frightful; it burns the heart of the enemies "...come, having been sent, go...that his son, his wife, his wealth be destroyed." After that, one line of prose: "Homage to the prong, to the bearer of the plough, of the mace, of the bow...to the frightful-looking one!" Again one śloka of imprecation: "He, to whom I send the *daṇḍa*, may he soon lose his life! Here are the magic words that obtain all success obtained!" And then some of the solemn invocations, directed first to female deities of obscure nature and name, Brahmaprakrati, Khalīmukhalī, Viliṅgâvalī, Vâgatuṇḍâ, Padma(va?)tî, Siddhi, Dandalibi??; next, to Brahmâ himself, and to Śiva as Rudra, Piṅgala, Ekajaṭa, Dvijaṭa, Trijaṭa, Bahujaṭa, Mahājaṭa, Śiva Śrîgandhara?, Śveta, Śvetagrīva, Nīla, Nîlagandha, Rūpa?, Anekarûpa, Ratnahasta, Ratnaśīrṣa, Ratnakeśa, Raktakarṇa, Ratnâkṣa, Ratnodara, Ratnottra (sic), Ratnamedha, Dravya?, Rudhirâṅga, Prajânda, some denoting the ascetic aspect of the god, some his divine wealth, all of the names being

followed by the mystical call: *svâhâ*! "Thus has the verbal charm reached its conclusion: This Brahmadaṇḍa, as it is called, cannot be repelled. Homage to the organ(?) of the Brahmacârin."

The practical application of this charm is next taught in Kuchean; that is, in the current language of the country. In the present state of the decipherment, there are still many words the meaning of which is obscure or unknown; besides there are difficulties coming from the careless writing. The general trend of the operation is nevertheless perfectly clear.

"This is the practical application (*upacâra*) of this charm (*wijya*= *vidyâ*).

1. In the Kertik näkṣatar, some horse-hair slightly covered(?) shall be extended with ass-blood. He, under whose name the hom is done in the fire with a flower fire, is soon lost.

2. In the Rohiṇī näkṣatar, he who thinks of submitting to his will the king and the ministers, fasting (*anahâr*=*anâhâra*) day and night, must perform the hom in the fire with grains of *arkwa*, one by one; they become submitted to his will.

3. In Mṛgaśiri, he who thinks of submitting to his will some people(?), as many times he must perform the hom in the fire with their name; they become submitted to his will.

4. In Artar (Ārdrā), he who thinks of submitting to his will a woman...he must perform the hom in the fire; she becomes submitted to his will.

5. In Punarwasu, he who thinks of submitting to his will a male(?) or a female(?) being, he must perform the hom in the fire of flower of morośko; they become submitted to his will.

6. In Pusa näkṣatär, he who thinks of submitting to his will somebody, whoever he may be, he must perform the hom in the fire; he becomes submitted to his will.

7. In Aśleṣ......a hom must be performed in the fire; with whose name he performs it................

8. In Magham.........a hom must be performed; he with whose name he performs it, he with his life becomes unwell.

9-10. (In) Phalguṇi, business failing?...a hom must be performed in a fire...business fails?......Uttarapha(lguṇi)......must be performed.

11. ......flower in the fire a hom must be performed, the business fails.

12. In Haste, he who thinks of submitting to his will a living being, he must perform a hom in the fire with a flower......; the being becomes submitted to his will.

13. In Svâti alcohol......is; a piece of *madanaphale* must be buried? (burnt?) at the door; the alcohol is destroyed.

14. In Viśâkh, a piece of *khadira* must be buried? (burnt?) at the door; he with whose name he does, he becomes......; if it be taken off, there is *mokṣa* (liberation from the charm)..

15. ....with human bones he must make a powder; from that (powder) a male doll (is made); afterwards this doll, with a rough sword, its head must be cut off; he with whose name he acts, he is not slow in going to his loss.

16. In Purvvaṣat.......

17. (In Uttarāṣāḍha)......he must enchant it seven times; he at whose door he sows it, the men become......

18. In Srāwan, he must make a heap(?) of human bones; he must pile it up(?) on his enemy's path; he will not return; but if the heap is taken off, there is *mokṣa* (liberation from the charm).

19. In Satabhiṣ, grains of *campāka*; he with whose name he performs of hom of them in the fire, he, whatever bad he intends, he cannot do.

20. In Pūrvvabhadravat, intending to destroy his enemy, he must...a flower of...; he must make a male doll and enchant it one hundred and eight times; he must throw(?) it into the fire; he with whose name he acts, in the time of one step(?) will go to his loss.

21. In Aśvinī, some oil...he must perform a hom in the fire; he with whose name he acts, to him by fellowship he takes his life.

The first part in the Brahmadattakalpa is finished."

The following part is probably the second part of the same work, as it treats of a similar matter, and in the same way; first, some Sanskrit ślokas, that are, in spite of slight variants, the same we have found at the beginning of the first part; next, a long litany of invocations; then the *upacâra*, but preceded here by two lines on a preliminary rite, the whole of it is written in Kuchean language.

Here are the verses:

"First I worship Ocean and Himavat too, Meru king of mountains, Soma and Sarasvatī, Śiva and Vaiśramaṇa both givers of...,Ādityas, Vasus, Rudras, Yama...Sindhu? whose palace is frequented by Gandharvas and Apsaras, Brahmā also I adore, by whom the *daṇḍa*, has been shaped. For this is a *daṇḍa*, a destroyer of the enemy...frightful. I send you; go, accomplish such and such a deed.

Homage to Brahmâkṣi! to Brahmadatta! to the hero, bearer of the plough, the mace, the axe, striking with arrow, spear, javelin, of many forms!

Homage to Mātaṅgins and Mātaṅginīs, to Mātaṅga boys and Mātaṅga girls, to the Mātaṅga teachers, to the Mātaṅga saints, to the Mātaṅga...,to the Mātaṅga clan-family, to the Mātaṅga ancients, (to) all who are Vidyādharas! Homage to Viśvāmitra the Mātaṅga king, to the Mātaṅga gods, to Triśaṅku the Mātaṅga king, to the perfect saint! Homage to the ruru-deer, to the camel, to the Mātaṅga king!

Hili, come, come! O Māladaṇḍika, you giving orders to the Mātaṅgas, Māhuṇikā, you accomplishing all deeds do me that deed! That you will not lay an obstacle in my way! Dumpe! Duru-dumpe! You having a belly like a jar! Kā*l*ī! Kā*l*ī! Mahākā*l*ī! Kā*l*apiṅgali! Kā*l*araudrī! Caṇḍī! Mahāghorī! You wearing a bundle of leaves! You dwelling in the cemeteries! You feeding on blood and flesh! You whispering in the wind! You...crossing the Ocean! Viki! vimi! Ekaruṣe! You, black cloud! Hi! hi! hi! hi! ra! hu! hū! ra! svāhā! (In Kuchean:) This invocation to Mâla (daṇḍikā) is to be said seven times from the beginning.

(Again in Sanskrit:) Homage to the Mātaṅgas! to the Mātaṅgikas!...boys...girls...teacher...saints! (as above) to the Mātāṅga ṛṣis! to the white ones of the Mātāṅgas to the black ones of the Mātaṅgas! to the *parambharâ* (*paramparā*) of the Mātāṅgas!...clan-family... ancients... Vidyādharas... Viśvāmitra... gods... Triśaṅku... perfect saint?...ruru...camel......king (as above)! Having worshipped, I shall employ this *vidyā*. That this *vidyā* may succeed for my sake! Thā! hā! hā! hi! hī! hu! hū! ... li! hi' li! mili! mili! duḍumi! Vegavāti! Yiyi! Caṇḍī! Vetālī! Mahākarī! Māyūrī! Yaśakariṇī! Śankhavegavāhinī! You having eyes like leaves without

stain!...Vetālī! Citraketu! Prabhāsvarā! Ghorigandhurī! Caṇḍālī...... Vegavāhinī! To Viśvāmitra, svāhā! to the Mātaṅga clan-family, svāhā! to the fierce one, svāhā! to the saint, archi-saint, svāhā! Of the Mātaṅga clan-family, may the words of enchantment succeed! svāhā!

(Now in Kuchean:) Māladaṇḍike must be figured on the ground... a Vidyādhara must be figured on her left? before her feet. Māladaṇḍi is to be known from her garland? of *sumān* flowers. In four places... alcohol beverages must be placed; in the blood of...? must be placed... with one hundred and eight *sumān* in a garland? Thus she is to be known. This *vij* (*vidyā*) is to be recited. One must begin by making the heart true. A maṇḍala is to be made, endowed of all...; in the maṇḍala *visit*-flowers must be disposed. In this way is the *sādhi* (=*sādhana*? success?).

Now I shall say the *upacāra*.

1. He who means to make friendship with the king, he must, with a stick from a rājavṛkṣā tree, make an image (of the king?); he must make it enchanted seven times...he must with it perform a hom in the fire; he whom the king was going to abandon becomes his favourite.

2. He who means to make friendship with a kṣatriye...he must, with sticks of...perform a hom in the fire with seasm-oil; he becomes a friend of the kṣatriye.

3. He who means that two friends must leave each other, he must with their names enchant two human skeletons?...seven times;... become...

4. Some coal(?) is to be made of human bones, six digits or seven digits (long); it must be enchanted with the name of the enemy seven times; it must be laid down at the enemy's door; the enemy is lost.

5. If he means to remove his enemy from the house or from the village............it must be laid down at the door, seven hairs(?) below; on the seventh (day?) he is removed.

6. He who means that the doors get open, he must besmear......; having enchanted it, the doors get open.

7. He, who means......he must bring from the cremating ground some ashes(?); from those ashes(?) he must make a cup; with this cup he

must dispose a small new pot; he must dispose inside some food and some drink by means of these...; next he must enchant it seven times; opposite, a spirit rises up; he gets food and drink...

8. If he means to stop the fire, he must enchant grains (and) sticks of kurpele(?) seven in number; the fire stops.

9. He who means that his enemy gets sick, he must make a doll of cow-dung, enchant it; taking twenty-one pieces of *khadira* or human bones, he must thrust them into the breast of the doll; the enemy becomes very sick.

10. He who means to become invisible, he must with some *sauvīra*-unguent figure a man; between the eyes or in the eyebrows he must lay some ointment; wherever he goes, nobody sees him.

11. If he means that a human skeleton(?) must speak, he must make a maṇḍala of cowdung; in the maṇḍala...he must dispose some cups of drink; there are flowers of *kurkal*, of *kuntārk*; must wash the human skeleton with milk; he must lay it down inside the maṇḍala; he must utter the *vij* (*vidyā*) twenty-one times; whatever he asks, (the skeleton) says all.

12. Now if he means to move through *ruddhi* (magic), he must enchant some water, he must spray it in the air; then he moves through *raddhi*.

13. He who means to obtain some profits, he must make...equal to the profit and wear it on his body? he gets the profit.

14. If he means to get a long life........................

Here the fragment ends.

This is evidently some *ābhicārika* piece of a Tāntric work, and not a Buddhist one, as could have been expected in Kucha, where almost the whole of Indian culture has a Buddhist colour or tinge, but a Śaiva, rather a Śākta work, as shown by the peculiar worship of Kālī under a lot of known and unknown appellations. The first part is said in the colophon to be "the first part of the Brahmadatta-kalpa". I do not know of any Tantrik work bearing this title. A Brahmakalpa (not Brahmadatta) is registered in "A Catalogue of the Collections deposited in the Deccan College", compiled by S. R. Bhandarkar, Bombay 1888, p. 429, as n° 250 in the co-called Vishrambag Collection; curiously

enough, in the later catalogue published in 1926 under the title: Government Collections of Mss. Deccan College, Poona, no mention appears of this Brahmakalpa; in the Correspondance Table of Mss. given at the end of the volume, n° 250 of the Viśrāma (-Vishrambag) Collection corresponds with the new serial number 197 which is described (p. 148) as Taittirīyasamhitābhāṣya. Whatever may be this puzzle, the Brahmakalpa is certainly some Brāhmaṇical work of the *kalpa* class, and has nothing to do with our Brahmadattakalpa. That there existed the so-called Brahmakalpas in the Tantrik literature is clearly shown by a passage of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, Trivandrum ed., p. 294: After a conjuration in order to realise Vajrapāṇi, the author writes: anyeṣām api vidyādharāṇām eṣa vidhiḥ saṃkṣepato yāni Vajrapāṇikalpe yāni Avalokiteśvarakalpe yāni ca Bhagavatā proktāni kalpāni yāni Brahmakalpe yāni Maheśvarakalpe saṃkṣepato laukikalokottareṣu kalpeṣu ye sādhanīyā te etayaiva sādhanayā siddhayante. "This rite is also good for other Vidyādharas; in brief the rites in the Vajrapāṇikalpa, in the Avalokiteśvarakalpa, those that have been taught by Bhagavat, those in the Brahmakalpa, in the Maheśvarakalpa, briefly in mundane and supra-mundane kalpas, they are realised by this very realisation." It may be that the Kuchean kalpa was referred to as Brahmā because it treats of the Brahmadaṇḍa. Brahmadaṇḍa means "Brahma's stick," which is considered as a mythic weapon; next a Brahman's stick; next the penalty inflicted by a Brahman, specially a curse, which is the deadly weapon of the Brahman. In the Buddhistic rules of the Vinaya, the word has come to denote the highest punishment of a bhikṣu, a sort of temporary boycott. Here it means a magic weapon used to kill enemies, taught by the god Brahmā himself.

I shall not enter here into a discussion of the many names given to Śiva and Kālī. I shall only retain the name of the Goddess who presides over the second *vidyā* and whose picture is to be traced inside the maṇḍala. She is called Māladaṇḍikā. Her name appears first in the opening litany, after a long set of invocations addressed to all sorts of of Mātaṅgas. Who these Mātaṅgas are is evidenced by the mention of Triśaṅku Mātaṅgarāja along with Viśvāmitra Mātaṅgarāja. The Mātaṅgas are Caṇḍālas; therefore we are dealing here with those lowest forms of worship where untouchables are acting as priests. This

is the same world where we are carried on the Buddhist side with the celebrated Mātaṅgīsūtra, a Chinese translation of which dates as early as the end of the second century, and another dates in the twenties of the third century. A long Sanskrit recension of it has been preserved in the singular Śārdūlakarṇa Avadāna. The Mātaṅgī who has given her name to this sūtra is Prakṛti Mātaṅgadārikā; the Mātaṅgadārikās invoked in our text are 'Prakṛti's sisters. And this Prakṛti herself very probably lies hidden under the Brahmaprakrati (*sic*) who is worshipped in the first Brahmadaṇḍa, p. 1, b, l. 1, and who certainly has nothing in common with the Prakṛti of the philosophical systems. Māladaṇḍikā seems to be one of the many wild forms of Devī; it may be that her name was derived from the garland (*mālā*) and the staff (*daṇḍa*) worn by several female deities, as Bhṛkuṭī, for instance. In fact, the text itself tells us that "she is to be known from her garland of *sumān* 'flowers'."

As to the rites, they are of the usual *abhicāra* type, and it would be idle to collect here passages of Śaiva, Śākta, or Buddhist tantras having the same purpose. But the connection established here between particular nakṣatras and particular practices of *abhicāra* seems to be a quite unusual feature.[1] At least, I could not find anything alike in the many Tantras I have consulted. What occurs in them, as far as I am aware, is of the most general sort, concerning classes of rites, such as śānti, puṣṭi, etc...,but no particular practices; such is, for instance, the long passage of the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, chap. XVIII, p. 173 sqq., from which I quote a few lines in order to show the fundamental difference with our Kuchean text:

> asvinī bharaṇīsaṃyuktā kṛttikā mṛgaśirās tathā
> eteṣv eva hi sarvatra nakṣatreṣv eva yojitā
> śāntikaṃ karma nirdiṣṭaṃ phalahetusamodayam
> rohiṇyāṃ sādhayed arthān puṣṭikāmaḥ sadājapī
> ārdrāyāṃ kārayet karma vaśyākarṣaṇahetubhiḥ, etc....

I find however in the *Descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit Mss.*

1. It may be that the connection of nakṣatras with ābhicārika practices was facilitated by the apparent similarity of the word nakṣatra with the Kuchean root *nak*, conjugation—theme: *nakṣ* meaning "destruction"; *naksan*—"he destroys" (cf. Sanskrit root—*naś*, latin *nec-*, same meaning).

published at Madras, vol. VII, 1909, p. 2738, n. 3643, a notice of a Sanskrit work written in Telugu characters, entered as Nakṣatrābhicāravidhāna, which seems to be of the same family as our text. The notice says: "On the details of black magic intended to injure enemies,—these details being appropriately related to the 27 asterisms known to Indian astrology. Complete. Begin: aśvinī aśvakīlam caturaṅgulam abhimantritam kṛtvā śatrūṇām madhyagṛhe nikhanet tasya kulotsādanaṃ bhavati. Mantraḥ oṃ phaṭ svāhā............................End: revatī pippalaphalamayīṃ pratikṛtiṃ kṛtvā tasya kareṇa saptābhimantritaṃ tena kārayet pañcarātreṇa vaśyo bhavati...........

sarveṣām uddhṛte mokṣaḥ punaścaryāsamaṣṭinā
japed dravyasahasraṃ tu bhavet siddhir na saṃśayaḥ.

There is a striking similarity with our text, and it is to be hoped that some Madras scholar will publish the full text; but this similarity does not unfortunately go up to identity, which would have made much easier the translation of the Kuchean text.

But, interesting as it is on many sides, the chief interest of our text lies in the fact that it is Tantrik. Its date cannot be settled; but there is little doubt that all our Kuchean mss. range between the seventh and ninth centuries. This is rightly the period when the Tantra literature came to be divulged and was propagated abroad by Tantrik missionaries. We are well informed about the activities of Vajrabodhi and Amoghavajra who introduced not only the Tantrik texts, but also the Tantrik rites, at the Imperial Court of China during the eighth century. They had been preceded in the same way and in the same line by another Indian monk, Puṇyodaya, known to Chinese as Na t'i who worked, not only in China, but in Cambodia also from 655 onwards. But he was coming too early; Hiuan Tsang was in that time the supreme authority on Buddhism, not only in the church, but with the Emperor, and Hiuan Tsang was not ready to yield before Tantrism; he proved an unfair competitor against Puṇyodaya, not hesitating even to confiscate his collection of Sanskrit manuscripts (cf. Puṇyodaya, un propagateur du Tantrisme* by Lin Li-Kouang, in *Journal Asiatique*, 1935, 1, pp. 83ff.).

* [Prof. Lévi did not live to see the publication of this article, and could not complete the reference. He read the article in manuscript, P.C.B.].

Growing Tantrism offered another opportunity for Hiuan Tsang to manifest his antipathy. The king of Kāmarūpa, Kumāra Bhāskaravarman having, between the years 643-646, received the visit of the Chinese envoy in India, Li yi piao, presented through him to the Imperial throne a request for obtaining a Sanskrit translation of Lao tse's classical work, the Tao-tö king. The Emperor appointed a committee of Buddhist and Taoist scholars to prepare this translation. Hiuan Tsang, who had just come back from India in 645, was a member of the committee; he spared no pains to paralyse the work (see P. Pelliot, Autour d'une traduction sanscrite du Tao tö king in *T'oung Pao* XIII, 1912, pp. 351-430). The king Bhāskaravarman claimed for his dynasty a Chinese origin; his first ancestor, he said, was a spirit who had come from China through the sky. His country, Kāmarūpa, has been for many centuries one of the most sacred grounds for Tantrism. On the other hand, Taoism, whatever it may have been at its origin, had already become for many centuries a system of magic interspersed with philosophical doctrines, a Chinese parallel of Indian Tantrism. The T'ang emperors, in spite of their Buddhistic zeal, had a special, rather a family-leaning to Taoism. These are likely the reasons that moved Bhāskaravarman in presenting his request.

Kucha was a fitting place for the meeting of both currents. Chinese evidence goes to prove that there stood the limit between Sanskrit culture on the West and Chinese culture on the East (cf. my paper, Le "Tokharien B", langue de Koutcha, in *Journal Asiatique*, 1913, II, 311-380). It is not at all excluded that the sudden expansion of Tantrism in the eighth century may have resulted from a blending of the two streams. I had already an opportunity to call the attention on this point when treating of the local deities in Nepal (*Le Népal*, étude historique d'un royaume hindou, vol. I, 1905, p. 345 sq.). The Tantric teaching acknowledges among its regular authorities the tradition of China, Mahācīnakrama. For this Mahācīnakrama, I referred then to the Tārātantra, as much as it was known to me through Haraprasad Shastri's Notices of Sanskrit mss. The Tārātantra has since been published by the Varendra Research Society, 1914; the able editor, A. K. Maitra, has also given in an Appendix parallel passages from the Rudrayāmala and the Brahmayāmala tantras. The *Catalogue*

of the mss. in the India office by Eggeling, part IV, n° 2563, pp. 873-876, gives an analysis of the Mahācīnakramācāra, called also Cīnācārasāra-tantra, Cīnācāratantra, in 7 paṭalas; this ritual has as its peculiar feature the employment of a twig of Mahācīnadruma, "the Chinese tree"; such a practice seems to imply that the rites connected with it come from China. Arthur Avalon (Sir John Woodroffe) who had mastered a good deal of Tantric literature, aptly observes in the Preface to his *Principles of Tantra*, p. xix, n. 1: "It is noteworthy that both it (the Nīl Sādhan) and Mahācīnācāra (a term in itself full of significance) are two chief elements in the Indian Tantra which are alleged to be non-Aryan importations," and again (*ibid.*, p. 129) he quotes a passage of the Tantratattva where the first rank is given to China. "Bhāratavarṣa consisting of Cīna, Mahācīna, Nepāla, Kāśmīra, Drāviḍa, Mahārāṣṭra, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Saurāṣṭra, Magadha, Pañcāla, Utkala and other countries and continents." That the Indian pride could give up in favour of China, as it had to do earlier before Yavanas in astronomy, induces us to believe that Chinese (Mahācīna) and Central Asia (Cīna) culture had been strongly influential on the birth of Tantric literature.

Additional Note

It may not be superfluous to add here that the Pelliot Mission Collection in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, contains two other fragments of Tantrik works; in the rough list of finds, they are catalogued as FM 34, 1 and 498, 2. They are both too short and too fragmentary for editing them. The first one, in a very coarse handwriting, contains two lines of Sanskrit, three of Kuchean, but it is impossible to say whether the Kuchean is a translation of the Sanskrit; at the end, there are two lines in Sanskrit, which are certainly parts of Subhāṣitas; some reader may chance to identify them:

l·6 yaṣya hatvodhanaṃ nāsti vākyaṃ tasya na sidyate...

l·7...varam hi narake vāso na ca durvihite k.........

Beneath there is a strange drawing which may be roughly described as a square with four protruding wings issuing from centre; on the top

two "Kuchean words ...*tse nesau* I am...", below which stands the Chinese character *ya* "to be" probably the translation of *nesau*. "I am ...", and beneath the drawing the Sanskrit-Kuchean words.

te yāmaṃ paśa
kalpa

"that makes a paśa kalpa (a ritual of knot?)",

The other fragment speaks of drinking some oil...and becoming submitted to the will. Next line says: I shall say the upacāra of this", and what follows refers to the upacāra: enchanting something...108....

Of the fondness of Central-Asian readers for Tantrik texts, evidence is given by the Tantrik texts included in the *Bower ms.* edited by Hörnle, coming also from Kucha, where it was dug out from a Buddhist stūpa; the writing seems to denote the second half of the fourth century. A small fragment of a Tantrik work, combining medicine and *mantra*, has also been published by Hörnle in "Three further Collections of Central Asian mss.', *JASB.*, 1897, p. 250.

M. 777. 1.

[THE TEXTS]†

(a) 1. vā...nās(e)na tasm(ā)d. p.n. pāñcabh(au)tika śarīra[m i]ty avagatum...bhavān ity āha...puṣpoṣadhay...m apahat.t—

2. rujā(m) śamo stil| aprāptam ity atha mataṃ praśamaṃ karoti| naivoṣadhaṃ bhavati peya(ma)hācareṇeti||cikitsopālambhikaṃ tra-

3. -ranam|| ||

brahmadaṇḍaṃ pravakṣyāmi sarvaśatrunisūdananim|
yena baddhyanti vai śatruḥ (kr)apūphūruṣadhā-ṇam|
samudraṃ prathamaṃ van(d)e Himavante ca parvvate|
meru paravatarājānaṃ tathā Gandhamādan—

4. śīdaṃ vaiśramaṇa(ṃ) tathā|
vāruṇaṃ caiva rājānaṃ|tra-au naratatimburā|
ādityā vasavo rudrāḥ aśvi-o marutas tathā|
sindhu sāmiryyate yatra gandhavapurasevitum|
duṣṭānāṃ puruṣaṃ caiva brahmadaṇḍo ni(kr)......

† [The letters underlined by Prof. Lévi in the transcription of the Kuchean texts have been put here in italics. P.C.B.].

5. brahmāyāñ ca namaḥskṛtvā yena daṇḍo prakalpitam
ayaṃ-daṇḍo mahāghoraṃ śatrunāṃ hṛdayaṃdaha
piṅgalo viśatho rudraḥ rudharūpo sudārunāṃ
ehi me preṣito gaccha| asura..................

6. ścaiva samudre paśupādana|
athāvāsya pranaśyaṃtu| putra(d)āradhanāni ca
atha vâ muñcati mag-ir pṛhaṃdahātma sarvvavināyakān|
nama śulāya halamasaladhanurdharāya...śulasaraṃjala-
ldharāya

(b) 1. bhīmadarśanāya
yasyāhaṃ presayed daṇḍaṃ|śīghraṃ muñcamtu jivitam|
tatra mantrapadā bhāvaṃ|siddhasarvārthasādhakam|
brahmaprakrataye nāma | khalīmukalī | viliṅgāvali | vāgatuṇḍe|
padma-ti siddhidaṇḍalibhi brahmāya svā...rudrāya

2. svâha|piṅgalāya svāha|ekajaṭāya svāha|dvijaṭāya svāha|tra-
jaṭāya svāha|bahujaṭāya svāha|mahājaṭāya svāha|śivāya svāha|śrīgan-
dharāya svāha|śvetāya svāha|śvetagrīvāya svāha|nīlāya svāha|nīlagan-
dhāya svāha|rupâya.

3. svāha | anekarūpāya svāha | ratnahastāya svāha | ratna-
śīrṣāya svāha | ratnakeśāya svāha | raktakarṇāya svāha | ratna-akṣāya
svāha | ratnoṣṭhāya svāha | ratnapādāya svāha | ratnanakhadāya
svāha | ratnodarāya svāha | ratnottraya svāha | ratnamedhāya

4. svāha | dravyāyya svāha | rudhiraṅgāya svāha | prajāṇḍāya
svāha | ayaṁ brahmadaṇḍo nāmo pratihato | namo brahmacāri(d)riyā
svāha | ||
cwi wijya tse se upacār kertik näkṣa*t*ar ne yäkweñña kolyi lykaśke
wawālosa | kercapaññe yasar sa *ṣp*arka-

5. ṣle | kete ñem tsa pwar ne hom ya*m*aṁ su mā walke naṣṭa ||
rohini näkṣātär ne knāt*r* läntä amāçanta wa*t* ekalmi yāmtsi kaun
yaṣi anahārṣ(m)a letaka arkwañaṣṣa tāno puwar ne hom yama*ṣ*ale
caiy ekalmi *m*askent*r* II || mṛgaśiri

6. ne *p*aknāt*r* ekwi ekalymi yāmtsi ko*s* *ṣp*a cwi ñem tsi pwar
ne hom yama*ṣ*ale ekalmi *m*askent*r* III || ar*t*ar ne *p*aknāt*r* tlai
ekalmi yāmtsi tai ne ysissi yoñyeṣṣe to pwar ne hom yama*ṣ*ale su
ekalmi *m*asket*r* |

7. punarwasu *ne* *p*rknāt*r* ekweṁ tlai wa*t* no ekalmi yāmtsi
morośkaṣṣa pyāpyo pwar ne hom yama*ṣ*ale ce ekalmi *m*askent*r* || pusa

näksatär ne *paknātṛ* incew ratsa elmi yāṃtsi ṣu -o pwar ne hom yamaṣale

8. su ekalmi *masketr* || aśleṣ ñe skrec. paiyyeśāñca po -lymi pwar ne hom yamaṣale kete ñem ts, yā*mam* sa mā wa—l. śa*k*aṣe VII || magham ne sa.........tsi cwi ṣa*k* paiyye—e———hom yamaṣale

9. kete ñem tsa yā*ma* cwi ś. l. mpa sām yolo *masketr* VIII || phalguṇi karyo*r* *pl*aṅkā(ṣ)i sa curka*la* pwar ne hom yamaṣale karyor *pl*aṅ(kâri) —yok ne sā*k* uttarapha— yamaṣale X ||

M. 777. 2.

1—pyapyo pwar ne hom yamaṣale karyor *pl*aṅkat*r* XI || haste - - nolmem ekalmi yâ— *paknātr* —o śatre po...pyo pwar ne hom yamaṣale onolme ekalmī *ma*——|| svāti ne mo*t*

2——kurpele tākaṃ madanaphale (ṣa*p*) twere ne tsapanale mo*t* sparket*r* XIII || viśākh ne khadiraṣṣe ṣa*p* twere ne tsapanale kete ñem ttsa yâ*mam* su keto *masketr*——(s)ālkam mokṣa XIV ||.

3. śāmne ayāṣe cūrm yamaṣle etwe so(ye)tsikale tumem cwi soye tse śirem yepe sa āśe *k*ars*t*ālya kete ñem tsa yā*mam* su mā walke ṅkelyñe ne yam XV|| purvvaṣat ne *p*al. yeṣṣe piso.

4. ṣuk*ta* nāsain yamaṣale kete twere ne kātam ceu os ne śāmna litsâ(ri) *mā*sket*r* XVII || ś(r)āwan ne śāmne ayāṣe ṣa*p* yamaṣale sana tse *y*oñiya ne tsapanale maiyo kule*t*ar (k.)

5. kwrī no ṣa*p* sālkaṃ mokṣa || śatabhiṣ ne | campākaṣṣai tāna kete ñem tsa pwar hom yā*mam* su ta koa ketara yolo yāmtsi mā campi || purvvabhadravat ne | sana tse ṅkelyñe ne sruko ṣe pi *pa*

6. *k*aṣa pyāpyo waltsanalya etve soye tsikale *k*ante ok*t* näsain yamaṣale taka pwar ne *l*a*m*ale kete ñem tsa yā*ma* su ṣuko epikte ṅkelñe ne yam || aśviṇi ne ṣalype wai moroś-am pwar ne hom yamaṣa

7. le kete ñem tsa yā*mam* cwi larauñe sa śau*la* eṅkast*r* || brahmadattakalap ne nauṣ pāke āra

samudraṃ prathamaṃ vande himavantaṃ tathaiva ca |

meru parvvatarājānaṃ somaṃ tathā sarasvati ||

śivaṃ yaiśravaṇaṃ vande ubhau - -

8. tasatvadau |

ā(di)tyā vasavo rudra | yamadita | vaśacarī |

(sindhu) tiryasya bhavaṇe gandharvāpsarasevitum |

brāhmaṁ çāsya namasyāmi | yena daṇḍo prakalpitā |
ayaṁ hi daṇḍo | ayaṁ śatrunināśane |
nilaśri

9. rtuvaradā | dāruṇo rudragomukha |
vāhi me preṣi me gaccha | asukaṁ karma sādhaya
namo brahmākṣiya brahmadattāya || śurāya halamusala-
paraśudhârâya
śaraśaktitomarapraharaṇāya | anekarupāya |

b) 1. - - māṭaṅgino namo māṭanginunāṁ | namo māṭaṅgada-kānām namo mātaṅgadārikāṅāṁ mātaṅgācāryāṅām | namo mā(taṅ)gasiddhānāṁ | namo mātaṅgapa

2. yā | namo māṭaṅgakulavaṁśasya | namo māṭaṅgavṛddhānāṁ | ye kecid vidyādharā | namo viśvāmitrasya mātaṅgarājasya | namo mātaṅgdevānāṁ | namo triśaṅkusya māṭaṅgarājasya | namaḥ prasiddhasya | namo rurusya | namo uṣṭrasya

3. māṭaṅgarājasya | hili ehi | ehi | māladaṇḍike | māṭaṅgānujñātike | māhurike sarvakarmāṇi kārike | idaṁ karma karohi me | mā me vighnaṁ kariṣyasi | dumpe | durudumpe | kalaśodare | kā*l*i kā*l*i | mahākā*l*i | kā*l*apiṅgali kā*l*a.

4. raudr. | cchandi mahāghori | pātrakalāpadhāriṇī śmaśānavāsini | rudhiramāṁsabhakṣīṇi | vāyujape | samudra-atikramaṇodhike | viki | vimi | eka*r*uṣe kālameghe | hi hi hi hi re | hu hū ra svāha || se ṁāla(ru)

5. --āvahaṁ ṣu*kt* weṣle *p*arweṣṣe meṁ ||
namo māṭaṅgānām | namo māṭaṅgikānāṁ | namo māṭaṅgadārakānāṁ | namo māṭaṅgadārikānāṁ | namo māṭaṅga-ācāryāṇam | namo māṭaṅgasiddhānāṁ | namo māṭaṅgarsīṇāṁ | namo māṭaṅgaśuklānāṁ |

6. namo māṭaṅakṛṣṇānāṁ | namo māṭaṅgaparambharāyāṁ | namo māṭaṅgakulavaṁśasya | namo mātaṅgavṛddhānāṁ | ye kecid vidyādharā | namo viśvāmitramāṭaṅgarājasya | nama mātaṅgadevānāṁ | namas triśaṅkulasya māṭaṅgarājasya | namaḥ prasiddhasya |

M. 777. 3

(a) 1. namo rurusya namo uṣṭrasya māṭaṅgarājasya namo namaskṛtvā imāṃ vidyāṃ prayokṣyāmi | sā me vidyā samṛddhyatu || thā | hā hā hi hī hu hū-lī | hili | mili | mil.—.duddumi vegavāhi yi

2. yi | caṇḍi|-vetāḷi mahākarī māyurī | yaśakariṇī | śaṅkhavegavāhinī | vimalapātranetrike | pratikrānta | vetā*l*i | citraketu | prabhāsvara | ghorīgandhuri | caṇḍāl.-(m)ā--iccharjani | ghora (c)āyi

3. vegavahinī | viśvamitrāya svāhā | mātaṅgakulavaṁśāya svāhā | nṛśaṅsāya svāhā | siddhāya prasiddhāya svāhā | māṭaṅgakulavaṁśasya siddhyantu mantrapadā svāhā ||
māladaṇḍike ke ne kne piṅkale-

4. (sa) nto | vidyādhare ente sa paiyne etswai piṅkalle | sumān meṁ warke tsa māladaṇḍi *k*arskemene || śtwara tasanma ite ite mo*t*a yokaiṁ taṣalle | eplyunwai yasar ne *ṣ*atkarau pāli ne taṣallona *k*ante o*kt* sumân meṁ—

5. rke tsa *k*arsalya se vij weleṣle | arañc empreṁ aunaṣla *k*arke sa po(ye)kaññe sa kekenu maṇḍal yamaṣle | kurka*l*a tuñe | vicitṛpyāpyai maṇḍal ne taṣale te yäkne sa se sādhi star ne ||
ñake upacār weñau ne || kete

6. lān*t*a mpa larauwñe yāmtsi | rājavṛkṣä stama tse arwā meṁ koṣkīye yamaṣlya | ś.ñcapo *ṣukt* lykwarwa nassin yamaṣlya | pūwar ne hom yamaṣlya | lânte rinale *p*arkalle *m*asket*r* ||
kṣatriye mpa larauñe yāmtsi āñme kete —

7. lṣana arawān*m* koṣkīye yamaṣlya | ṣalype wai kuñci*t* pūwar ne hom yamaṣle | ksatriyen*s* lāre *m*asket*r* | kete no āñme wī aulāreṁ cweta *t*arkatsi śamñana wī kurā*ṣ* tai (nai*s*añä) ñem tsa näsain yamaṣle VII n.———*r*kau ne lyinā

8. —sket*r* III || śāmñe yā(ṣe) ṣa*t* | yamaṣle ṣka*s* praroṁ | o*kt* praroṁ wa*t* —nätse ñem tsa nässain yamaṣle VII sana tse twere ne lyīnālle sā(ṁ) nak.a IV || kwri no sanaṁ *p*aknāt*r* os*t*a meṁ lyutsi | kuṣai meṁ wat no yar taṣe—śanmasale | kwa—

(b) 1. twere ne lyinalle —ṣukt kolyi ñor ṣuktañce (kauṁ?) lyuta skente V || kete āñme takaṁ tweri ruwyent*r* —rtäktaññe(pi) kas. p. n. sono*p*alle | nas sän yāmoṣ sa--rsaka tweri rusent*r* VI || kete āñme tākaṁ—

2. —llāsi | erkenma meṁ śer*k*a pralle | cewä śerkwe meṁ wente yamaṣle | cwe wente sa ñuwe kuntiśke taṣale | ton(ā) yart sa śwātsi yoktsi eneṁ taṣalle | tumeṁ ṣu*kt* nässain yamaṣle ente palsko tsānkate o*t* śwātsi—

3. -*k*alpā*ṣ*am VII || kwri no āñme tākaṁ ne pūwar stamatsi kurpele tāne arwa nässain yamaṣlona VII pūwar kaltr VIII || sanä tekiññe yāmtsi āñme tākaṁ ne kewiye mel*t*eṣe soye yam-

4. -ssain yamaṣle XXI khadirṣṣe śāmñe yāṣṣe wa*t* (a) ṣta | soye tse pratsākai ne tsopalle | sāṁ oraucce teki yinmā*ṣ*aṁ IX || kete āñme tākaṁ antardhiṣ nessi | sauvirājanä śāmñe piṅk-

5. -ṣle | eśane epiṅkte *p*arwāne wa*t* no lupṣale ane ra tsa yaṁ ṃā lkâte ksa X || kwri āñme tākaṁ ne śāmña kwrāṣe weñi | kewiye ṃelteṣe maṇḍa*l*a yamaṣle | maṇḍal *n*e palyiye | yo-

6. -ki wenta taṣa(llo) na | kurka*l*a kuntār*k*atu- | *p*yapyaiṁ *t*aka śāmña kwrāṣe malkwer sa lyikṣalya | maṇḍal ne taṣalye | vij weṣle XXI ce ra tsa prekaṁ ne po weṣṣaṁ XI || kwri no āñme tākaṁ nẹ r. ddhi sa yatsi | war nessa*i*n yamaṣle

7. iprer ne sarsnālle rrddhi—yaṁ ne XII || waipece *k*alātsi āñme tākaṁ ne tonta waipece ssam yamaṣle kektse-pralle waipece *k*alpā*ṣṣ*aṁ XII || śaulasu nesy āñme-kenta yakwā meṁ ṣo

SYLVAIN LÉVI

Religious Policy of Aurangzeb

(1) *Court Ceremonies*

When Aurangzeb became the king of India, Muslim theology triumphed in him. As against Dara he had taken the attitude of a strict Sunni determined to oust a latitudarian in religion.[1] His accession to the throne is marked by the Muslim colouring of the court and the court ceremonies.

To begin with, Aurangzeb discontinued the use of the solar Ilahi year for the purpose of counting his regnal years.[2] Aurangzeb may have liked to supplant the Ilahi year for all purposes but the use of a lunar Hijra year was bound to create difficulties in administrative affairs. It was decided therefore to begin every regnal year from the the first of Ramadan. That the use of the Ilahi year continued is clear from the fact that Aurangzeb went on celebrating his solar birthday as well.[3] The *Alamgir-nāmā* very often gives Ilahi dates as well. There are some extant Firmans of Aurangzeb bearing both the dates.[4]

In the second year he discontinued the celebration of the solar new year.[5] The official historian recognised frankly that it had been hallowed by its traditional celebration by Persian kings.

In his eleventh year court singers were ordered to be present at court, though music and dancing exhibitions were forbidden. After some time even their presence was dispensed with. Aurangzeb continued instrumental music in the court at least till the eleventh year.[6]

The eleventh year also saw the discontinuance of the practice of the *Jharoka-darśan.*[7] Shah Jahan had put the practice on a

1 Khafi Khan, II, 551, 553.

2 Khafi Khan, II, 8; Kazim, 388, 389.

3 Cf. Kazim's accounts of various festivities on these occasions.

4 Cf. Royal Farmans; Marshall describes the Mughal king's year as divided into Ilahi months; cf. p. 277.

5 Kazim, 390.

6 Khafi Khan, II, 212, 561.

7 Khafi Khan, II, 564.

permanent footing by constructing sheds for the public below the salutation balcony. To Aurangzeb it seemed to smack of human worship. This he naturally wanted to discourage. But unfortunately this deprived his subjects of an opportunity for seeking redress for their grievances when every other avenue of approach to the emperor was denied to them.[8]

In the twelfth year weighing of the emperor's body against gold, silver and various other commodities was also given up.[9] Even when Aurangzeb lay dying he preferred giving charity straight away rather than follow this Hindu custom.[10] But he continued believing in its efficacy for warding off evil and even recommended this short cut to attaining happiness in this world to one of his grandsons.[11] Most of the princes continued celebrating their birthday by *Tulādān*.[12]

In order to avoid the *Kalima* on the coins being defiled by the handling of the Hindus, its stamping on the coins was abolished.[13] Here Aurangzeb modified the traditions and the practices of Muslim kings probably because he thought that whereas their coins were issued for use among the Muslim, his were used for a population the predominant majority of which was non-Muslim.

Aurangzeb continued participating in the celebration of the Hindu festival of *Dussera* as long as Maharaja Jaswant Singh and Raja Jai Singh were alive. The official historian described it as the Hindu Id. Aurangzeb gave gifts to the Hindu Rajas who were present at the court. Among the receipients of the robes of honours on various occasions on the day of the *Dussera* the names of Raja Jai Singh, Kunwar Ram Singh, Maharaja Jaswant Singh and Kunwar Prithvi Singh are mentioned by the official historian.[14]

8 *Baharistan-i-Ghaibi*, the present writer's summary in the *Journal of Indian History*, vol. XIV, p. 78.

9 Khafi Khan and *Maassir-i-Alamgiri* describe these yearly functions. Ovington, who was in Surat in 1680, says that on November 5, every year the emperor was weighed, 109

10 Khafi Khan, II, 549.

11 Letters, No. 18.

12 *Inshai-i-Madhoram*, 12, 44, 45.

13 Khafi Khan, II, 77; Kazim, 366.

14 Kazim, 868, 914.

The accession of the Hindu Rajas was solemnized by the emperor's making the sacred sign (*Tika*) on the forehead of the new Raja if he was present at the court. Under Shah Jahan this duty had been delegated to the prime minister. Aurangzeb however discontinued the practice altogether in 1679 probably on account of the *Tika* being a Hindu sacred symbol.[15]

In the beginning of the twelfth year, royal astronomers and astrologers were dismissed. It was a part of their duty to convert the lunar into solar years, furnish tables of salaries and help other departments in payment of correct salaries. The accounts department protested against their dismissal as they were left without expert guidance in the correct reckoning of the months and days. Their protests were ignored because one of the duties of the astronomers was to ascertain auspicious hours for the performance of different works which, on account of their being Hindus, were done according to the Hindu astrology. This may be regarded in the nature of his putting an end to a superstitious part of the administration. But we know that Aurangzeb appointed Muslim astrologers for fixing hours.[17] Thus one superstition gave way to another. In 1114 (1702-1703) making of almanacs was also forbidden.[18] In the twenty-first year scent burners of gold and silver were removed from the court. Silver inkstands which were conferred on certain clerks as the badge of their office were discontinued. Silver salvers were used for bringing in money when it was to be given to any one. This was discontinued, shields taking the place of silver slavers. Manufacture and use of the cloth of gold in the royal workshop were stopped (*Maassir*, 162).

(2) *Moral Regulations*

Besides thus discontinuing Hindu practices at his court Aurangzeb tried in various other ways as well to impose a Muslim way of life on his people. Fortunately a part of it implied eradication of certain social evils as well. Preparation and public sale of wine were, under Shah

15 *Maassir-i-Alamgiri*, 176.

16 Khafi Khan, II, 214, 215.

17 News Letter dated August 20, 1681.

18 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 352.

Jahan, prohibited.[19] Manucci had found its use rather too common among the nobles under Shah Jahan.[20] Unlike Jahangir and Shah Jahan Aurangzeb was not however content with issuing an ordinance alone. A special department was created—that of the religious censor—which was entrusted with the task of enforcing prohibition on the people.[21] When a wine-seller was apprehended, he was only whipped if he was a first offender. On repeating his offence, however, he was imprisoned till he repented of his evil ways.[22] But all the activities of the state backed by vigorous censorship failed to root out the evil. In 1683 the army of Khan-i-Jahan was reported to be sinning heavily in this respect.[23] On April 20, 1693 a Rajput Mansibdar was ordered to be transferred for drinking.[24] A Mufti gave a Fatwa that sale of toddy was lawful . whereupon a prince-viceroy allowed it to be used. This was reported to the emperor who angrily reprimanded the prince for following a foolish theologian.[25] A *Parcha-navis* (newswriter of a sort) was reported against for going drunk to the tomb of a saint and becoming sick there. He was ordered to be brought in chains to the imperial presence[26] On May 6, 1702 Raja Man Singh Rathor and many others were degraded for drinking.[27] In February, 1703 it was reported that wine was selling in the Bazar-i-Mansibdaran whereupon on February 28 the Bazar was abolished and the Mansibdars were ordered to remove their tents to the neighbourhood of the imperial bazar.[28] Again in August 1703, it was reported that wine was being openly sold in the camps of some of the Mansibdars. On August 14, 1703 the censor was ordered to stop it.[29] On June 6, 1705

19 Cf. the present writer's article on Shah Jahan's Religious policy, *IHQ.* vol. XII, pp. 21-44.

20 Manucci, II, 5.

21 Khafi Khan, II, 8; Kazim, 391, 392.

22 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 281.

23 Khafi Khan, II, 220.

24 News Letter dated April 2, 1693.

25 Letter No. 90. 26 Letter No. 71.

27 News Letter dated May 6, 1702.

28 News Letter dated February 28, 1703.

29 News Letter dated August 14, 1703.

the censor reported to the court against the settlement of the Kachhwahes of Jaipur at Jaisingh Pura near Aurangabad.[30] Even the highest minister drank.[31]

The provincial governors were ordered to strengthen the hands of the censors in seeing that intoxicants were not openly sold.[32] But it was not found possible to enforce complete prohibition, the disease had already advanced too far to be capable of an easy remedy. But all honour to Aurangzeb for attempting even the impossible. We should however remember that forbidden by the Hindu religion and Islam as it was, this support from the state must have kept many men from drinking wine. Aurangzeb even prohibited the use of such text books in the schools as, according to him, encouraged drinking. *Diwan-i-Hafiz* was thus proscribed.[33]

One very important cause of the failure of these regulations was the permission usually granted to the Europeans to distil wine and use it. Many Europeans were appointed as gunners in the imperial artillery. When prohibition was enforced on them under Shah Jahan, one of them at a trial practice failed to hit the target. When remonstrated against, he declared that this was due to the fact that he had not had a drink. Permission was then given him and other Europeans to make their own wine.[34] In the reign of Aurangzeb a group of Europeans sent by Khairiyat Khan and Yaqut Khan was reported to have violated the general imperial commands forbidding drinks. It

30 News Letter dated June 6, 1705.

31 Jafar Khan who was for seven long years the imperial wazir (1663 to 1670) was publicly known to drink. On Aurangzeb's remonstrating with him, he declared that "by drinking wine he got sight for seeing, power for wielding the pen in the service of his Majesty, felt strength in his feet to run to court when his Majesty called." (Manucci, II, 157). A letter to Muhammad Usaf Mutsaddi of a place at Agra warned him against the prevalent sale of drinks in the area under his control and called upon him to take action against the offenders on pain of imperial displeasure. (*Inshai-Madhoram,* 83, 84). We find Daud Khan, sent in command of an expedition to Karnatic in 1701, drinking openly to the health of the King of England. (*A Pepys of Mughal India,* 299.)

32 *Insha-i-Madhoram,* 8.

33 *Mirat-ul-Khayal,* 298.

34 Manucci, I, 140.

was however discovered that no action against them was likely to be effective. This was then reported to the emperor who ordered that they be allowed to drink according to their religion and practices. They were not however permitted to sell wine. These orders seem to have been circulated to the censors in different parts of the empire.[35] It was very easy to use this exceptional permission for the pleasures of those who were accustomed to wine, particularly because the Europeans could make easy money that way. Aurangzeb had assigned quarters outside the city to Europeans in order to guard against their corrupting the morals of the people. Now and then a flagrant case of their selling wine was discovered when the offender would be arrested and imprisoned.[36] It is not surprising therefore to find Manucci asserting that there were few who did not drink secretly; even the chief Qazi, whom Aurangzeb believed to be innocent, drinking Manucci's wine secretly.[37]

Further Aurangzeb ordered that prostitutes and dancing girls should marry or else leave the empire.[38] This order however does not seem to have been much enforced. The difficulties of carrying it out were even greater. The great nobles kept very large harems where if they wanted they could keep and—did in fact keep—a large number of dancing girls for their own entertainment. The order seems to have been modified as the censors were ordered to put down prostitution and fornication.[39] This again seems to have availed nothing. In the eighth year orders were issued prohibiting the processions of prostitutes.[40] Ovington who was in Surat in 1689 found many dancing girls and prostitutes there.[41]

35 *Inshai-i-Madhoram*, 59. 36 Manucci, II, 6.

37 Manucci, II, 5-8, 548; Ovington, 141. Tavernier, I, 95, mentions that one could obtain wine at Lahore. He emptied two bottles of Shiraz wine in the open street at Patna 'because in this country one lives without ceremony and with perfect liberty' (vol. I, 122).

38 Manucci, II, 9; A'zami, 196.

39 *Mirat*, I, 250; Orme, Notes, 85.

40 *Mirat*, I, 263. 41 Ovington, 153.

He continued the practice of his predecessors of prohibiting the burning of unwilling Satis.[42] Again it is difficult to say what effect, if any, it made on this time honoured barbarity. He further prohibited the castration of young children in Orissa[43] and Gujerat and probably in other parts of the empire as well.

Cultivation, sale and public use of Bhang were also prohibited. An order was issued by the imperial finance minister, Raja Raghu Nath, to the provincial diwans all over the empire asking them to see that Bhang was not cultivated.[45] It was easy to enforce this as cultivation of all crops had to be recorded and reported every season by the revenue officials. But Aurangzeb's government had probably to face the same difficulty which the British government had to face when it set about limiting cultivation of poppy to license holders. This order could not ordinarily be extended to the states. The taking of Bhang was also prohibited.[46] Manucci tells us that this order was very vigorously enforced, at first at any rate. But his description of the measures taken for the purpose seems to refer to wine rather than to Bhang. Gambling was also put down.[47]

(3) *Puritanic Restrictions*

Aurangzeb further tried to impose the Muslim way of life in certain other more questionable matters. He was not content with forbidding

42 Manucci, II, 9; Dastur-ul-Amal, 103a; Ovington, 201.

Tavernier, II, 210-216; Manucci, III, 156, Manucci, II, 60, 61, 65, 66, who have no children should burn themselves on funeral pyre. 'For, as for the widows who have children they are not permitted under any circumstances to burn themselves with the bodies of their husbands, it is ordained that they shall live in order to watch over the education of their children.'

Tavernier, II, 210-216; Manucci, III, 156, Manucci, II, 60, 61, 65, 66, 68, and 156 tells us that the Brahman widows always burnt themselves at the funeral pyres of their husbands but that among the trading classes, the custom was not so common. Cf. Marshall, 384.

43 *Muraqaat-i-Hasan.*

44 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 282. This order was issued on June 25, 1672. It seems to have been a sort of circular order.

45 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 247.

46 Manucci, II, 7.

47 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 251.

singing, he forbade public musical parties as well very early in his reign.[48] Even religious music on the day of the Prophet's birth was prohibited. There were some Sufis, however, who would not give it up. One such was Sheikh Yahya Chisti. When the orders for putting down musical assemblies reached Ahmedabad, the censor Mirza Baqar tried to enforce it on him as well. He refused however to alter his practices even for a king, particularly when as a prince he had been one of his devotees. The censor then tried fraud and force, but his plans leaking out, the Sheikh and his followers came armed to the assembly. The Sheikh now petitioned Aurangzeb but the friend through whom it was sent did not present the petition. At last a letter of complaint found its way to the emperor who admonished the censor and ordered him to leave the Sheikh alone.[49] This seems to have been followed by a general relaxation in favour of the Muslim religious ceremonies. But there was one theologian who was so much upset with the prevalence of musical services on the tombs of the saints that he demanded its instant abolition holding that such services brought the bones of the saints out of their graves.[50] Even the suppression of music in general does not seem to have continued long. We find a theologian being put to the trouble of putting down music in the street himself—of course because the censor would take no action.[51] In the matter of laying down the law Aurangzeb outdid the puritans as well. They forbade festivities on the Sabath only. Towards the end of his reign Aurangzeb had to send a special order to put down the practice of the hereditary singers of Kashmir who paraded their profession by welcoming the viceroys and high officials to Kashmir.[52]

Aurangzeb further tried to rule the fashions of the day by various measures. The allowable length of the beard was fixed at 4 fingers and orders were given to cut down any extra length wherever found. If we are to believe Manucci's account an army of men armed with scissors

48 Manucci, II, 8.
49 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, Supplement, English Translation, 70.
50 Khafi Khan, II, 564.
51 *Ibid.*, II, 561.
52 *Kalimat-i-Tayyabat*, 77a.

was mobilized which set upon, arrested, and cut offending beards under the command of the censor and his underlings.[53] As was but natural the poor suffered most. The nobles were left alone. But such as had to appear in the court dared not rouse imperial wrath by such unseemly conduct.

Further, garments of cloth of gold were forbidden in the twelfth year.[54] The length of the trousers to be worn without socks was prescribed in the twenty first year.[55] When prince Sultan Muhammad was discovered to be attending the mosque in an unsuitable attire he was reprimanded.[56] Rashid Khan,. Diwan Khalsa, was found in court with a dagger with a bone handle. When this was pointed out he pleaded he had no other. At once another dagger worth Rs. 177/- was given to him on August 7, 1681.[57]

On Hindu and Muslim festivals, figures of birds, animals, and men and women used to be made of earth for the delight of the children. This representation of living beings was considered unlawful and orders were given for its supression in November, 1665.[58]

On Thursday nights, then as now, lamps used to be lighted on the tombs of the saints and other persons respected in their days by the people. Aurangzeb stopped these practices.[59]

The wire manufacturers of Ahmedabad had established a close monopoly and did not allow others to practise their trade. On complaints being received against them and permission for plying their trade being sought for by outsiders, the theologians were consulted who laid down that the monopoly was not allowable under the tradition. The industry was thereupon thrown open in 1082 A.H. (1671-1672).[60]

Sometimes after a change in the criminal law of the land was sanctioned. Debtors to the state, mostly defaulters in land revenue and state servants, used to be imprisoned and their property attached. It was discovered that this was against the tradition which sanctioned

53 Manucci, II, 7 and 8.

54 *Maasir*, 79.

55 *Maasir*, 162.

56 *Abad-i-Alamgiri*, letter No. 565.

57 News Letter for August 7, 1681.

58 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 262.

59 *Ibid.*, I, 263.

60 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 292, 293.

only imprisonment. Orders were thereupon given that the property of offenders should not be attached.[61]

Aurangzeb made several regulations for the purpose of controlling prices from time to time. The doctors of the Muslim law however gave their decision against it and the practice was thereupon discontinued.[62]

(4) *Hindus in the public services*

Akbar opened the ranks of the Mughal administration to the Hindus and Muslims alike, with the result that out of 137 living mansibdars of 1000 and above, fourteen were Hindus at the time the *Ain* was completed.[63] Under Jahangir, out of 47 mansibdars of 3000 and above, six were Hindus.[64] In Shah Jahan's reign the number of mansibdars was very much increased. At the end of year 31, there were 241 mansibdars of 1000 and above, out of which fiftyone were Hindus.[65] When the war of succession broke out, Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur was the premier noble of the empire holding the status of Haft Hazari and 7000 horses out of which 5000 were Do Aspa and Sih Aspa (having two or three horses). He thus held the highest office which was open to an Imperial subject. In the revenue department Rai-i-Rayan Raghu Nath was the Imperial revenue minister at this time.

Thus when Aurangzeb disputed the right of Shah Jahan to allow Dara to deputise for him, the Hindus occupied a very important position in the public services of the empire.

In the subordinate ranks they monopolised the revenue and accounts department. The Muslims had no turn for these routine works and preferred to enter the state service by joining the army. Besides this the personal assistants of most of the executive heads were also Hindus.

61 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 293. 62 Khafi Khan, II, 395.

63 *Ain-i-Akbari*, Beveridge's *Biographies of the Grandees* in vol. II.

64 Hawkins, *Early European Travellers*, p. 72.

65 Mulakhas (Ms.) 72a. Cf. the Religious Policy of Shah Jahan by the present writer in the *IHQ.*, vol. XII, pp. 21-44.

Such was the position when Aurangzeb claimed the empire. Unfortunately for us we have no detailed official history of Aurangzeb's reign. Muhammad Kazim was allowed to write the history of the first ten years only. The *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* and the *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab* do not give us the detailed account of the reign, the standard for which was set by Kazim. Of course there are the voluminous Jaipur Records and the News Letters of Aurangzeb's reign. But these leave many tantalizing gaps. The result is that it is rather difficult to assess the position of the Hindus in the public services of his reign.

I have compiled the following list of the Hindu mansibdars in Aurangzeb's reign mainly from the *Alamgir Nama*, *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, *Muntakhib-ul-Lubab*, the News Letters of Aurangzeb's reign and the Jaipur Records. I am thankful to Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar for his kindly allowing me to use his transcripts of the News Letters and the Jaipur Records. This list includes all appointments of 1000 and above during his entire reign.

Commanders of 7000

1. Raja Jai Singh of Jaipur
2. Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur.
3. Raja Sahu, Sivaji's grandson and a ward of the emperor.

Commanders of 6000

4. Maharana Raj Singh of Mewar.
5. Kanhji } (both of them Marathas).
6. Satvad Dafalya }

Commanders of 5000

7. Sambhaji (only for a short period).
8. Netoji, Sivaji's Commander-in-chief. After Sivaji's escape from Agra he was imprisoned. He sought freedom by becoming a Muslim. It is interesting to note that his status was then reduced to a commander of 3500, as he had ceased to be Sivaji's commander-in-chief.
9. Raja Bhim Singh of Banera.
10. Raja Jai Singh of Toda.
11. Raja Ram Singh of Jaipur.
12. Achalaji Nimbalkar, Sivaji's son-in-law.
13. Maharana Jai Singh of Udaipur.
14. Maharana Amar Sing II, of Udaipur.
15. Priya Nayak of Sakhar (in the Deccan).
16. Malloji.
17. Jagoki.
18. Bhago Banjara.
19. Santa.
20. Shubban.

Commanders of 4000

21. Raja Chatra Sal Bundela.
22. Jaswant Rao, son of Dattoji.

23. Jadun Rai.
24. Damaji.
25. Raja Indar Mun of Dhandhera.
26. Raja Bishen Singh of Jaipur.
27. Raja Rai Singh Rathor.

Commanders of 3500

28. Raja Rajrup of Nurpur (Punjab).
29. Raja Indar Singh.
30. Udai Singh Bundela.
31. Raja Anurudh Gaur.

Commanders of 3000

32. Rao Man Singh of Kishan Garh.
33. Raja Sujan Singh Bundela.
34. Rao Dalpat Bundela.
35. Raja Raghu Nath, Imperial finance minister.
36. Rao Bhao Singh Hada.
37. Viram Dev Sasodia.
38. Durga Dass Rathor (for a short period only).
39. Raja Kirat Singh Kachwaha, son of Raja Jai Singh of Jaipur.
40. Girdhar Dass Gaur.
41. Rao Karn Bhurtya of Bikaner.
42. Udaji Ram.
43. Jakoji.
44. Parsoji Bhonsla. He was a commander of 3000 under Shah Jahan. In Aurangzeb's reign he had a salary of Rs. 20,000 a year.
45. Vasudev Singh.
46. Rao Dalip Singh of Urcha.

Commanders of 2500

47. Rao Subh Karn.
48. Raja Devi Singh Bundela of Urcha.
49. Raja Bhagvant Singh Bundela.
50. Amar Singh Candravat.
51. Raja Ram Singh of Kota, son of Raja Kishor Singh.
52. Raja Anup Singh Bhurtya of Bikaner.
53. Rustam Rao.

Commanders of 2000

54. Raja Jai Singh (II) of Jaipur.
55. Raja Todar Mal, Revenue Dept.
56. Raja Vikram Singh of Guler (Punjab).
57. Pritam Singh Rathor.
58. Udyat Singh Bhadorya.
59. Ram Chand.
60. Nar Singh Hada.
61. Medni Singh, son of Raja Pritam Singh of Srinagar (Garhwal).
62. Arjoji.
63. Mankoji.
64. Baitoji.
65. Vyas Rao.
66. Tanaji.
67. Raja Jagat Singh Hada.
68. Ani Rai, Diwan-i-Tan.
69. Bahadur Singh, Raja Bhim's brother.

Commanders of 1500

70. Amar Singh Sasodia of Rampur.
71. Raja Sabbal Singh Sasodia.
72. Bhojraj Kachwaha.
73. Man Singh of Gwalior.
74. Raja Prithi Cand.
75. Raja Sarandhar of Jummon.
76. Shiv Singh.
77. Caturbhaj Cauhan.
78. Amar Singh of Narwar.
79. Raghunath Singh Rathor.
80. Udai Singh Mertia.
81. Man Singh, son of Raja Rup Singh Rathor.
82. Mahesh Dass Rathor.

83. Raghunath Singh Bhurtya.
84. Rai Makrand.
85. Raja Indar Man Bundela.
86. Trimbakji Bhonsla.
87. Dakoji.
88. Rambhaji.
89. Raja Sarup Singh of Bikaner.
90. Raja Mohkam Singh Sasodia.

Commanders of 1000

91. Bhagwant Singh Sasodia.
92. Raja Maha Singh Bhadorya of Bhadawar.
93. Raja Kishan Singh Candrawat of Tomar.
94. Raja Sher Singh of Chamba (Punjab).
95. Raja Kalyan Singh of Bandhu.
96. Raghu Nath Sasodia.
97. Manohar Dass Sasodia.
98. Kishan Singh, son of Kunwar Ram Singh.
99. Badan Singh Bhadorya.
100. Sarup Singh, son of Udayat Singh
101. Mitr Sen Bundela.
102. Bhim Singh, son of Raja Prithi Singh of Srinagar (Garhwal).
103. Mandhata, son of Raja Rajrup of Nurpur.
104. Bhawani Dass Bhurtya.
105. Ram Singh, son of Ratan Singh Rathor.
106. Sher Singh, son of Ram Singh Rathor.
107. Suraj Mall Gaur.
108. Harajas Gaur.
109. Gopal Singh Kachwaha.
110. Arjan Gaur.
111. Suraj Mal, son of Raja Bhim Singh.
112. Dal Singh Sasodia.
113. Arjun Singh.
114. Chatroji.
115. Raja Ram Dass Narwari.
116. Rawal Ram Singh of Dungarpur.

[Besides these Mansibdars mentioned in the records the following thirty-one Mansibdars, are also mentioned in a way so as to suggest that they probably held commands of 1000 or more.]

117. Rao Mukand Singh of Kota.
118. Rao Kishan Singh of Kota.

    [A son of Kishan Singh, Rao Ram Singh, is mentioned above as a commander of 2500. It is therefore very likely that these held the mansib of 1000 or more.]
119. Raja Prithi Singh of Jaisalmer.
120. Raja Man Singh of Guler.

    [Raja Vikram Singh of Guler had a mansib of 2000. Hence it is likely that Man Singh must have held an equal or a slightly lower rank.]
121. Raja of Kishtwar.

    [Raja Gursen of Kishtwar under Shah Jahan was a commander of 1000.]
122. Raja Subhag Cand of Sarmur.
123. Raja Duni Cand of Kehlur (Bilaspur in the Punjab).
124. Raja Hardev of Jummon.

    [Another Raja of Jummon, Raja Sarandhar, whose mansib is mentioned, was a commander of 1500.]
125. Raja Bahadur Cand of Kumayun.
126. Swai Singh of Kalibhet.
127. Raja Alam Singh of Karwar (Malwa).
128. Raja Anup Singh of Bandhu.

[Another Raja of Bandhu mentioned above was a commander of 1000.]

129. Satar Sal of Jamnagar (Kathiawar).
130. Puran Mal, his son and successor.
131. Manji Mular of Chanda.
132. Madhukar, son of the above.
133. Ram Singh, a brother of 123.
134. Kewal Singh (or Kuk Singh) of Dev Garh.
135. Hari Singh of Garh.
136. Kishan Singh.
137. Rai Lal Chand, Diwan-i-Khalsa.
138. Karm Chand, Personal assistant to the Governor of Lahore. He was appointed a Fojdar of Sirhind.
139. Dyal Dass Jhala.
140. Mohan Singh Hada.
141. Bhim Nayak.
142. Jogna Nayak.
143. Shanker Nayak.
144. Rajhoji.
145. Khalloji.
146. Pohladji.
147. Raja Kaklot Ujjainya.
148. Rawal Jaswant of Dungarpur.

An analysis of this list yields a few interesting results. We have to keep in view the fact that it includes all appointments made during the reign. Thus the large number of the Hindu Mansibdars does not necessarily indicate any liberal policy of Aurangzeb. It is largely to be credited to his long reign. Thus we have four Rajas of Jaipur, Jai Singh I, Ram Singh, Bishen Singh and Jai Singh II included in the list. Similarly Udaipur is represented by three Rajas, Raj Singh, Jai Singh and Amar Singh. Bikaner saw Rao Karn, Raja Anup Singh the minor, Sarup Singh, Anurodh Singh and Budh Singh in succession, the last outliving Aurangzeb. In Kota, Jagat Singh, Kishan Singh and Ram Singh succeeded one another during the fifty years of the Mughal emperor's long reign. We cannot therefore compare this list of 148 mansibdars with profit with 51 Hindu mansibdars all of whom were living at the end of 30th year of Shah Jahan's reign.

We definitely know that out of the first thirty one of these mansibdars, not more than ten survived Aurangzeb. Out of the next sixteen commanders of 3000, eight were dead, one was a rebel, one had ceased to figure in the annals, and was probably dead, six alone are known to be living. Thus out of the forty seven grandees in the list only sixteen are known to be living. It is thus safe to conclude that the number of the living mansibdars was fifty at the time of Aurangzeb's death against fifty one towards the end of Shah Jahan's

reign. We definitely know that only some thirty of these mansibdars were living at the time.

Thus towards the end of Aurangzeb's reign there was a smaller number of Hindus occupying the mansibs of 1000 and above than the number of similar mansibdars towards the end of Shah Jahan's reign. But the decrease in number becomes still more significant when we remember the increase in the ranks of the mansibdars.

The total number of mansibdars rose enormously in the reign of Aurangzeb. Figures are available for the year 1657 when under Shah Jahan there were 8000 mansibdars[66] in all, whereas in 1690, the number of mansibdars had risen to the figure, 14556.[67] During the later seventeen years of Aurangzeb's reign the number must have been increased still further.

This doubling of the number of mansibdars of all classes does not show proportional increase in the number of the Hindus who hold mansibs of 1000 and above. Thus it is safe to assert that the number of the Hindus holding such ranks towards the end of Aurangzeb's reign had gone down. The percentage of the Hindus in the higher ranks of the state could not have been more than 50% of what it was towards the end of Shah Jahan's reign.

This list is suggestive in another way as well. When Aurangzeb became the emperor, we find that the two premier nobles of the empire were Hindus, the finance minister also was a Hindu. Maharaja Jaswant Singh served as the governor of Gujerat, as the leader of the first Mughal expedition against the Marathas, and then as an assistant of a royal prince in the government of Kabul. He was deputed to those places where hard work was expected. Raja Jai Singh, when he was sent against Shivaji to the Deccan, controlled the ordinary civil and military authorities in the Deccan and became the highest ruling authority besides being a leader of the Mughal expedition.[68] After exhausting all imperial favours as far as official salary and status were concerned, the emperor added to his salary a princely allowance of Rs. 25,000 a year.[69] But towards the end of Aurangzeb's reign we do

66 *Badshah-nama*, Waris, 70.

67 *Zawabat-i-Alamgiri*, f. 15a.

68 Kazim, 1036.

69 Kazim, 618.

not find a single Hindu provincial governor, none even after the death of these two Rajput commanders; no Hindu succeeded Raja Raghu Nath as the finance minister either. *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri* contains an order which Aurangzeb issued forbidding the employment of Rajputs either as fojdars or provincial governors.[70]

When the prince commander of an expedition recommended an increment in the status of Inder Singh and Bahadur Singh, Aurangzeb sharply reprimanded the prince and turned down the recommendation.[71] Deliberately thus Aurangzeb shut out the Hindus from the highest offices, though not from the highest ranks of the Imperial services. As we have seen there were commanders of the highest ranks. But Sahu was a minor whom Aurangzeb was trying to convert to Islam[72] He drew a salary without filling any office. Among the thirteen commanders of 5000 nine were Marathas who were really given the price of their submission; most of them had been directly appointed to their commands. Among the remaining five, two were reigning Rāṇās of Udaipur, one of Jaipur and the rest also held hereditary lands. Thus under Aurangzeb, though some Hindus enjoyed the salary and the profits of even the highest posts (*mansibs*), they were not called upon, in the latter half of his reign, to fill any high executive or administrative offices. Their position was lowered in this way as well.

The study of the fortunes of certain houses who held hereditary office as ruling princes also yields similar results. Rāṇā Raj Singh was a commander of 6000, not so his successors who received commands of 5000.[73] Raja Jai Singh of Jaipur was a commander of 7000.[74] The fortunes of his house show increasingly declining tendency. His successor Ram Singh rose to be a commander of 5000.[75] Raja Bishan Singh died a commander of 4000.[76] Raja Jai Singh II had the lowest command ever held by a Kachwaha prince, that of 2000. In

70 *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri* (Ms.) f. 72a.

71 *Ibid.*, 5 (b).

72 News Letter, May 10, 1703, Kalimat, 153.

73 Vinod.

74 Kazim, 618.

75 *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, 154; *Jaipur Records*, vol. II, letter Nos. 41, 25; News Letter dated 30-12-81.

76 *Jaipur Records*, vol. VI, letter dated July 2, 1691.

Jodhpur, after Maharaja Jaswant Singh came a deluge. Raja Indar Singh, a nephew of his, was no doubt at first appointed to the command of 3500 and to rule over Jodhpur. But the Rajput war followed and Jodhpur was "annexed" though the Rajputs did everything to make the occupation as difficult and as costly as possible. Raja Rajrup of Nurpur (in the Punjab) was a commander of 3500.[77] His son and successor Mandhata is only mentioned as holding the rank of a commander of 1000.[78] Raja Bhim Singh, the founder of the house of Banera, was a commander of 5000,[79] but his son and successor Suraj Mal rose to the command of 1000 only.[80] Thus the fortunes of many distinguished houses as well declined under Aurangzeb. We have to remember that we have been dealing here with houses which held hereditary lands. The contractions of the status cannot be explained therefore simply by the fact that the mansibs depended on the personal merits of the incumbents.

Thus Aurangzeb seemed to have followed a three-fold policy with reference to the high Hindu mansibdars. A general, and comparatively greater, reduction in the number of such Hindus was accomplished by conferring mansibs lower than those held by their predecessors. Thus there was a deliberate attempt on decreasing the part the Hindus had been playing in the administration of their country.

The petty officials could expect to fare no better. Various rules were made to break the monopoly of the Hindus in the routine jobs in the revenue department and in the clerical establishment. There is a general order in the *Kalimat-i-Tayybat* forbidding the employment of the Hindus.[81] Then there is the order preserved in the *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* and *Muntakhib-ul-Labab* forbidding the employment of the Hindus in the revenue department and as personal assistants to various executive heads.[82] An attempt was made to enforce these orders. Now the

77 Kazim, 625. 78 Kazim, 1000.

79 See the present writer's article in *Islamic Culture*, Hyderabad, January, 1935.

80 News Letter, dated September 19, 1694.

81 Kalimat, letter No. 34; cf. Manucci, II, 154.

82 Khafi Khan, II, 249.

Hindu monopoly of these jobs was due to the fact that the Muslims preferred army to these clerical offices. Aurangzeb reprimanded even a prince for daring to suggest the name of a Hindu for an appointment.[83] He, however, could not succeed in diverting the energies of the Muslims to these petty offices. The attempt failed.[84] Some Hindu Karoris of crownlands gave place to Muslims,[85] others in the revenue department changed their religion to retain their places,[86] yet Aurangzeb ordered that one of the two personal assistants to various officers should be a Muslim.[87] In his sixteenth year he resumed all the grants made to the Hindus.[88] He valiantly tried to replace Hindu public servants by Muslims wherever he could. Twenty Hindu musketeers of the royal guards were dismissed to give place to Muslims on July 27, 1703.[89]

No wonder these things created a feeling of superiority among the Muslims. One Sayyid Amir came to Gujerat in the forty-sixth year of his reign. He was appointed to fill a post. The governor discovered that he would have to serve under a Hindu, no other than Durga Dass Rathor. He declined to allow him to assume office thinking it derogatory for a Muslim to serve under a Hindu. A Hindu thereupon was appointed to the office in question.[90]

Aurangzeb contributed to the widening of this gulf between the Hindus and the Muslims further by ordering on November 19, 1702, that no Hindu in the army was to employ Muslim servants.[91]

The turning point in this as in many other things in this reign seems to have been the death of Maharaja Jaswant Singh. Raja Raghu Nath Dass, Raja Jai Singh and Maharaja Jaswant Singh had been the three checks on Aurangzeb's enthusiasm. One after another they died and with the death of the last he felt emancipated. The Rajput war

83 Letter of Aurangzeb, letter No. 33, News Letter dated July 28, 1694.

84 Khafi Khan, II, 252.

85 *Ibid.*

86 Cf. below.

87 Khafi Khan, II, 252.

88 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, II.

89 News Letter, dated July 27, 1703.

90 News Letter (Provincial, Gujrat), dated Shaban 3, years 46.

91 Imperial News Letter, dated November 19, 1702. Cf. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 354.

born of his intention to swallow Jodhpur further estranged the Hindus, particularly the Rajputs. It is not right to say that after the Rajput war no Rajput served under Aurangzeb, the fact was that except those bent on carving out new independent hereditary principalities, few Rajputs could be found to serve enthusiastically under him. As long as Bijapur and Golkonda lay unconquered there was some work for Rajput blades to do. But after their conquest the Maratha warfare had little to attract Rajput valour. When forts were surrendered by bribing the commanders systematically,[92] the Rajputs were no longer in demand. Besides that Aurangzeb's puritanic nature put various vexatious obstacles in the path of the Rajputs.

Thus Aurangzeb deliberately worsened the position of the Hindus in the public services. Higher offices were closed to them; the Muslims were openly preferred. Dismissal of the Hindus from the revenue department was attempted though it was of no avail.

(5) *Destruction of Hindu Temples*

Early in the reign of Shah Jahan, it had been brought to the notice of the Mughal emperor that the building of new temples and repairing of old ones, though in conformity with the liberal practices of the reign of Akbar and Jahangir, were in reality against the Muslim law and usage. Shah Jahan had for some time tried to enforce this ordinance but later in his reign it fell into disuse and several temples were repaired and added to.[93] When Aurangzeb came to the throne, he issued the following order soon after on February 28, 1659 probably in connection with a dispute as to the right of 'holding charge of the ancient temples of Benares.

> "It has been decided according to our canon law that long standing temples should not be demolished but no new temples be allowed to be built............Our royal command is that you should direct that in future no person shall in unlawful ways interfere with or disturb the Brahmans and other Hindu residents in those places."[94]

92 Khafi Khan, II, 503.

93 Cf. the present writer's article on the Religious Policy of Shah Jahan in the *IHQ.*, vol. XII, pp. 21-44.

94 *JASB.*, 1911, p. 1789; cf. the text as in the *Twentieth Century India*, vol. II, p. 2.

This however did not last long. In 1661 Aurangzeb in his zeal to uphold what he considered to be the tenets of Islam, sent orders to his Viceroy of Bihar, Daud Khan, to conquer Palamau. In the military operations that followed, many temples were destroyed signalising the victories of the Mughal arms.[95] Towards the end of the same year when Mir Jumla made war on the Raja of Kuch Bihar, the Mughals destroyed many temples during the course of their operations as a sign of their victories. Idols were broken, and some of the temples were converted into mosques.[96]

But these were military measures. Such destruction had taken place even in the reign of Jahangir and Shah Jahan in the tail of military operations. Soon however Aurangzeb began to act even without provocation. The temple of Somnath was destroyed early in his reign.[97] This seems to have been one of the results of the order sent to his officials in Gujerat dated November 20, 1665.[98] This order put an end to Shah Jahan's supercession of Aurangzeb's order who as the prince Viceroy of Gujerat had destroyed many temples. By his order of 1665, Aurangzeb gave directions for the general destruction of temples in Gujerat. It is rather difficult to find out why these temples in Gujerat were singled out for destruction when temples elsewhere were not tampered with. No new temples were destroyed. But only those temples fell victims to his fury which had once been destroyed and where worship had been resumed by the Hindus.

A similar order seems to have been sent about this time to the governor of Orissa. It bears no date, but as it refers to new temples only and orders the destruction of temples built during the last ten or twelve years, it must have been issued in 1669 and presumably within twelve years (lunar) of Aurangzeb's reign. The provincial governor thereupon issued the following order to his officials:—

> "To all Fojdars, Garrison Commanders, Accountants, District Collectors of land revenue and their officials from Katak to Midnapur in the Frontiers of Orissa.

95 Kazim, 659.

96 Kazim, 697; Khafi Khan, II, 136, 152.

97 *Mirat*, Supplement, English translation, 120.

98 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 259, 260.

The Imperial Bakhashi Asad Khan has sent a letter written according to the instructions of the emperor to say that the emperor, learning from the news letters of the province of Orissa that at the village of Tilkkuti in Mednipur a temple has been built, has issued his august mandate for its destruction and the destruction of all temples built anywhere in this province...........Therefore, you are hereby commanded with extreme urgency that immediately on the receipt of this letter you should destroy the above mentioned temples. Every temple built during the last ten or twelve years should be demolished without delay. Also do not allow the Hindus and infidels to repair their old temples. Reports of the destruction of temples should be sent to the court under the seal of Qazis and attested by pious Sheikhs."[99]

This order was obviously provoked by the building of a new temple in a village in Orissa. It is apparent from a perusal of the Benares Sanad already quoted, that early in Aurangzeb's reign it seems to have been ordered that no new temples were to be built nor old ones repaired. Similar orders had been issued by Shah Jahan as well in his sixth year. Thus this order did not promulgate any new law, it simply declared and revived an old interpretation of the Muslim law which had become obsolete. It was presumably on that account that the news letter had mentioned the building of a temple in an insignificant village of Orissa. Further this order left nothing to the discretion of the civil or military servants of the empire—some of them were Hindus who might have ignored the order. The governor addressed his instructions to the military officers serving as commanders of garrisons, executive heads of the Sarkars serving as Fojdars, heads of revenue departments in the Sarkar, agents of the Fojdars, and accountants. Now this roped in almost all Mughal officers, civil and military. As usually there was not much love lost between the representatives of different departments in the same locality, the governor ensured that no one of them should be remiss in performing his duty in this connection for fear he may be complained against. However there was still the fear that in any one locality all of them might conspire to leave this work undone. Even this was provided against. Their own accounts were not to be trusted. They had to get them attested by the Qazis and pious Sheikhs.

99 *Muraqaat-i-Hasan*, 202.

About the same time Aurangzeb's attention was turned towards Mathura. Here many beautiful temples had been raised by the piety of the Hindu Rajas and rich men particularly during the reign of Akbar and Jahangir. Aurangzeb picked out for attack what looked like a work of repairs in the famous temple of Keshav Rai. Its railing that had once been made of wood had become too weak to serve any useful purpose long ago. Under Shah Jahan, Dara Shikoh had built at his own cost a railing of stone. Now besides being a work of repairs as well as a new structure, it was an emblem of a Muslim's fall from grace. On October 14, 1666, its removal by the Fojdar of Mathura was reported to the imperial court.[100] Some time after the death of Jai Singh, Aurangzeb is alleged to have demolished the Lalta temple near Delhi.[101]

It was three years later that at last a general order was issued for the destruction of all the schools and temples of the Hindus. On April 9, 1669, it was reported to the emperor that the Brahmans of Sindh, Multan and particularly of Benares were using their temples as schools, which attracted students, Hindus and Muslims alike, from great distances. Even Jahangir had not been able to tolerate the going of a Muslim youngman to a Yogī for instruction in religious matters. It was but natural therefore that Aurangzeb should have been upset by such a report. But whereas Jahangir had held the two Muslims concerned guilty and punished them, Aurangzeb gave an order for the punishment of those whose only offence was the imparting of religious education to those who came to them.

'Orders in accordance with the organisation of Islam were sent to the governors of all the provinces that they should destroy the schools and temples of the infidels and put an end to their educational activities as well as the practices of the religion of the Kafirs.'[102] De Graaf who was at Hoogly in 1670, heard about these orders and reported:

"In the month of January, all the governors and native officers received an order from the Gujerat Mughal prohibiting the practice of Pagan religion

100 News Letter of the same date. 101 Manucci, II, 154.
102 *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, 81.

throughout the country and closing down all the temples and sanctuaries of Idol worshippers..............in the hope that some pagans would embrace the Muslim religion."[103]

It is rather difficult to understand the reasoning of the quasi-official historian, Kazim, or to follow Aurangzeb's line of thought. Complaints were only from certain parts of the country, not from all over the empire. If any party was guilty of the violation of any Muslim injunction, or secular Mughal law, they were the teachers concerned in those reprehensible practices. The temples had rather been sinned against than sinning. For the fault of certain Brahmans, to destroy all the places of religious worship of the Hindus was in itself criminal. It is more reasonable to suppose, therefore, that the reason officially advanced in the chronicle was only an occasion, if not the excuse, for Aurangzeb's embarking on a militant policy of religious persecution. He must have already made up his mind to launch forth a general attack on Hindu places of worship. It formed a part of his plan of governing India according to what he understood to be the strict letter of the Muslim law.

This general order formed a parting of ways between the old and the new Mughal religious policy. It made Akbar's plan of a secular state in India a dream. It went back not only on the tolerant practices of Akbar, but the earlier Muslim ways of government in India as well. It made the Muslim rulers of India once again the conquerors and wielders of the sword of Islam rather than her rulers. Now and then a Feroz Shah or a Sikander Lodhi had tried to embark on such a policy but even they had not thought it politic to embark on such an unpopular programme. Aurangzeb in launching forth this attack on Hinduism did go against the practices of the most of the earlier Muslim rulers in India and elsewhere.

Soon after the order was issued, news of the destruction of temples from all parts of the country began to arrive. A royal messenger was sent to demolish the temple of Malarina (now in Jaipur but probably then included in the imperial district of Ajmer) in May

103 Orme's Fragments, notes 85.

1669.[104] In August 1669 the temple of Visvanath at Benares was demolished[105] The presiding priest of the temple was just in time in removing the idols of Visvanath from the temple and throw them into a neighbouring well which thus became a centre of pious interest ever since then. The temple of Gopi Nath in Benares was also destroyed about the same time.

Then came the turn of the temple of Keshav Rai at Mathura built at a cost of Rs. 3,300,000 by Rao Bir Singh Bundela in the reign of Jahangir.[106] It had excited the religious frenzy of many Muslims before Aurangzeb who however had not Aurangzeb's opportunities and power.[107] It had been built after the style of the famous temple at Vṛndāban which Man Singh had built at a cost of Rs. 5,00,000. But Bir Singh had improved upon his model and spent more than six times as much as Man Singh had lavished on his shrine at Vṛndāban.[108] It had become a centre of pilgrimage for all India. The idols, studded with precious stones and adorned with gold works, were all carted to Agra and there buried under the steps of Jahanara's mosque. The temple was levelled to the ground and a mosque was ordered to be built on the site to mark the acquisition of religious merit by the emperor.[109]

No wonder that this struck consternation in the Hindu world. The priests of the temple of Govardhan founded by the Balabhācārya sought safety in flight. The idols were removed and the priests softly stole out in the night. Imperial territories offered no place of safe asylum either to the god or his votaries. After an adventurous journey, they at last reached Jodhpur. Maharaja Jaswant Singh was away on imperial errands. His subordinates in the state did not feel strong enough to house the god who may soon excite the wrath of the Mughal emperor. Damodar Lal, the head of the priesthood in charge of the temple, sent Gopinath to Maharaja Raj Singh to beg for a place to be able to serve his religion in peace. The Sasodia prince extended his welcome to

104 *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, 94. 105 *Ibid.*, 88.
106 *Mirat-ul-Khayal*. The paging of the copy I consulted is defective.
107 *Travels of Abdul Latif*, 34, 35. 108 *Ibid.*, 34.
109 Manucci, II, 116; *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, 95, 96; *Mirat-ul-Khayal*, 101, 102.

Damodar Lal. The party left Champasani on December 5, 1671, and was right royally received by Maharana Raj Singh on the Frontiers of his state. It was decided to house the god in Sihar and with due religious ceremony the god was installed on March 10, 1672.

Mewar thus became the centre of Vaiṣṇavism in India. The tiny village of Sihar has now grown into an important town which after the name of the god is known as Nathadwara.

At Kankroli (in Udaipur state) another Vaiṣṇava idol of Kṛṣṇa similarly brought down from Vṛndāban had been housed a little earlier.[110] It forms another, though less famous, shrine of Vaiṣṇavism in India today. Thus thanks to Aurangzeb's religious zeal, Udaipur state became a new Vṛndāban to the devotees of the Bhakti cult.

In Gujerat, the Hindus of Surat discovered an ingenious method of saving some of their temples. They agreed to make certain payments for them. This however led to greater demands from the Qazis and the censors till at last the Banias began to groan under their extortion (*English Factories in India*, XIII, 141).

These measures were bound to create opposition in some quarters at least. In March 1671, it was reported that a Muslim officer who had been sent to demolish the Hindu temples in and around Ujjain was killed with many of his followers on account of the riot that had followed his attempts at destroying the temples there. He had succeeded in destroying some of the temples but in one place, a Rajput chief had opposed this wanton destruction of his religious places. He had overpowered the Mughal forces and destroyed its leader and many of his men.[111] In Gujerat somewhere near Ahmedabad, Kolis seem to have taken possession of a mosque and prevented Friday prayers there. Imperial orders were thereupon issued to the provincial officers in Gujerat to secure the use of the mosque for Friday prayers.[112]

We have already noticed that De Graaf heard of the general order issued by Aurangzeb for the destruction of Hindu places of worship in January 1670. In far off Bengal it took some time

110 Ojha, *History of Udaipur*, I, 35.
111 News Letter of March 27, 1670.
112 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 261.

to pursue actively the policy laid down by the emperor. But at last in the first half of the year 1672, Government agents were sent to all Parganas with orders for carrying out the emperor's instructions and destroy all the Hindu temples.[113] It should be noted however that all these acts of destruction of temples were due more to his proselytising zeal and faith in Islam than to any desire to hurt Hindu feelings.

The records of the reign thereafter are silent for some years. This may be either due to a slackening of the imperial zeal in the matter of the destruction of the temples or the incidents became too ordinary an affair to be recorded by the Muslim chroniclers.

This lull is broken in 1679 when Aurangzeb's fury breaks out with a vengeance. Maharaja Jaswant Singh died on December 10, 1678. When Aurangzeb heard of it towards the end of the month, he waited patiently for some time and then on March 9, 1679, orders were given for the sequestration of the state to the crown. About this time Dorab Khan had been sent to Khandela where he demolished various temples in the neighbourhood on March 8, 1679.[114] This was followed by the despatch of Khan-i-Jahan to Jodhpur. He destroyed many temples there early in 1679 and as an evidence of his "meritorious conduct" he brought cartloads of idols from those temples to Delhi. These were placed in public places in the court and the Friday Mosque.[115] Now Aurangzeb was not yet at war with Jodhpur which had really been converted into a crownland property. The destruction of its temples therefore was not an act of warfare. It was an announcement that the state was no longer being governed by a Hindu Raja but had now passed into imperial hands. It seemed Aurangzeb had not yet extended his religious regulations to the states.

Aurangzeb's dealings with the Rathors of Jodhpur resulted in the Rajput war. Udaipur offered unique opportunities for the purpose. The Mahārāṇā had fled to his mountains leaving Udaipur to pass into the hands of the Mughals. The royal temple in front of the palace was destroyed. When Aurangzeb

113 *History of Dacca*, I, 372 quoted by Sarker.
114 News Letter dated, March 8, 1679. 115 *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, 175.

visited Udai Sagar, on January 24, 1680, he ordered that the three temples that were standing on the edge of the lake be destroyed. On January 29, it was reported that the number of temples destroyed in and around Udaipur (of course including the four already mentioned) was 172. Aurangzeb's visit to Chitor on February 22, 1680, was followed by the destruction of 63 temples.[116] Thus in the state of Udaipur alone 235 temples were reported to have been destroyed. These did not include the temple at Someśvara in Western Mewar.[117]

Udaipur was at war with Delhi, the destruction of its temples may have formed a part of the ruthless military campaign undertaken with a view to compel the Rajputs to sue for peace. But it produced lamentable effect. Bhim, a younger son of the Rāṇā, retaliated by attacking Ahmed Nagar and demolishing many mosques, big and small, there.[118]

But Aurangzeb did not confine his iconoclastic activities to the warring states alone. Orders were given to demolish Hindu temples in the friendly state of Jaipur as well. An imperial agent, Abu Tarab, was sent for this purpose and he set about his task with a thoroughness that soon produced a panic. Most of the temples he was able to destroy easily,[119] but there was some opposition in one temple. Some Rajputs assumed positions there wherefrom they could easily deal with the masons who were sent to demolish the temple. The imperial agents had soon to beat back a retreat. The officer in charge of the party thereupon complained to the Raja's officials. A Fojdar was asked to accompany the imperial agent to secure that the imperial officials were not molested in their task of pulling down the temple. There was a skirmish between the soldiers accompanying the Fojdar and the Rajputs in the temple. Not before all the Rajputs had been killed,

116 *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, 186, 188, 189.

117 *Adab-i-Alamgiri*, letters No. 732 and 744.

118 Ishar Dass, f. 79b; Raja Prashasti, XXII, verse 29; *Jaipur Records*, XIII, 72-74.

119 *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, 194.

was it possible for the imperial agent to destroy the temple.[120] Abu Tarab reached the court on August 10, 1680 and reported that he had demolished as many as sixty-six temples in Amber.[121] A letter from one Bhagwan Dass to Raja Ram Singh written probably about this time tells us of the destruction of Karor temple (?) in Amber by Dalair, an imperial messenger.[122]

At last the war with the Rajputs was over. Aurangzeb decided to leave Ajmer for the Deccan. His march seems to have been marked with the destruction of many temples on the way. On May 21, 1681, the superintendent of the labourers was ordered to destroy all the temples that came in the way.[123] Some time after one Manawar Beg, a mason, with 30 artisans was sent to raze the temples of the Rajputs.[124] On September 27, 1681 the emperor issued orders for the destruction of the temples at Lakheri.[125] On October 13, 1681 when he left Jaitpur, Qumarud Din submitted that though all the temples in the neighbourhood had been closed, they should be destroyed. Aurangzeb however was content with the closing of the temples and ordered that they be allowed to stand as there were no Muslims living in that area.[126]

When Aurangzeb made war upon Bijapur and Golkonda he met with stout opposition from some of his divines. Sheikh-ul-Islam, his Sadar-us-Sadur, was expelled for opposing it. His successor Abdullah remonstrated against the destruction of the Muslims in the affair. He was forbidden royal presence.[127] Naturally when Golkonda was conquered, the emperor justified its conquest by ordering the destruction of temples in Hyderabad and their conversion into mosques in 1687.[128] The fall and capture of Bijapur was similarly solemnized though here the destruction of temples seems to have been delayed probably for several years till 1698.[129]

120 *Jaipur Records*, II, 161.
121 *Maāsir-i-Alamgiri*, 194.
122 *Jaipur Records*, III, 41.
123 News Letter dated May 21, 1681.
124 *Jaipur Records*, Letter dated September 18, 1681.
125 News Letter dated September 27, 1681.
126 News Letter dated October 13, 1681.
127 Khafi Khan, II, 1343.
128 Khafi Khan, II, 359.
129 *Ibid.*, II, 385.

Elsewhere the same policy was being followed. About this time, on April 14, 1692 orders were issued to the provincial governor and the district Fojdar to demolish the temples at Rasulpur.[130] In 1693, the Haitheswar temple at Var Nagpur in Gujerat was demolished.[131]

A Jaipur letter dated February 14, 1690 reported that in Kanwar in Jaipur where the temples had perhaps already been demolished, a religious fair was held and idols were publicly worshipped. This happened thrice in the course of a year. The Censor complained to the emperor so that suitable action may be taken against those responsible for it.[132]

Ghulam Muhammed, news-writer, accompanying the expedition against the Jats reported on May 28, 1690 to the emperor that Mohan Singh, one of the Rajput chiefs accompanying Bishan Singh, had set up a temple in the house of Sardul Singh.[133] In December 1690, it was complained to the emperor that the temples in Marwar that had once been converted into places of residence by the Muslim Jagirdar, had again been opened for public worship.[134]

In April, 1694 it was reported to the emperor that the imperial censor had tried to prevent public idol worship in Jaisinghpura near Aurangabad. The Vairāgī priests of the temple were arrested but were soon rescued by the Rajputs.[135] Sanker, a messenger, was sent to demolish a temple near Sheogoon. He came back after pulling it down on November 20, 1693.[136]

Bijai Singh and several other Hindus were reported to be carrying on public worship of idols in a temple in the neighbourhood of Ajmer. On June 23, 1694 the governor of Ajmer was ordered to destroy the temple and stop public celebration of idol worship there.[137] In 1108

130 News Letter dated April 14, 1692.
131 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 328, 329.
132 *Jaipur Records*, XVI, 58.
133 *Jaipur Records*, XVII, 58.
134 *Jaipur Records*, X, 174-183.
135 News Letter dated April 3, 1699
136 *Ibid.*, dated November 20, 1693.
137 *Ibid.*, dated June 23, 1694.

A.H. (=1696-97 A.D.) orders were issued for the destruction of the major temples at Sorath in Gujerat.[138]

Muhammad Shah, a censor attached to the army, reported that many soldiers went to worship idols in the temple at Purandhar. On January 2, 1705 orders were given that the temple be desecrated and demolished.[139] The temple of Wakenkhera in the fort was demolished on March 2, 1705.[140]

Besides these cases where dates are available there are some others where the dates are not definitely known.

The Juma Masjid at Irach (in Bundelkhand) is assigned to Aurangzeb's reign. It is built of materials taken from a Hindu temple.[141] While passing through Udaipur in Bundelkhand (about 1681) Aurangzeb is said to have ordered the Saiva temple there to be demolished. The orders were however modified, the temple was converted into a mosque.[142] The temples at Gayaspur near Bhilsā[143] and the temple of Khandai Rao in Gujerat[144] were also destroyed.

In a small village in the Sarkar of Sirhind a Sikh temple was demolished and converted into a mosque. An Imam was appointed who was subsequently killed.[145] Several other Sikh temples were destroyed.[146]

In Orissa some time before 1670 the temple at Kedarpur was demolished and converted into a mosque.[147]

The private house of a Rajput, Devi Singh, in the Parganah of Alup, which was used as a temple, was converted into a mosque.[148]

Aurangzeb urged the appointment of an officer on special duty in order to destroy the Hindu temples in Mahārāṣṭra. He discovered that it was not possible for the labourers accompanying the royal army

138 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 354.
139 News Letter dated January 2, 1705.
140 *Ibid.*, dated March 2, 1705.
141 *Archæological Survey Report*, VII, 31-34.
142 *Ibid.*, VII, 85, 86.
143 *Ibid.*, VII., 93.
144 Kalimat, 128.
145 *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri.*
146 Kalimat
147 Hasan, 172.
148 *Jaipur Records*, X, 42.

on the march to destroy all the temples during the short time at their disposal with the limited number of men available to them.[149]

He stopped the public worship at the Hindu temple of Dwarka.[150]

When Aurangzeb conquered Karnatic he allowed the famous temple at Tirupati there to stand, partly on account of the large revenue he is alleged to have derived from the pilgrimages of the Hindus to the temple and partly for fear that its destruction might cause rebellion difficult to suppress.[151]

Aurangzeb destroyed many Hindu temples. Among them are included one at Mayapur (Hardwar) and another at Ayodhya.[152] "All of them are thronged with worshippers, even those that are destroyed are still venerated by the Hindus and visited by the offering of alms."[153]

Some Hindu temples built in the reign of Aurangzeb are known to exist in the town of Bishalpur (in Bengal). These temples date back to his reign according to the inscriptions to be found on them. Two were built in 1681 and one was built in 1690.[154]

He allowed the Sahasraing tank in Gujerat to be kept filled with water at the expense of the state.[155]

Thus Aurangzeb gave orders for the destruction of all the Hindu public temples, yet he had been content with closing down those that were built in an entirely Hindu population. If Manucci is to be believed, his officers allowed the Hindus to take back their temples from them on payment. In the south where he spent the last twenty-seven years of his reign Aurangzeb was content with leaving many Hindu temples standing as he was afraid of thus rousing the feelings of his Hindu subjects in the Deccan where putting down of rebellion was not an easy matter. But the discontent occasioned by his orders could not be thus brought to an end.

149 Kalimat Aurangzeb, (Ram Puri) 34.

150 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, supplement, English translation 121.

151 Manucci, II, 144. 152 *Ibid.*, III, 245.

153 *Ibid.*, 244.

154 *Archæological Survey Report*, VIII, 204, 205, 244.

155 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, supplement, English translation, 137.

(6) *Punitive Regulations against the Hindus*

Besides the measures Aurangzeb took for the purpose of reducing the number of the Hindus in the public services, many other restrictions were imposed on them, including their religious services. A pilgrimage tax was re-imposed.[156] Bernier (p. 303) tells us that at the time of an eclipse of the sun three lakhs of rupees were paid to the state. The celebration of some of their religious festivals was stopped. The Holi ceased to be celebrated by imperial orders issued on November 20, 1665.[157] It was not a police order alone promulgated for the purpose of keeping peace and order during the Holi days as Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar has suggested.[158] Raja Bhim of Banera and Kishen Singh while serving in the South in 1692 made arrangements for the celebration of the Holi. The censor tried to stop the celebration, but as Bhim and Kishen Singh were officers of high status, the censor's attempts were of no use. He reported the matter to the emperor by whose order the celebrations were stopped.[159] In 1704, 200 soldiers were placed at the disposal of the censor for the purpose of preventing the celebration of the Holi.[160] Of course the emperor was not always able to stop the celebrations. In 1693 there was a riot in Agra during the celebrations and many persons were wounded.[161] The celebration of Dipāvalī also was prohibited in 1665.[162] In 1703 Hindus were not allowed to burn their dead on the banks of the river Sabarmati in Ahmedabad.[163]

An order was issued to the jagirdar of Mustafabad to close the hot water-springs there to the public. The Hindus performed worship there whereas Muslim paralytics came for a cure. The parapharnalia of worship was confiscated.[164]

156 Manucci, II, 82. Collected at Allahabad at the rate of Rs. 6/4/- per head.
157 News Letters, November 20, 1665 and April 1, 1692. Manucci, II, 154.
158 Aurangzeb, III, 280n.
159 Cf. the present writer's article on Raja Bhim Singh of Banera.
160 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 261.
161 News Letter, Agra, dated May 8, 1693.
162 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 261.
163 News Letter, Gujerat, 22.
164 *Kalimat-i-Tayyibat*, Letter No. 109.

Fire-works of all sorts were prohibited.[165] It was laid down in the *Fatawa-i-Alamgiri* that the Hindus should not be allowed to look like Muslims. In furtherance of this it was ordered in 1694 that except Rajputs and Marathas no Hindus be allowed to ride an Iraqi or Turani horse, an elephant, or use a palanquin.[166] A Hindu disobeying it in 1694 in Multan had his horse and saddle confiscated.[167] The Deshmukh of Ahmad Nagar was discovered in 1703 riding a *palki* and at once the imperial orders were enforced against him.[168] It seems that the exception in favour of the Marathas was not made. In 1702 orders were given that the Muslim engravers be not allowed to engrave the names of the Hindu gods and goddesses on the seals of their rings.[169] The *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* assigns to the year 1693-1694 the order prohibiting the carrying of arms in public by the Hindus.[170]

A further distinction was made between the Hindus and the Muslims in the matter of taxation. On April 10, 1665 it was ordered that the custom duties on the Muslims be fixed at 2½% throughout the empire and at 5% in the case of the Hindus.[171] Manucci suggests that this concession, or rather a greater one, the total abolition of the custom duties to the Muslims was Aurangzeb's thanksgiving after his serious illness in 1662.[172] However as the concession was granted almost four years after Aurangzeb's recovery, the reason assigned does not seem to have been likely. The emperor soon found that even the levy of 2½% on the Muslims was unlawful. On May 9, 1667 orders were issued totally forbidding the levy of the tax on the Muslims.[173] This privilege was abused by the Muslim traders. The goods of the Hindus were passed as belonging to the Muslims usually for a consideration.[174] Aurangzeb was then compelled to re-impose the tax on the former rates, 2½% on the Muslims,[175] on March 5, 1682.

165 *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri* Rampur, 68a.
166 News Letter dated December 11, 1694.
167 *Ibid.*, of April 18, 1696.
168 *Ibid.*, of March 17, 1703.
169 *Ibid.*, of November 3, 1702.
170 *Maasir-i-Alamgiri.*
171 *Mirat*, I, 258, 259.
172 Manucci, II, 619.
173 *Mirat*, I, 265.
174 *Khafi Khan*, II, 230, 231.
175 *Mirat*, I, 298, 299.

Further the tax on the produce from the gardens was realised at the rate of 20% from the Hindus and 16·6% from the Muslims.[176]

In the year 1080 A.D. it was ordered that in a lunar year the Muslims should pay 2½% on the price of their cattle, and the Hindus 5%. [177]

The minting charges also differed and were fixed in 1093 A.H. at 2½%[178] for the Muslim and 5% for the Hindus. But the biggest difference lay in the imposition of the Jizya.

(7) *Imposition and Collection of the Jizya under Aurangzeb*

Much has been written on the principles underlying the imposition of the Jizya by a Muslim king on his non-Muslim subjects. Its origin has been traced, its nature analysed, and its relation with the general religious policy of the Muslim kings investigated. But historical origins and theological justification need not tally with the actual practice of a particular king in India or elsewhere. In what follows an attempt is made at studying from the official papers the practice and policy followed by Aurangzeb when he re-imposed the Jizya on the Hindus in April 1679.

To go back a little, the Jizya had been exacted by the Muslim kings of India from their Hindu subjects ever since the Arab conquest of Sind. At first the Brahmans had been exempted but Firoz Shah Taghlaq failed to find any justification for this exception. As a part of his general policy to make the kingdom of Delhi conform as much as possible to his conception of an ideal Muslim state, he imposed this tax on the Brahmans as well. Thenceforth the tax was collected from Hindus of all classes till Akbar thought it fit to relieve his non-Muslim subjects of this humiliating burden. His successors pursued the same policy and continued this departure from Muslim practice.

176 News Letter, dated June 8, 1685. De Graaf heard of the reduction of the trade taxes on the Muslims early in 1670. Orme's *Fragment*, notes, p. 80. De Graaf says that this was done with a view to compel the non-Muslims to accept Islam.

177 *Mirat*, I, 275.

178 *Mirat*, I, 304.

But when Aurangzeb came to the throne, things took a different turn. Aurangzeb was a puritan and was anxious to establish the kingdom of God on earth. He was a Muslim king and it seemed to him unreasonable not to govern according to the injunctions of the Quran and the tradition. He was determined, like all contemporary kings of Asia and Europe, to rule his kingdom as a servant of God. To him Akbar's policy of toleration looked like an aberration just as, about the same time, Charles II's Declaration of Indulgence seemed obnoxious to his Christian subjects even though it granted toleration to their fellow Christians.

Akbar was an exception to his age. Aurangzeb was content to be the norm. Further, Akbar's policy of toleration had not been willingly accepted by many of his officers and they had no enthusiasm for it.[179] Thus there was no apprehension of opposition from the Mughal officialdom if a pious king chose to revert to the normal policy of the Muslim rulers of India. The Muslim theologians who constituted the only effective check on the despotic powers of the Muslim kings in India could not naturally be expected to oppose the designs of a king who looked up to them for advice and guidance. Thus everything favoured a change in policy.

Of course there remained the vast majority of his Indian subjects, the Hindus. Aurangzeb fell into the error common to his century of disregarding their wishes and interests.

By 1679 Aurangzeb had advanced far on the path of Puritanism to make it possible for him to order the levy of the Jizya on non-Muslims on the representation of Anayat Khan, Diwan-i-Khalsa, in order to oppress the Hindus.[180] It was to be paid by all and sundry in Muslim

179 *Akbar Nama* and *Muntkhib-ut-Tawarikh* of Badayuni record many an incident which throws light on the attitude of the orthodox towards Akbar's religious policy. Badayuni's history is, in fact, a permanent record of the feelings of Muslims in general towards Akbar's innovations.

180 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi* suggests that the theologians took the initative in the matter and represented to Aurangzeb the anomaly of the non-believers being exempted from the payment of the Jizya under a king of Aurangzeb's piety. *Maasir-i-Alamgiri*, 174; *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 296-298; *Khallaq-us-Sayaq*, 52-56; *Zawabat-i-Alamgiri*, ff, 65b-67a ff.; *Mamuri*, 525.

India and Rajput States, by officials and non-officials, Brahmans and non-Brahmans, clerks and fighters. Aurangzeb's imposition differed from all earlier impositions in that it was laid on the persons living in feudatory states as well. The imposition was followed by a public protest by the Hindus at the capital and in the suburbs. They waited till Friday and when the emperor rode out on an elephant to say his Friday prayers in the Friday mosque, they made a demonstration and blocked the path of the royal elephant. For some time Aurangzeb was non-plussed. As all efforts at securing a path for him failed, after a delay of an hour or so, he ordered the march to be resumed trampling under foot many of the protestants. Abul Fazl Mamuri who himself witnessed the incident tells us that this continued for several days and many lost their lives for the Jizya.[181] The Jizya evoked a vigorous protest from Shivaji.[182] It has sometimes been asserted that it was a substitute for military service which was obligatory on all Muslims. None has, however, explained what steps were taken by Muslim emperors in India, particularly the Mughal emperors, to enforce this conscription on the Muslim section of their subjects. Theory apart, there is not a single case on record, as far as Indian history is concerned, to show that any Muslim ruler of India ever called upon all the faithful to his standards for the defence of their possessions either against internal rebellion or foreign danger. But even if it was a substitute for military service at any time, it ceased to be so when it was levied upon the Rajput Rajas of Central India and Rajputana.[183] How else are we to account for the appointment of an Amin for the

If Manucci is to be believed, some of the high placed and important men at court opposed the imposition of the Jizya. It was Aurangzeb's intention to use it for spreading the Muslim religion among his subjects. The Begum Sahiba opposed it. There was an earthquake some time after and some of the courtiers are said to have once again urged Aurangzeb to retrace his steps. Manucci, III, 288-291.

181 *Mamuri, 525, 526.*

182 *Khatut-i-Shivaji*, cf. the English translation in *Aurangzeb*, III.

183 The Court Bulletin of Aurangzeb's court of August 3, 1687. These News Letters are preserved partly in the Record office at Jaipur and partly in the library of the R.A.S., London. I have used the transcripts of these records made

Jizya accompanying the emperor?[184] The appointment of the Amin of the Jizya for the army, mentioned in the Daily Bulletin of the imperial camp, dated July 12, 1702, can be explained only on the assumption that the Hindus in the imperial army paid the Jizya. In fact, there is nothing to suggest that the Jizya was not levied upon the Hindus forming the fighting force of the Mughal rulers.

It has been asserted that the officials did not pay this odious tax.[185] But the actual practices of Aurangzeb's reign show that no exemption was made in favour of any class of Hindus as far as the payment of the Jizya was concerned. The Court Bulletin of the provincial governor at Agra, dated May 8, 1694, contains an interesting news item which sheds flood of light on the question. Some Hindu officials including a personal assistant to the provincial Bakshi, a Diwan, and an Amin of the court had among others delayed the payment of this tax. One of them pleaded that his Muslim superior was dangerously ill and that on account of his being busy with his affairs he could not pay the Jizya personally and would like to send it by a deputy. His request was turned down. He was reminded that paying the Jizya was a privilege and payment must therefore be made in person and as humbly as possible. There was no escape from this order. These officials came and paid the Jizya in person as ordered. It was levied in the states as well. The Jaipur Records mention that on May 2, 1688 postal messengers of Raja Ram Singh were asked to pay the tax when they reached Burhanpur. They refused to pay as they had already

for Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar who very kindly allowed me access to them. These News Letters were compiled by the official diarists from day to day and constituted the most reliable source of history of the period. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar is the only scholar who has used them so far in his monumental history of Aurangzeb. His attention, however, was mainly confined to the political history as contained in these records. The transcript in Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar's library covers more than a dozen volumes.

184 *Court Bulletin*, dated July 14, 1702.

185 *History of Aurangzeb*, vol. III, p. 270. He has cited no authority for this statement and I have failed to find any record of Aurangzeb's reign bearing out his contention. *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, usually followed by him, has nothing to say about this remission.

made the payment in Jaipur. Their letters were forcibly taken possession of, they were imprisoned and were released only when the matter was brought to the notice of the emperor. It was ordered that all messengers, private and imperial, should be taxed only in the place of their residence and no demand should be made on them while carrying the post.[186] In the jagirs, the Jagirdar was not left to his own devices for the collection of this tax. Imperial officers were sent to collect the tax. Of course their task was none too pleasant. Collection of a tax is always an unpleasant task and the levy of this widely hated tax almost always created trouble. On January 28, 1693, for example, it was reported that the Amin-i-Jizya for the province of Malwa had sent a soldier in order to collect the Jizya in the Jagir of Devi Singh, son of Biram Bev Sisodia. When he reached the place, Devi Singh's men fell upon him, pulled his beard and hair, and sent him back empty-handed. The emperor thereupon ordered a reduction in the Jagir of Devi Singh.[187]

Earlier, however, another Amin had fared much worse. Not content with sending his men to the Jagir of a Mansibdar, he himself proceeded to his Jagir. In the scuffle that followed his attempt at levying the tax, the Mansibdar killed the Amin. The case was brought

186 *Jaipur Records*, vol. X, pp. 18-20 of Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar's transcripts of the papers preserved in the Record Office, Jaipur. Nineteen volumes of these records covering in all more than 6,000 pages were copied for Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar. They include official correspondence of the agents maintained by the Rajas of Jaipur at the Imperial court besides many documents of importance. These papers belong to the different years between 1606 and 1717. These are papers for 1606, 1622 to 1627, 1630 to 1633, 1646 to 1661, 1664, 1665, 1669 to 1674, 1676, 1688 to 1717 A.D. They include imperial *farmans* and letters from the princes, letters received by the Maharajas, accounts, private letters and drafts of letters and heads of memoranda. When Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar last visited the Record Office, Jaipur, in 1929, 26,806 items had been catalogued by the Jaipur Record Office. It is to be hoped that the state authorities would, in the interest of historical scholarship, throw open the Record Office to the students of history. Their collection is unique in India and is of very great importance. So far Sir Jadu Nath is the only scholar who has been able to utilise these records. I am grateful to him for giving me an opportunity of studying these records from copies made for him.

187 *Court Bulletin*, dated January 28, 1703.

up before the Emperor on July 12, 1684, and the Mansibdar was degraded.[188]

In 1682 the Hindus of Burhanpur were reported to have made the task of the collections of the Jizya impossible. Mir Abdul Karim was thereupon appointed to the office, and horsemen and foot soldiers were attached to his establishment in order to facilitate his work. The Kotwal was ordered to punish the defaulters. So rigorous were his exactions that instead of a total of Rs. 26,000 from the whole city as in the past year he was able to collect from the half of the city about Rs. 108,000 within two or three months. It was discovered however that his methods were none too popular. He was thereupon transferred.[189]

In 1689 and 1690, the Jizya of Palanpur and Jalore in Gujerat was discovered to be in arrears. Officers had to be sent there in order to help the local Amin in the collection of this tax.[190] Elsewhere Rai Bhan created trouble for two years and made it impossible for any collections to be made. On August 31, 1703, his conduct was reported to the emperor.[191]

The incidence of the Jizya on the people was not inconsiderable. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has calculated that in the province of Gujerat it formed 4·42% of the provincial revenues. Further we learn from the Akhbarat that from Mander in Berar Rs. 30,000 was already collected and the collections were still going on.[192] If Mander of our text is Manbah of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, its revenue under Akbar was Rs. 20,000 only.[193] Under Aurangzeb, according to Sujan Rai, the total revenues of the whole of the province of Berar amounted to Rs. 1,51,81,750 only[194] which is very nearly the same as under Akbar.[195] Under Akbar it contained 142 parganahs. The richest paraganah contributed Rs. 6,27,868 as revenue[196] and the collection of

188 *Court Bulletin* for July 18, 1694.
189 *Khafi Khan*, II, 278 279 339.
190 *Mirat*, I, 325.
191 *Court Bulletin* for August 31, 1703.
192 *Ibid.*, for May 24, 1695.
193 *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol. II, p. 233 note.
194 *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh*, 52.
195 *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, 231.
196 *Ibid.*, II, 236.

Rs. 30,000 from this unidentified parganah would come to 4·76% of the total revenues of the richest parganah in Berar. If we account for the collections that were still due, we would not be far from truth in asserting that Sarkar's estimate from Gujerat underestimates the percentage that the Jizya bore to the total revenues at least in the province of Berar.

An elaborate arrangement had to be made for the assessment and the collection of this tax.[197] A register of demand was prepared showing the amount due from every assessee.[198] When the collections began, the Amin for the parganah was authorised to call for help from the local officials, Kotwals, Qanungos, Thandars.[199] He reported the collections to the provincial Amin.[200] As we have already seen there was an Amin accompanying the royal court on march and separate officers were asked to accompany the armies sent on expeditions and collect the dues from soldiers. These officers usually did not occupy very high rank in the Mughal hierarchy of officials. One of the Amins accompanying the emperor in 1702 was a Mansibdar of three hundred horse.[201] The Amin of Khandesh was only a commander of 100, those of Burhanpur, Hyderabad, Muradabad of 100. The Mansibdars in Berar were more fortunate and commanded 300, whereas the Amin at Aurangabad enjoyed the rank of a commander of 250.[202] The highest place occupied comes up to the command of six hundred.[203] The *Maasir-i-Alamgiri* mentions the appointment of an Amin supervising the work of all the provinces in the Deccan. As we have already seen the work of these officers involved considerable risk including danger to life.

As Sarkar has pointed out there were three grades of assessment.[204] Those possessing property worth 200 dirhams, i.e. silver weighing 51 totals, 10 mashas and 7⅓ grains paid 12 dirhams (Rs. 3/2/-) as the Jizya.[205] This works out at 6% of the property and not of the yearly income as Sarkar has erroneously stated.[206]

197 *Zawabat-i-Alamgiri. Khalaq-ul-Sayyaq*, 34.
198 *Jaipur Records*, IX, 148, 149.
199 *Ibid.*, IX, pp. 148-49.
200 *Court Bulletin* of July 11, 1694.
201 *Court Bulletin* for April 14, 1703.
202 *Ibid.*, February 19, 1704.
203 *Ibid.*, for July 1, 1694.
204 Sarkar, vol. III, p. 270.
205 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 206.
206 Sarkar, vol. III, p. 270.

It was a capital levy capable of wiping out the whole capital in about 20 years. A money transaction dated February 10, 1704 states the rate of interest to be 4%.[207] This would mean that in the case of the poor, i.e. the owners of real property valued at only Rs. 52 the entire income from that property was taken away as the Jizya. The second class consisted of those whose property ranged from Rs. 52/- to Rs. 2,500 roughly. They were to pay 24 dirhams, i.e. Rs. 6/4/- as the Jizya.[208] Rs. 2,500 at the rate of 4% would yield Rs. 100, hence the Jizya works out at 6¼% of the income. Here the Jizya is at a much lower rate. Those whose property was worth more than 10,000 dirhams were very easily let off paying 48 dirhams irrespective of their income. The rich paid the whole amount in a lump sum, the middle classes had the option to pay the whole in one or two instalments, and the poor could pay it in four instalments. In 1692 it was laid down that in case of wilful evasion discovered the year after, the evader was to pay for both the years. When, however, non-payment was due to a clerical mistake on the part of the collecting agency, the Jizya was to be paid only for a year.[209]

Of course certain classes of people were exempted. Minors, women, slaves of all kinds, the blind, the mentally deficient, the unemployed, cripples, and beggars were not to pay the Jizya. Those who remained ill for more than six months were also excused from this imposition.[210]

The tax-payer was to make the payments personally. He was to approach the platform on which the collector sat, stand opposite the collector, place the money in his own hands and spread these before the collector who took it off the citizen. The collector was further warned never to think of remitting the dues.[211]

Remissions to localities were, however, sometimes granted. Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar has cited two cases where Aurangzeb refused to grant remission of the tax even when recommended by the local officials.[212]

207 *Jaipur Records*, XVI, p. 33.
208 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 296.
209 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 304.
210 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 297.
211 *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, I, 297; *Court Bulletin* (Agra), for May 8, 1634.
212 Aurangzeb, III, 272, 273. He bases his statements on *Khafi Khan* in one case and *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri* in the other.

In one case Amanat Khan, Diwan-i-Deccan who was very much given to granting remission of arrears, had himself granted remmission of the arrears of the Jizya as well."[213] His rival Rashid Khan complained to the emperor that he had granted *sanads* of exemption to help the Hindu population liable to pay the Jizya. Aurangzeb's wrath was roused. He told Amanat Khan whatever else he might remit he should not remit the Jizya which the emperor had succeeded in reimposing after so many difficulties. Amanat Khan never again granted exemptions.

As against that we have the records of five cases wherein Aurangzeb granted, or was prepared to grant, remission of the tax to harassed localities. On December 12, 1681, a petition from the inhabitants of Bahadurpura(?) was presented requesting for the remission of the tax. Aurangzeb thereupon called for a detailed report on the subject the same day.[214] Unfortunately we do not possess any record of any further orders on the subject among the extant papers. The collections from Dahad (?) again were remitted for a year or two on the representation of its inhabitants and local officers.[215] On February 19, 1704, the collection of the Jizya was stopped throughout the Mughal provinces of the Deccan on account of the difficulties caused by Maratha raids.[216] On November 12, 1704, again collection of the tax was forbidden in Deval Ghat for three years.[217] After the conquest of Hyderabad its Jizya along with certain other charges was remitted.[218] How long the remission continued it is difficult to say. It could only have been of a temporary nature. We are told, however, by another contemporary writer that after its conquest by Aurangzeb, the Jizya was levied and collected by force in the Deccan.[219] Thus it is clear that Aurangzeb was not always 'deaf to the pleadings of pity and political expediency alike' in levying the Jizya. Cases of remissions were decided as occasion arose,

213 *Khafi Khan*, II.
214 *Court Bulletin* of the same date.
215 *Ahkam-i-Alamgiri*, MS. 13 (b).
216 *Court Bulletin* of February 19, 1704.
217 *Ibid.*, for November 12, 1704.
218 Ishwar Dass's *Fatuhat-i-Alamgiri*, MS. III (b).
219 Bhim Sen, *Nuskha-i-Dilkhusha*, MS. 139b.

and it is difficult to come to the conclusion that Aurangzeb was unduly harsh or obstinate in this respect.

Thus the Jizya formed a part of the avowed policy of Aurangzeb to govern according to the Islamic law. He did not stop to consider how it would affect his non-Muslim subjects. If they resented its imposition, he could not help it; he would not be false to his ideals. If the poorer among them discovered that it took away the bulk of their income and thus rendered it impossible for them to maintain themselves, that was none of his business. If they wanted to evade its payment, the way was open to them. They could accept the true faith and escape this burden if they found it too irksome to bear. But it is difficult to decide how many of the conversions were due solely or mainly to the burden of the Jizya which was pressing so heavily on the poorer classes.

It is well to remember however that the Jizya was levied by Aurangzeb at a time when toleration was an exception rather than the rule in the state-craft of the world. It was not necessarily the outcome of any feeling of dislike that Aurangzeb entertained towards the Hindus or their faith. It was imposed because the conception of the Islamic State with which Aurangzeb was familiar made it obligatory for him to do so. He was usually not more strict in the realisation of this particular tax and although it formed a heavy burden in the poorer classes, the wealthier section did not find it exceptionally irksome. To Aurangzeb it was nothing less than the price of toleration that a non-believer was naturally expected to pay in a Muslim State.

(*To be continued*)

Sri Ram Sharma

Dravidic 'Eating' and 'Drinking'

I

In his *Indogermanische Grammatik* (vol. I, p. 164), Hirt says: "Um auf dem Gebiet der Etymologie, namentlich sich in der Bedeutungslehre vorwärts zu kommen, empfiehlt es sich auch, Wörter eines bestimmten Begriffsgebiets in den verschiedensten Sprachen zusammen zu behandeln." Such a classification and discussion of semantic congeners reveal the inter-dialectal distribution of forms, the similarities and divergences in the persistence of old words, the degree of foreign influence (wherever this can be traced) and the semantic evolutions of forms in the different speeches. In Dravidian, the members of which family lie distributed all over India, such semantic groupings would particularly be useful in estimating the influence of Indo-Aryan (henceforth abbreviated as IA) and Kolarian on the native vocabulary.

In this paper I have tried to adopt this approach to the Dravidic words for 'eating' and 'drinking.' I have restricted myself to the discussion of the verbs denoting these ideas and of the general words for 'food' and 'meal.' Specialised names abound in each of the speeches for varieties of 'food' and 'drink'; but since most of these fall under the category of 'cultural' words which would by their very nature be marked more by divergences than by similarities, their study may perhaps not be so fruitful for the immediate purpose of this essay.

The results of my enquiry are summed up at the end of this paper.

'EATING'

	Tamil	Malayâḷam	Kannaḍa	Telugu	Tuḷu	Kûi	Gôṇḍi	Kurukh	Malto	Brâhûi
1. 'To eat'	*tin-*	*tin-*	*tin-*	*tin-*	*tin-p-*	*tin-b-*	*tin-d-*	[*tind-*'to feed]	[tind-]	
2. 'To have a meal'	*uṇ-*	*uṇ-*	*uṇ-*	—	[uṇbu]	[uṇ-b-]	[uṇ-ḍ]	[ôn-]	[ôn-]	[?kun]
3. 'To swallow'	*vilung-* *muluṅg*	*viḷṇṇṅ-*	*miṅg*	*mṛiṅg*						
4. 'To swallow'	*nuṅg-*' *nugar-*	*nugar*	*nuṅg-*'		*niṅg-*			*nunug-*		[*nughuṣ?*]
5. 'To eat'			[*mokk*]	[mokk-]	[mukk-]	[cf. *mük-* to lift food *to the* mouth']		*môx-*	*môx-*	
6. 'To have a meal'.	*śâppiḍ-*	[*câpâḍu*]	—	*pasâpaḍ' sâpaḍ*						

'DRINKING'

	Tamil	Mal.	Kannaḍa	Telugu	Tuḷu	Kûi	Gôṇḍi	Kurukh	Malto	Brâhûi
1.	*Kuḍi-*	*Kuḍi-*	*Kuḍi*	*kuḍ-u-cu, Krôl-*	[Kuḍc-]	[guh-p- 'to swallow']				
2.	Old *parug-*	old *parug-*			*par-p-*					
3.	[old Tam. uṇ-]	[old *uṇ-*]	[old *uṇ-*]	—		*uṇ-b-*	*uṇ-ḍ-*	*ôn-*	*on*	[*Kun-*]
4.				*trâg-, tâg-*						

Besides the forms listed above, exists a number of literary Tamil words, many of which occurring in Saṅgam texts are used as poduvinai or 'verbs used alike to express all the related significations of a semantically congeneric group,' as distinguished from *Siṟappu-vinai* which are restricted to specialised signification only.

The meanings of these literary words are mostly secondary developments.

arund—'to eat' besides 'to contain,' 'to experience good or evil': *arundiyadu* [Kuṟaḷ, 942]

nugar—'to eat, drink': *aḍiśil nugar-ga* [Puṟapporuḷ V, 282]. Cf. type 4 in the table above.

âr—'to eat', 'to consume', 'to feed to one's satisfaction' beside 'to be full', 'to experience fully': *Kâkkai âr-um* [Aing., 164]; cf. Tel. *âr*—'to be replete,' Kanu. *âru* 'fullness.'

ayil—a very old *paduvinai* for 'eating (or even drinking) all kinds of things': *ayini-y-um ayinṟanṟu* [Puṟ., 77] which associates the verb with the noun *ayini* 'food'. Aśana in Tamil is a Saṃskṛta-sama, meaning 'food.' *Ayini* 'food' may very probably be related to this IA form; and the verb itself may have been thence derived. Also cf. *aśi-* 'to take food'<IA *aś-*.

miśai—'to feed upon', 'to eat'; *amiḻdin miśaindu* [Pur., 150] 'having consumed (food) like *amṛta*'. Cf. *miśai* 'above, upon' and *mêy-* 'for cattle to graze upon'. Cf. also Tel. *mêta* 'pasturage' and (more generally) 'food'.

mând—'to eat (grain, fruits etc.)': *tinai mând-um* [Aiṅg., 263], *kani mânda* [Puṟ.]. This does not appear to be a *poduvinai* like *agil-*, *nugar-* and *arund-*.

tuy—'to eat' beside 'to enjoy, experience'; cf. *tu* 'food', *tû* 'flesh', meat.'

tut't'r—'to eat' [Ag.]. Cf. *tuṟ-* 'to be crammed,' *tuṟ-u-kk-* 'to cram, like food into the mouth.' *tut't'ru* as a noun is employed in *paduvinai* for 'boiled rice.'

kai-toḍ—'to eat'<'to touch with the hand.' This is not a Saṅgam form. It is not mentioned in Tivâgaram but only in Cûḍâmaṇi nigaṇḍu. Perhaps its meaning 'to eat' cropped up in the

language of the religious devotees as a kind of 'taboo'- expression dictated by utter religious humility.

Tel. *āṛag-inu*—'to enjoy,' 'to eat,' 'to drink' is perhaps IA [cf. *ârogya* 'health'].

Mal. *iṛamb*—'to sip' [used in the north], *uṛiñj*- 'to sip' [used in the south], *mônd*- 'to sip,' *nugar*- 'to eat, drink or enjoy' are in common use.

II

Examination of cognates

1. 'tin-' type

The Kûi and the Gôṇḍi representatives of this widely represented type have incorporatd extension-suffixes (for which, see my DV). Cf. colloquial Tamil Infinitive *tin-g-a,* and the Kannaḍa colloquial *tin-b*- (Kittel, Dict., p. 717) for the incorporation of extension-suffixes in some of the forms of this very popular and ancient verb-base.

Semantically also, there is a striking oneness. Wherever it is used, it means primarily 'to eat things other than regular meals or the staple food.' The idea of 'having a meal' is nowhere in the dialects expressed with the help of this base; it would be interesting to classify at once the expressions and words denoting 'to have a meal' in the different dialects:—

Tam. [old] *uṇ*-
,, [new] *śâppiḍ*-
Mal. *uṇ*-
Tel. *bhôjanam cêy*-
Kann. [old] *uṇ*-
,, [new] *ûṭa mâḍ*-, *uṭa âg*-
Tuḷu *uṇ-p-â* or *uṇ-pu mamp*-

Kûi *êju uṇ-b*—'to have a meal'<literally 'to eat rice-water, food' or 'cooked food.'

Gôṇḍi *java uṇ-ḍ*—'to have a meal'<literally 'to drink a porridge of staple food'; cf. for the usage, the expression *kaññi*

kuḍi- 'to drink porridge of rice,' used for 'having a meal' by the the 'low' castes of Malabar.

Kuṛu*kh* *maṇḍi-amm ôn*— 'to have a meal'<literally "to consume rice, food and drink.'

The base *uṇ-*, used largely for 'having meal,' and the Tamil form *śâppiḍ-* will be discussed below. Telugu uses the IA *bhôjanam* commonly for 'meal', which IA loan is restricted in the Tamil Brahmins' dialect to contexts like *brâhmaṇa bhojanam*, *paṅkti bhojanam* which of course are IA collocations.

It may be noted that the derivatives from *tin-* in the different dialects Tam. *tîn*, *tit't'ri*, Mal. *tîn*, *tît't'a*, Kann. *tinasu*, Tel. *tiṇḍi* preserve the dominant note in *tin-*, viz., 'eating things other than the staple food.' A glutton is described as *tîn-âḷi*, *tinasa-goli* in Kann., *tin-p-ele* in Tulu, *tît't'a-p-priyan* in Mal.

2. 'uṇ—' type

A very widely represented type with marked structural similarities. Kuṛu*kh* has *ôn-* beside *un-* [*LSI.*, p. 429]. Further, the past stem in Kuṛ. and Malto is *ônḍ-* with the cerebral *ṇḍ* [$=ṇ+t$, the Dravidian past affix]; hence the original base was *ôṇ-* with the cerebral *ṇ* as in the south.

Telugu, curiously enough, is lacking in a representative of this set. Brâhûi *kun-* may be related in view of the meanings (see below); but the initial consonant is inexplicable.

So far as the meanings are concerned, the following features are noteworthy:—

(a) *uṇ-* in the colloquials of the south Dravidian speeches is (wherever used) always distinguished from *tin-* on the one side and *kuḍi-* 'to drink' on the other. *Uṇ-* always implies 'having a meal' 'eating staple food.' *Tin-* means 'eating other things than a meal or staple food,' and *kuḍi-* in Tam., Mal. and Kann. refers to the 'drinking' of liquids.

Further, in the colloquials, *uṇ-*[1] is generally associated with *human*

1 The derivatives of *uṇ-* in both ancient and modern dialects (including the colloquials) mean only 'food,' 'meal':—Tam. *ûṇ*, *uṇâ*, *uṇḍi;* Kann. *ûṭa*, *uṇisu*, Mal. *ûṇu*, Tuḷu. *uṇpu*, *nuppu*.

food or meals, the 'food' of animals being coupled with *tin-* or its derivatives.

Kann. *ûṭa* 'meal', Mal. *uṇ-* 'to have a meal (for human beings only), Tulu *uṇ-pu* 'meal', beside Kann. *haṇṇu tin-* 'to eat fruit,' Mal. *mâṅṅa tin-* 'to eat mango' and Kann. *nîr kuḍi* 'to drink water,' Mal. *kaḷ kuḍi* 'to drink toddy,' Tuḷu *kuḍo-* 'to drink toddy,' illustrate these points.

(b) In the older stages of Tamil, Mal. and Kannaḍa, however, *uṇ-* is associated with a large number of contexts including those for which the modern colloquials would use *kuḍi-*:

Tam. *kaḷ-ḷ-uṇ-* 'to drink toddy' [Puṟ, 123]
maṭṭ-uṇ- 'to drink toddy' [Puṟ, 24]
nuñj-uṇ- 'to drink poison' [Kuṟaḷ]
mulai-y-uṇ 'to drink mother's milk'
mu-n-nîr uṇ- 'to drink three kinds of liquor' [Puṟ, 24]
naṟav-uṇ- 'to drink toddy' [Puṟ., 25]
niṇan-uṇ 'to drink blood' [Patt., 3, 198]
viḍam-uṇḍa kaṇḍan 'he with the neck that drank poison' 'Siva' [Samb.]
nîr uṇ- 'to drink water' [Nâlaḍi]

Kann. *pâl uṇ-* 'to suck mother's milk'
tên uṇ- 'to drink honey, as a bee''

Mal. *mula-y-uṇ-* 'to drink mother's breast-milk' [Kṛṣṇa G.]
tên uṇ- 'to drink honey, as a bee' [K.G.]

In these contexts, the colloquials (and the more modern literary dialects) would use *kuḍi-*.

In the following in which *uṇ-* is used in the old Tamil texts, the modern dialect would use *tin-;* here the illustrations are, however, few, since the distinction[2] between *uṇ-* and *tin-* was observed even in the old texts.

uṇḍal-k-iniya paḻam 'fruits sweet for eating' [Patt.]
kâkkai-y-uṇṇum 'where the crow eats' [Kuṟaḷ, 527]
uṇṇâd-uyaṅgu-mâ 'the horse weary on account of lack of eatables' [Patt.]

2 In a very general way, it may be said that while *uṇ-* denotes in the Saṅgam texts the 'eating' or 'drinking' of anything that serves like food, *tin-* is applied to the 'eating' of things other than these.

kani-y-unnum 'where fruits are eaten' [Pur., 177]

ûn un- 'to eat flesh' [Tirunâvukk.] beside *ûn tin-* [Pur., 258]

This extended use of *un-* in old Tamil texts in contexts like these [cf. *ûn-tuvai-kari-côr-un* in Pur., verse 14, where *un-* is applied not only to the staple food 'boiled rice' but also to 'flesh' and 'curry', where at least in modern speech *tin-* would be used] has led some commentators to postulate that *un-* is a *poduvinai* used for all kinds of 'eating' and 'drinking,' while others maintain that the use of *un-* in these instances (instead of *tin-* or of the regular *poduvinai* like *ayil-*, *nugar-*) is only an exceptional usage.

On examining the use of *un-* in old Tamil texts, I find that while *un-* is more or less distinguished in application from *tin-* [*un-* is 'consuming something that has some effect on the person similar to that of a regular meal' while *tin-* is 'eating things other than things contemplated above'], *un-* (as the above illustrations would show) meant 'drinking' also in quite a large number of contexts. Of course, there was the word *parug-* in old Tam. to denote 'drinking'; but in the Sangam texts at any rate, *parug-* not only has other meanings but is also not so common as *un-* with the meaning 'to drink.'

(c) The significance of this feature will be evident in the examination of the meaning 'to drink' which *un-* generally has in the central Indian Kûi and Gôndi, and in the north Indian Kurukh and Malto.

Kûi *un-ba sidru* 'drinking water'
pâl un- 'to drink milk'

Gôndi *rand mund rupaiyana kal undutor* 'they drink toddy worth two or three rupees'
pâl un- 'to drink milk'

Kur *amm ûn-* 'to drink water'
jhara ôn- 'to drink liquor'

Malto *ên ame ônin* 'I drink water'.

Kurukh, however, still retains *ôn-* in the sense of 'having a meal' in contexts like the following, culled from Grignard's excellent texts:—*paccô pacgirgahin ôndan* 'I live with my parents' < literally 'I eat with the old man and the old woman,' *ônâ ra'ake* 'do remain for the meal,' *ônar kirrâge* 'returning after the meal.'

Brâhûi *kun-* means 'eating and drinking':—*kunọịạ dîr* 'drinking water'; *î dâiskâ hic kunṭanut* 'I have eaten nothing yet.'

It is very remarkable indeed that Kui, Gôṇḍi, Kuṛ. and Malto used old *uṇ-* with the restricted sense of 'drinking,' without going in for new words for this idea as the south Dravidian speeches did.

3. 'to swallow'

This is a purely south Dravidian type. For the correspondence of *l* to *r* in the Tel. aphaeresized form and for the syncope in the Kann. form, see my "Dr. Phonology."

4. *nuṅg-* 'to swallow'

In meaning, this set shows no difference from No. 3 above. Structurally it has at present to be demarcated from the *miṅg-*, *mriṅg-* type, the exact relationship (if any existed) not being sufficiently clear.

5. Kuṛukh *môx-*

This base, according to Grignard, signifies 'eating' anything except cooked rice or meals.' It is used with eatables like *mûṛhi* 'parched rice,' *amkhî* 'curry,' *aḥra* 'flesh,' *tamkû* 'tobacco' and similar things. With *manḍí* 'cooked rice or food,' *ôn-* is employed. For the semantic differentiation, cf. *tin-* and *uṇ-* of the south Dravidian speeches.

môx- [*mux-* in some tense-forms] has the meanings 'to gobble up,' 'to prey upon,' 'to destroy' 'to kill by witchcraft.' Perhaps, therefore, it is related to Kann. *mukk-*, Tuḷu. *mokk-* 'to gobble up.'

Malto *môx-* is 'to eat things like meat and fruit' [Droese, *Voc.* p. 65] while 'to eat bread' is denoted by *min-* which also means 'to graze, browse' [cf. south Dr. *mêy-*]. 'To have a meal' is denoted by *jagu lap-* 'to eat boiled rice.'

6. Tam. *śâppiḍ-* 'to have a meal.'

Tamil *śappiḍ-* is the common colloquial term for 'having a meal' amongst many communities. It does not appear to have been generally recognized[3] as a literary word. *Nâma dîpikai nigaṇḍu*, a late (18th century?) dictionary, however, mentions it.

3 The Tamil lexicon, however, cites the noun *śâppâḍu* 'meal' from Tiruvêngaḍa śatakam.

In Telugu, *sâpaḍ-* 'to eat a meal' is said to be a dialectal word; the noun *sâpâṭu* 'meal' [*sâpâṭu-râmuḍu* 'a mere glutton'] also exists. The literary form *pasâpaḍ-* 'to have food' occurs in a 17th century work.

I consider these forms to be related to the following, all of which are from IA *prasâda* 'sanctified offering, etc.'

Tam. *śâdam* 'boiled rice,' 'food'

Tel. *śâdam* 'food' [vaisṇavite word]

,, *pasâdam* 'sanctified food,' 'meal' [15th century Bhojarâjîyam].

Though Kann. *pasâda*, *sâda* do not have the meaning 'food,' the former has the signification 'sanctified offering' ≺IA *prasâda*, and the latter means 'purity, brilliancy' ≺IA *prasâda*.

Tel. *pasâpaḍ-* 'to have food' and *pasâdam* 'food' show the connection between the verb and the noun from which the verb has been formed with the native Dravidian auxiliary *paḍ-* (as in *bhayappaḍ-* 'to fear,' etc.).

Tel. *sâpaḍ-* and Tam. *śâppiḍ-* appear to be the aphaeresized variants of an original like *pasâpaḍ-* <*prasâda-paḍ*.

Tam. *śâdam* and Tel. *sâdam* 'boiled rice' may also have been similar variants of *prasâda* 'sanctified offering of boiled rice' ≺sanctified offering.'

It is very remarkable that in Tamil a word which should have exclusively been communal in origin (for, such sanctified offerings are only possible among the Brahmins or those who were within their cultural influence) has now spread very widely and almost become an indispensable expression in everyday vocabulary.

'Drinking'

1. 'Kuḍi-'

This is a South Dravidian type. *Kuḍi-* is the most common word for 'drinking' in the colloquial of Tamil and in both the colloquial and the literary dialects of Mal. and Kannaḍa.

I have not met with *kuḍi-* with the meaning 'to drink' in the Saṅgam Tamil texts which use *uṇ-* or *parug-* (for which latter, see below), or one of the *poduvinai's*.

Tel. has *kuḍ-u-cu* [past stem *kuḍi-ci-*] with the meanings 'to eat', 'to enjoy' and 'to drink.' Telugu *krôl-* is another word with the same meanings. This latter may have been an accent-influenced variant of an older **koḍal-*, **kuḍal-* connected with *kuḍi;* for the change, cf. Tel. *vrêl-* 'to sink, hang down' and Kann. *biḻal* 'hanging roots.' The common colloquial word for 'to drink' in Tel. is *tâg-* <*trâg-*.

In Tuḷu, while the commonly employed verb is *par-p-*, the base *kuḍ-c-* signifies 'to drink toddy' [*kuḍcêlu* 'a drunkard'].

2. Tam. *parug-*

This is a Saṅgam Tam. word signifying 'to drink', 'to gulp', 'to enjoy':—*têṟal parug-i* 'having drunk liquor' [Patt., 2, 157], *vêvri parug-* 'to swallow the roast' [Patt.].

Old Mal. *parug-* is 'to sip', 'to drink', 'to nibble', 'to enjoy', used in old texts like *Rámacarita* and *Kṛṣṇagāthā*.

Tuḷu *par-p-* is the indispensable verb. *Par-p-*, among the 'lowest' castes of Tuḷuvanâḍ, is restricted to 'having a meal' since their meal is only liquid *paruvelu* 'conjee'.

The type does not appear to be represented in other Dravidian dialects. I do not know if the somewhat far-fetched suggestion of the Tamil lexicon that it may be connected with Skt. *spṛh* 'to desire' has anything in it.

III

Words for 'food', 'meal', 'eatables'

A list of the general words is given below; the specific names for different varieties would be too numerous to be mentioned here.

Tamil *ûṇ*
uṇ-á-vu
uṇ-â
uṇḍi } 'food' <*uṇ*
tîn
tit't'ri } 'eatables' <*tin*
aḍiśil 'what is cooked,' 'food,' 'boiled rice' <*aḍ-* 'to cook';
cf. Kann. *aḍigil* 'what is cooked'
ayini 'food' <IA *aśana* [see above].

Tamil *kûḻu* 'food' [Pur.,] <*kuḻ-ai-* 'what is mixed together'; of Kann. *kûḻu*, Tel. *kūḍu* 'boiled rice'. Kittel [*Dict.*, p. xxxvii] suggests that late Skt. *krûra* 'food,' 'boiled rice' may have been derived from Dravidian.

śôṟu
śonṟi } 'boiled rice'

tut't'ru 'boiled rice'; cf. *tut't'r-* 'to eat'

śâppâḍu 'meal,' 'food' [see *supra*].

pônagam 'meal' [in Maṇimêgalai, a work showing many adaptations from OIA and MIA] is surely traceable ultimately to OIA *bhojana* 'food'; cf. Tel. *bôna* below.

Mal. *ûṇu* 'meal' <*uṇ-*

tîn
tît't'a } 'eating' 'what is eaten,' applied to the 'meal' of animals and contemptuously to that of human beings<*tin-*

côṟu 'boiled rice'

amarêttu [from IA *amṛta*] 'food of lords' when referred to by 'lower' castes; this is an adaptation of *amṛta-ttu* 'at the (precious) food of kings or lords' [18th century Verapoly Dict.].

Tel. *vaṇṭagamu* 'food'<'what is cooked' <*vaṇḍ-* 'to cook'

ôgiramu, ôyiramu, ôrêmu 'food'<IA *odana*.

kûḍu 'boiled rice'; cf. Tam. *kûḻu* above.

bônamu 'food'<MIA<OIA *bhojana*.

pasâdamu 'food'<sanctified offering of food'<IA *prasâda*.

mêta 'food'<food of cattle; from *mêy-* 'to graze'

tiṇḍi 'eatables'<*tin-*.

sâdam 'food,' a dialectal word, from *pasâdam*<IA *prasâda*.

buvvu, a child's word for 'boiled rice.'

Kannaḍa *kûḻu* [see supra].

ôgara cf. Tel. ôgiramu above

ûṭa 'meal'
unisu 'food' } <*uṇ-*

Kannaḍa *tinasu* 'eatables' } <*tin*
tîni
tiṇḍi [Tel. loan?]

Tuḷu. *paruvêlu* 'meal' of 'low' castes [<*par-p*.'to drink']

,, *uṇ-pu* 'food' used by Brahmins and *nuppu* by certain lower castes are derived from *uṇ*-

Kûi *êju* 'cooked rice,' 'meal,' 'rice water' is perhaps connected with Kûvi *êju* 'water,' Gôṇḍi *êr* 'water,' south Dra. *îr* 'wetness,' *nīr* 'water.'

Kûvi *oṇḍi* 'food,' 'meal'<uṇ

Kuṛu*kh* *maṇḍi* 'cooked rice, food'; cf. Santali *maṇḍi*, probably not Dravidian.

IV

The following features emerge from the above discussion:—

1. Three types among the verbs for 'eating' appear to be almost pan-Dravidian, while among the verbs for 'drinking' no all-Dravidian type is available.

2. Some verb-types are exclusively south Dravidian.

3. The first three types of verbs for 'eating' have persisted in the south Dravidian speeches without semantic change; whereas in the words for 'drinking,' the older and the modern (colloquial) words are different in Tamil and in Telugu.

4. The semantic development of *uṇ*- in the central Indian dialects and in Kuṛu*kh* is noteworthy, though it may be said to have been foreshadowed by certain contexts in old Tamil itself.

5. Among words for 'food,' 'eatables,' derivatives with characteristic structural changes (like Tam. *ûṇ*, *uṇḍi*, *uṇavu* from *uṇ*-) are conspicuously absent in central and north Dravidian.

6. The semantic difference between *uṇ*- and *tin*- is fundamental and persistent in the dialects, as reflected not only by the contexts in which they are used but also by the special connotations of their derivatives (in south Dravidian).

7. IA influence is definitely traceable in one common verb-type [Tam. *śâppiḍ*-, Tel. *pasâpaḍ*-], in one Tamil literary word [*ayil*-], in Tel. *âragiṅc* and in some forms for 'food,' 'meal.'

L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar

The Sūtrakṛtānga-niryukti

The Niryukti works do not form a distinct group by themselves and can be clearly separated from other works which are based on them or from later additions made to them. Sometimes it is very difficult to differentiate between the verses of the Niryukti proper and the verses introduced into them at a later stage and going by the name of *Mūla-Bhāṣya* or simply *Bhāṣya*. In very few cases tradition has tried to keep them apart which helps us in separating them from each other. In other cases they are mixed up in such a manner that it is now impossible for us to try to distinguish the various strata in the text of the Niryukti in its present form. What we possess in these cases are the enlarged and supplemented versions of the original Niryuktis, and they are called by the names of the *Bhāṣyas* or *Bṛhad-Bhāṣyas*, the names themselves being a sufficient indication to understand the modified nature of these works. But with the help of the few facts which tradition has handed down to us, it is usual to divide the collection of the Niryukti works into three groups, the division being based on the consideration of the purity of the text and the stages through which it may have passed before it attained its present form. There are Niryuktis the text of which is preserved to us in a form which we can reasonably take to represent their original one free from later additions. To this group belong the two Niryuktis on the first two Aṅgas of the canon. Śīlāṅka, the oldest commentator on them, has given us no hint to think that there are verses in the text of those Niryuktis which are a later addition to them, as is done by Haribhadra while commenting on the *Daśavaikālika-Niryukti* where we find that there are many additional verses pointed out by him as belonging to the Mūla-Bhāṣya. The second group consists of those Niryuktis where verses of the so-called Mūla-Bhāṣya are added to the original Niryukti either to explain it or to supplement it. To this group belong the Niryuktis on the Āvaśyaka and Dāśavaikālika. In the third group come the Niryuktis which are now called by the names of Bhāṣyas and Bṛhad-Bhāṣyas like those on Niśītha and others where it is not now possible to separate the origi-

nal Niryukti and the later commentary on it. The importance of the Sūtrakṛtāṅga Niryukti, therefore, lies in its being the most pure and unmixed representative of the real nature of the Niryukti before it has suffered any changes.

The Sūtrakṛtāṅga Niryukti[1] is one of the smallest of the group and consists of 205 Gāthās. As usual the main function of the Niryukti is to explain the name of the text and the titles of the various chapters adding where necessary a summary of its contents and sometimes giving some introductory information for the understanding of the text. Compared with other Niryuktis like the Āvaśyaka and the Daśavaikālika Niryuktis, we find in the present one less of the extraneous matter and of the long digressions which we meet with in those works. But the chief function of a Niryukti, the explanation of the terms in the text by the application of the various Anuyogadvāras, is to be found to its fullest extent. This is another indication to say that this explanation forms, in reality, the main function of a Niryukti, and others like the heaping up of synonyms, the etymological explanation of the terms in the text and the logical discussion and matters of similar nature are of subordinate importance, if not completely foreign to it.

The present Niryukti gives us no help in determining its precise date. It refers to a vast number of philosophical schools and systems which were current at the time. But no definite chronological conclusion can be based on them. Each one of these schools has a long and eventful history of its own and none of them can be dated later than the first century A.D. There are also a few persons referred to. So we have a reference to Abhaya, Śreṇika, Kūlavāla (57), Jāmāli (125), Pārśva (205) and others, but none of them can be put later than the time of Mahāvīra himself, most of them being his contemporaries. So the reasoning which led some scholars to put down the date of some Niryuktis like that on the Uttarādhyayana-Sūtra[2] is in no way appli-

1 The Niryukti along with the text and Śīlāṅka's commentary is published in the Āgamodaya Samiti, Surat 1917. It is also found as an appendix to Dr. Vaidya's edition of the text, Poona 1928.

2 *Cp.* Dr. Charpentier, Introduction to his edition of the *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra*, Upsala 1914, pp. 49-50.

cable to the present work, as it refers to no fact which will compel us to assign it to a later date than the one given by tradition.

More important is the question about the relation of the present Niryukti to others. In v. 99 it appears that the Niryukti refers to the *Daśavaikālika Niryukti* while in two other places Śīlāṅka would like us to believe that the lack of the treatment of some words by the writer of the Niryukti is due to the fact that he had already treated them in his earlier work, the Niryukti on the first Aṅga, the Ācāra. That the present Niryukti is later than the *Daśavaikālika-Niryukti* is further corroborated by the fact that the information in verses 99-102 is nothing but a summary of the one contained in verses 39-43 of the other. If all this is accepted, we will have to say that the present Niryukti was written later than these two Niryuktis.

Leumann[3] has raised an important question about the division of the usual four Anuyogadvāras. It is usual to find them divided into the following divisions: *Nāma* or the naming of a thing by that particular word without seeing its propriety, *Sthāpanā* or a pictorial representation of it, *Dravya* or the material of which the thing is formed, and *Bhāva* or the real thing itself in a condition appropriate for its meaning. Of these Dravya is divided into *Āgamataḥ* and *No-āgamataḥ*. The second of these again falls into three divisions, *Jñāpakaśarīra, Bhavyaśarīra* and *Tadvyatirikta*. The last of this division is further split up into three subdivisions called *Ekabhāva*, *Baddhāyuṣka* and *Abhimukhanāmagotra*. The last subdivision is found in two places in the Sūtrakṛtāṅga Niryukti where the author deals with the word Puṇḍarīka (146 ff.) and Ārdra (186 ff.). Now there is a tradition[4] preserved in the *Cūrṇis* on Āvaśyaka and Kalpa from which we come to know that Suhastin or Nāgahastin admitted the last division, Samudra admitted the middle one, and Maṅgu admitted the first division. If the tradition is accepted, and there is no reason to deny validity to it, and if Maṅgu is the first person to create the

3 *Ubersicht uber die Āvaśyaka-Literatur*, Hamburg, 1914, p. 23.

4 Leumann quotes, "āesa jahā ajja Maṅgū tivihaṃ saṅkhaṃ icchai egabhaviyaṃ baddhāuyaṃ abhimuhanāmagoyaṃ, ajja Samudda duvihaṃ baddhāuyaṃ abhimuhanāmagoyaṃ ca, ajja Suhatthi egaṃ abhimuhanāmagoyaṃ icchai."

first division of Ekabhāva we are compelled to put the present Niryukti after him and so about the first century A.D. at the earliest. The same conclusion can be arrived at by taking into consideration the allusions to mythological and semi-historical stories about the patriarchs of the Jain community found in the other Niryuktis especially the Āvaśyaka Niryukti. But the present line of argument is not conclusive. Unless and until we are able to show that Maṅgu was the first man to create this division, we are not justified in putting the Niryuktis later than him. What the tradition says is that while the other two writers were not willing to admit the first division Maṅgu did admit it. The difference of opinion, it will be seen very easily, is due to the very slight distinction that exists between these various divisions as it is based purely on the consideration of the relative time taken by the *Dravya* to transform itself into the *Bhāva* condition and not on any difference of a fundamental nature. It may just have been the case that the division was a very old one, and that these writers did not admit the three separate divisions as being without sufficient justification to regard them as distinct from each other. We have a parallel case in the fact that Siddhasena refused to admit the *Naigama Naya* which, we have sufficient evidence to prove, existed before him and for a long time.

The later limit for these works can be approximately settled with the help of a few considerations. We find that the Āvaśyaka Niryukti is often quoted by the canonical works like the Nandi-Sūtra, the Anuyogadvāra and the Samavāyāṅga which attained to their present form as early as the fifth century A.D., if not earlier. That the arrangement of the canonical works as settled in the council of Valabhi includes two Niryuktis as books in the group called the Mūla-Sūtras, as also the fact that the ten Niryuktis have for their basis the older arrangement of the canon into works called Aṅgas and Aṅgabāhiras lead us to suppose that they must be considerably older than the second council. The latest reference to a Jain patriarch is to be found in the *Daśavaikālika Niryukti*, where it refers to Govind Vācaka[5] who lived in the third century A.D. So we can put the collection of these Niryuktis

5 *Daśavaikālika Niryukti*, v. 81.

between 300 and 500 A.D. a period which will explain all the references found in the various Niryuktis. But it is much more probable that the reference to Govinda is a later addition, in which case we can put the collection a little earlier.

The Sūtrakṛtāṅga Niryukti, as can be seen from its rapid perusal, mainly occupies itself with the text and tries to summarise and comment on a few verses. As regards the authorship of that work we are told at the beginning that it was the Gaṇadharas, the direct disciples of Lord Mahāvīra who put it in so many words having heard the substance of it from the mouth of the Jina (18-20). The second chapter, it is further pointed out, was delivered by Ṛṣabha to his ninety-eight sons on the mount Aṣṭāpada, to dissuade them from the battle with their brother Bharata (39). The praise of Mahāvīra is said to be a report of Sudharma to his disciple Jambu, while the conversation between Mahāvīra and Gotama constitutes the seventh chapter (58, 90). The last chapter of the book purports to be a discussion between Gotama and Udaga, a disciple of Pārśva (205). All this is no doubt the traditional information about the production of the work and is mainly collected from the indications found in the book itself. None of these writers can be taken to be the actual authors of the work in its present form which is certainly much more later in date.

The explanation of the name of the work is of some interest. The word *Sūtra* means primarily a thread, and in its secondary application it means, according to our author, knowledge, as it is suggestive of the outward reality. This appears to be a confusion due to the similarity between the Prākṛt forms of the two words *Sūtra* and *Sūcaka* which are in reality two distinct words of different meanings. The Niryukti explains the use of the word Sutta in connection with these works on the supposition that they are indicative of the real knowledge as preached by the Jina. Now such a *Sutta* is of four kinds, the *Saṃjñā-sūtra* in which the technical terms and their explanations are offered, *Saṅgraha-sūtra* which states a fundamental fact having a very wide application, *Vṛtta* those written in metres, and *Jātinibaddha* which Śīlāṅka explains to include four subdivisions of *Kathanīya*, a narration, *Gadya* or prose, *Padya* or metrical composition and *Geya* or song (3, p. 2). The other term in the

name *Kaḍa* leads into a much more complicated and recondite discussion. *Kṛta* necessarily implies two other terms, *Karaṇā* or the means of doing a thing and *Kāraka* or the agent of the action who, in reality, is no other but the soul (4). The *Dravya Karaṇa* is either due to Prayoga or some external impulse or *Viśrasā Karaṇa* when it is due to its natural activity. The first is either *Mūla* which includes the five kinds of bodies and the sense organs, or *Uttara* which is a further modification of the first like the eye, ear and others. The *Viśrasā Karaṇa* is illustrated by the automatic formations like lightning, frost and others. Viewed in another light it includes such varieties as the *Saṅghāṭa Karaṇa* or productions due to a collocation of the causes like cloth, *Pariśāta Karaṇa* or a thing like a conch shell, or things requiring both, as a cart, and things without both, as the formation of a beam (7). The *Kṣetra Karaṇa* means both the sky where all things happen, and also the cultivation of fields for corn. The *Kāla Karaṇa* includes time in general and the ten stages a man passes through (10-12). Like the *Dravya Karaṇa*, the *Bhāva Karaṇa* is also divided into many divisions in which is found the *Śrutajñāna Karaṇa* which is the meaning that pertains to the present context and means the production of the canonical works. It further connotes that the mind of the Gaṇadharas, the traditional authors of the works is free from all the *karma* influences particularly those that impede the scriptural knowledge (16-20).

We get a considerable amount of information about the text. The object of the first chapter is the description of both orthodox and heterodox schools and includes those who admit only the five elements, those who say that there is only one soul, those who identify soul and body, those who contend that soul is inactive, those who admit soul as the sixth element in addition to the usual five, those who say that the *karma* may remain without giving its fruit, the fatalist, and others of little importance (24,30-32). Many of these schools, it will be very easily seen, were the well known sophistical schools headed by teachers like Ajita Kesakambalin, Pūraṇa Kassapa, Gosāla and others. Of these the materialists are refuted by the author of the Niryukti by pointing out that the quality of sentiency cannot be the outcome of the collection of the five elements which have qualities other than that sentiency. Nor is it possible that one sense should know what the other sense has

experienced (33). The school which holds that the soul is inactive is refuted by pointing out that if it is so, the soul cannot enjoy what he has not done nor can he suffer what he has committed; this will lead us to deny the five *gatis* and facts like the memory of the past life. Neither can it be argued that the soul is inactive because it is not able to do all things, for no one can say that a tree is not a tree or a cow is not a cow only because she gives no milk or little milk (34, 35).

The second chapter is called *Veyāliya*, it means a particular metre in which the chapter is composed as also the fact of tearing. The *Vidāraka* or the agent of cutting is an axe when the thing to be cut is wood or some other material object, but it is the soul itself when the object of cutting is *karma*. It deals with enlightenment, the transitory nature of all wordly things, the abandonment of pride, and it is further pointed out that the monks should always try to remove the *karmas* already accumulated (36-41).

The object of the third chapter is to acquaint the monks with the *Upasargas* or the obstacles to their ascetic life. It may be due to the place or time or because of the rise of the *karmas* the last of which one should resist with all force. They are either painful as described in the first section or pleasant as described in the second section, while the third section deals with the purification of the mind and the effect of the heterodox system on the mind of the monk. The condition of those who succumbed to the influence of the words of the other religious teachers is described in the fourth section. The Niryukti illustrates the fact that a wrong deed once committed will bear its fruit by pointing out that if a man committing murder shows himself indifferent, a man eating poison and concealing himself and a man committing theft and then standing averse are all declared as criminals (45-53).

The fourth chapter deals with the dangers which arise out of attachment towards women. Both man and woman are viewed from various points of view and in contrast with each other. The first *Uddesa* points out that conversation with women leads to the breach of one's conduct, and in the second is described the pitiable condition of those who have fallen a victim to the allurement of women. Even men like Abhaya, Pajjoya, Kulavāla and others suffered and so every one must take care of women. Heroism does not consist in being power-

ful and daring in one's outward conduct but in showing steadfast belief in religion. It is equally true that women also should take care of men (54-61).

The whole of the fifth chapter is concerned with a detailed description of the hells where men of wicked deeds are made to suffer. In the unsystematic description of the text the Niryukti tries to introduce system in some form by giving us the various functions of the tormentors in hell which are fifteen in number. It includes men who trouble the hellish beings, and the instruments of tormenting them. (62-82).

The sixth chapter is a praise of Lord Mahāvīra in very glowing terms. The peculiar method of the Niryukti can be seen at its best in the treatment it gives to the name *Mahāvīra*. The word *Mahat* is viewed in the usual four-fold way, so also the other member *Vīra*. Praise from the point of view of *Dravya* is the description of the ornaments on the body of the man to be praised, while from the point of view of Bhāva it consists in eulogizing his merits (83-85).

The seventh chapter deals with the abandonment of the state of being without conduct and having bad conduct, and the acquisition of the state of good conduct and being averse to the worldly things (86).

Sīla, viewed from the *Dravya* point, is the use of objects like cloths food and others, and viewed in its Bhāva state, it is either taking full or partial vows. The schools which are the advocates of the bad course of conduct are those who worship deities like Caṇḍī, those who regard water to be a purifying agency, and those who perform sacrifices (86-90).

Virya or energy is in its Dravya aspect, things like birds, animals and inanimate objects which include food accoutrements and weapons. But in reality Vīrya consists in the power of the soul in controlling the senses and showing qualities like activity, forbearance, fortitude, considerate nature as also performing penances. It is either that of a wise man or of a bad man or of an ordinary man. It is different with the monks and the laymen (91-97).

The ninth chapter deals with *Dharma*, and the writer points out that in this book it is not proper to describe the Dharma of the heretical schools (99-102). *Samādhi* is the subject of the tenth chapter. It is also called *Ayana* or thing worthy of acceptance. *Samādhi* means

attachment to the good objects of the five senses, and in its Bhāva application it includes faith, knowledge, penance and conduct (103-106). *Mārga* is the way. It is either auspicious or otherwise. It either leads to liberation or to hell. The bad one consists of killing living beings and showing attachment to the pleasures of this world. On the other hand, the right path leading to liberation consists in penance and self-control (107-115).

The 12th chapter gives in short the well known four schools of philosophy current at the time of the origin of Jainism. They include the school of Kriyāvādins who hold that the soul is subject to suffering the fruits of its own acts, and has 180 divisions. The Akriyāvādins hold that there is nothing like soul, neither it is responsible for its own acts. It has 84 varieties. The Ajñānikas say that knowledge is not necessary for liberation and are divided into 67 views. The last school of the Vainayikas hold that discipline only is necessary for salvation and has 32 divisions. All these views are described here and the right view of the Kriyāvādins is upheld (116-121).

The 13th chapter deals with the proper interpretation of the texts. The story of Jāmāli, the first of the founders of the various schisms, well illustrates the danger that arises, from a wrong interpretationo of the texts. A faithful preservation of the traditionally handed down scriptures is absolutely necessary (122-126).

The 14th chapter deals with the nature of both the teachers and the pupils, as also the instruction in the text, their meaning and both (127-131). The name *Ādānīya* is explained as to refer to the fact that the chapter is so composed as to make the first word of the line identical with the last word of the previous line. It also means the canon consisting of the 12 Aṅgas which is worthy of being received (132-136).

The last chapter of the first book is called *Gāthā*, and it is explained in many ways. It may mean either the use of that metre which, however, is not the case with the present chapter but which shows traces of an earlier version in metrical form, or that it gives in a short compass the substance of the chapters that went before it, or that it is sung in a charming tone. The chapter deals with the qualities of a monk (137-141).

The chapters of the second book are called the great chapters. It may mean that they are longer than the chapters of the first book or more important than them. The first explanation appears to be more plausible. The first chapter is called Lotus, and by it is meant all good things like the valuable objects, men of good conduct, gods of great power and everything that is marked by greatness. Here it typifies the monks of excellence (142-157). The object of the simile is to show that liberation is obtained by following the path laid down by the Jains. Out of all the *Gatīs*, man is capable of obtaining liberation, and there also the king is the guide of all the people and so his conversion is the best way to lead the people properly. To cross the difficult Saṃsāra all the magical and wrong ways of worship are of no use, and the only way to get over it is to follow the religion preached by the Jinas (158-164).

The second chapter deals with the various activities which lead to a bad existence and abstention from which is the best way to clear oneself of all sins (165-168).

The third chapter gives us information about the food of living beings. It is either food in general which all beings, yet undeveloped, take in, or *Loma-āhāra* receiving nourishment through ones hair, and lastly the usual method of taking food in lumps. At the start of his life the soul lives without food for three moments at the most and then begins to receive food (169-178). The next deals with confession.

The fifth is called *Āyārasuya* or *Anagārasuya*, and says that one should follow the right conduct and abstain from the wrong one (181-183).

The sixth chapter is the result of the conversation between Ārdraka and others. The Niryukti points out that though the whole of the canon is a complete work yet there are occasions which require the statement of a dogma in clearer terms. The author has given a synoptic view of the story[6] which runs as follows:

In the country of Magadha there was a town Vasantapura and a householder Sāmāyika. He took to monkhood at the advice of his teacher Dharmaghoṣa along with his wife and began his

6 *Cp.* Śīlāṅka's commentary, pp. 386-388.

wandering career. But one day he saw his own wife in the form of a nun and became attached to her. Knowing his intention she abandoned food and as a result of her religious penance she became in her next birth a god. He also, coming to know her act, died with a fast and became Ārdraka in the town of Ārdra as a son of one also called Ārdraka. His wife was born in the town of Vasantapura as the daughter of a merchant.

Once, king Ārdraka sent presents to king Śreṇika and prince Ārdraka also despatched presents to prince Abhaya. Abhaya, in return, sent back to him an image of the Jina which was the cause of his enlightenment. But his father, to keep him in the worldly life, kept 500 other princes round him as guards. One day, he went out on his horse and against the advice of a deity, he took the rôle of a monk. In the town of Vasantapura he saw a girl, his former wife, who called him her husband. At that time the deity showers gold which the father takes up only for the girl. Many suitors come for the hand of his daughter but the girl refuses all of them on the plea that a girl can be given in marriage only once. To find Ārdraka out, the father keeps a almshouse and the girl detects him there. They are married and lead a life of pleasures. They get a son, when Ārdraka shows signs of resuming his wandering career. But the boy in play encircles his father with a thread 12 times which is taken by them to be an indication that the father should live in the house for 12 years more. At the end of that period he departs.

In his way he meets the 500 princes who had become robbers and whom he converts to Jainism. On their way to see Lord Mahāvīra, Ārdraka holds a conversation with Gosāla, the Buddhists, Brahmins, Ekadaṇḍins and Hastitāpasas, which the text of the chapter embodies (184-200).

The last chapter purports to be a conversation between Gotama and Udaga, the disciple of Pārśva, about the formula of confession. It was held in the monastery of Nālandā near Rājagṛha (201-205).

From this review of the text as taken by the author of the Niryukti it will be seen that it is not necessarily a summary of the text that is attempted by it. Besides that, it gives us some other information like the story of Ārdraka or the schools of philosophy in the first

chapter which is a necessary information to understand the text. While summarising also it tries to introduce some system in the text as in chapters three and five. Of other interesting references we have some remarks on metres *Vaitālika* (38) and *Gāthā* (139), grammatical discussion of words like *Mahat* (83), *Su* and *Ku* (88) and *Alaṃ* (202), synonyms for way (115) and logical discussion about *Hetu* or reason (35, 50-53). The canon is referred to in 136, 188, 189, some weapons are given in 93 and 98, the astronomical *Karaṇas*, seven of which are steady and four unsteady are referred to in vs. 11-13, and some other secular information is found incidentally.

A. M. GHATAGE

An Aspect of Becoming in Early Buddhism

The sixth century B.C. is well known to have been a period which in India was remarkable for a profusion of intellectual activity and curiosity closely combined with a probing into fundamental values concerning Man. The great age of the Vedas was over: their influence had waned, although perhaps it was destined never entirely to cease; their interest, focussed on certain phenomena of nature, and expressed for example in the magnificent hymns to the Sun and the Dawn, was gradually but relentlessly shifted to a growing interest taken by man in Man. This was the work of the Upaniṣads, this is their permanent and incomparable contribution to the world's store of learning. Henceforward man, his soul or self or *ātman* (*attā* in Pāli), its relation to the whole of Reality, its beginning and more especially its ending with the ways of achieving the highest consummation, were to be the problems which the teachers and thinkers, more numerous then than now, attempted to solve.

From among a host of minor leaders propounding theories, enunciating dogmas, setting forth new views on subjects of undeniable importance, the names of all but a few are unknown at the present day to any but students of Indology. Their name was legion, but their views have not stood the test of time. Hence their names are unimportant to the seeker after religion, although they may still possess some historical significance to those whose enquiries lie in this field.

Out of this extraordinarily fertile time of speculative unrest (which was perhaps spread over centuries), out of man's slowly awakening consciousness of self, two "systems" emerged which not only profoundly affected contemporary thought, but down the years have wielded an uninterrupted ascendancy over the lives and thought of millions: the "systems" of Hindus and Buddhists. For these two "systems" (which for lack of a better word I call them) are the teaching of the Early Upaniṣads and the teaching we now call Buddhism. The one was, as it were, a corporate effort, composed almost certainly during a long stretch of time, and therefore almost, I may say quite, certainly by more than one thinker. The other was the much modified

result of fifty years of ceaseless, tireless ministry, and is usually ascribed to one man, namely Gotama the Buddha.

His teaching, more truly called Śākya than Buddhism, cannot be interpreted aright if it be separated from its historical setting. No great religion has ever sprung out of a void. The working of cause and effect, recognised and enunciated by Śākya, was as active in the production of Primitive Buddhism as in the shaping of its later growth. But Śākya did not arise on the ashes of the static outlook of the Upaniṣads. Looked at historically it arose as the supplement, the complement and the development of the Upaniṣadic standpoint. And this it achieved by the substitution of the concept of Becoming for that of Being. A view of fundamental importance in the Upaniṣads, that of man *being* that Highest Reality—epitomised in two phrases now become classical: "That are thou" (*tat tvam asi*) and "I am Brahma" (*ahaṃ Brahma asmi*)—gave way to the Śākyan view that man can train himself to *become* as That.

This doctrine was in Śākya nowhere plainly stated in those words; but it is there nevertheless, impregnating the Śākyan teaching for those who have eyes to see, insisting that man can grow, can increase, can be made to become, can progress further on the Way. The dawnings of this view were not altogether absent from the Upaniṣads, I think, but were implied rather than stressed.

> From the unreal lead me to the Real,
> From darkness lead me to Light,
> From death lead me to Non-death
>
> (Bṛhad. I. 3. 28).

is a verse which suggests that however much one might *be* the Real, yet a closer contact with it by means of the *ñāṇamārga* (or way of knowledge) was essential for salvation, which was to be gained, as is here shown, through intellectual apprehension of the Real, through spiritual light, and by the cutting through of the ocean of *saṃsāra* (rebirth). So much then had man to achieve in order that for him Being might become a reality. In Primitive Buddhism it is amply apparent that this process could only be valid, the end could only be assured, if man made himself, his powers and his faculties, become greater and greater still.

The example which I wish to present of the way in which Primitive Buddhism looked at this matter is only one from among many which might have been adduced. It is drawn from the Pāṭimokkha of the *Vinaya*. The *Vinaya* consists largely of stories of various kinds of wrong behaviour on the part of the monks (*bhikkhu*), and of the rules laid down for the prevention and punishment of occurrences of the same sort in the future. Thus offences against the course of training laid down by the Buddha for the monks are modified. *Vinaya* III opens with three of the very gravest kinds of offence, known as Pārājika offences: those of unchastity, stealing and depriving of life. These are indeed condemned by all civilised communities, valuing as they do safety of person and property.

But the fourth (and last) Pārājika shows, I think, a mode of thought which could only arise in circumstances where the notion that can *become* is an absolutely vital force, commanding if not awe, then a tremendous respect. This Pārājika, well tempered as are all the rules by the quality of mercy, declares that if a monk mistakenly claims a condition of the further-men, unless he does so with undue confidence in himself, with an undue estimate of himself, then he falls into defeat. He is defeated by the course of training, morally he is too weak to support it, he has to leave the Order, there is no hope of rehabilitation for him.

This offence was so grave, ranking as it does with unchastity, stealing and the depriving of life, not because the transgressor showed conceit, not because it was tantamount to lying, although this certainly came in, but above all because the claim put forward was an assumpsion, unjustifiable and unfounded, amounting to theft (*Vin.* III. 90), of conditions (*dhammā*) to be won only by steadfast determination to reach the further (*uttari*), to make the higher become. Those who had truly achieved this are called in Pārājika IV *uttari-manussā*, the further-men—the best men (*seṭṭha-purisā*) according to the commentarial exegesis. It cannot be too much emphasised that the powers won did not surpass those which men were capable of developing, were not superhuman, did not go beyond man's conditions, as various translators have suggested. It was not that the conditions were beyond man in the flesh, beyond his grasp, severed from the spheres in which he could

move and discipline himself. It was that there were men here in this world who differed from others in that they were bound to become (*bhabba*), and who hence had gone further on the Way, achieving as they did so certain conditions denied to those who had not travelled so far. They were not devas, nor those reborn in other worlds: they were the further-men, but *men* nevertheless.

Now what are these conditions whose attainment marks off the zealous, ardent monks whose inmost self has striven (*pahitattā*) from those others who cannot for long raise their thoughts above the pleasures of the senses? Pārājika IV has several answers to this question. For example those lax monks who spent a *vassa* (rains) on the banks of the river Vaggamudā thought, and rightly so, that the conditions of the further-men include possession of one or more of the four musings (*jhāna*, Skt. *dhyāna*), attainment of one or more of the four stages of the Way (stream-entry, once-returning, non-returning, arahanship), the mastery of the threefold knowledge, the mastery of the sixfold knowledge. These two knowledges include knowledge of previous rebirths, of destruction of the cankers (*āsava*, Skt. *āsrava*), and of what we should now call telepathy, clairvoyance and clairaudience. The Old Commentary on Pārājika IV adds to these conditions those of freedom, attainment, concentration, making the Way to become (*maggabhāvanā*), realisation of the fruits of the Way, and the destruction of the corruptions (*kilesā*). This last it defines in terms strongly reminiscent of the *Saṃyutta's* definition of both *nirvāṇa* and *arahatta*: destruction of passion, of hatred and of confusion.

Towards the end of Pārājika IV the great disciple Moggallāna is accused by the monks of claiming for himself conditions of the further-men. In alleging that he saw shapes and forms going through the air, that he heard their cries of distress, and that he knew what they had been in previous rebirths, he was undoubtedly claiming these conditions for himself. But he was supported by Gotama, so it is stated, who said that Moggallāna spoke truly and that therefore there was no offence for him. He was a further-man, removed by his own power of endeavour, by his own spiritual development both from the pious, moderate monks, and from the mass of depraved, evil monks, who figure so largely in the Vinaya, and who are accountable for the

framing of the Rules. Only in a teaching where such a qualitati
difference between *men* was fully recognised, only where spiritu
progress with its load of conditions as yet unattained by those low
on the Way was accounted of supreme importance, could the claimin
of those conditions by one who did not truly possess them be ranke
as one of the four gravest offences, entailing expulsion from th
monastic order.

I. B. HORNER

Humayun's early Relations with Kāmrān (1514-33)

When Humayun, at Babur's death (December 1530), became the ruler of Delhi, Kāmrān continued to be the governor of Kabul and Qandahar. They were born of different mothers: Humayun, of Māham Begam, a descendant of Shaikh Ahmad of Turbat-i-Jām and relation of Sultan Husain Baiqara, and Kāmrān, of Gulrukh Begchik, whose parentage, contrary to Babur's practice, has not been given by him. Māham was married to Babur in Herat in 1506 and Humayun was born on May 6, 1508 in Kabul. Gulrukh was married two years later. Her eldest son Kāmrān was born six years later i.e. in 1514, and her younger son Askari in 1516.[1]

Humayun was Babur's eldest child, being born when he was 25 years of age.[2] He considered the birth to be auspicious and so named him Humayun. Babur was still in prime of life when his second son, Kāmrān and third son, Askari were born. As a man of culture, he gave a thorough education to his children. They were not only taught to read and write in more than one language, but what was more important to their future welfare, were given a practical training in administration and warfare. This explains (1) the presence of Humayun as a commander in the battles of Panipat and Khānwah at the age of 18 and 19 respectively; and of Askari, in the battle of Ghāgrā at the age of 13, (2) the appointment of Kāmrān as the governor of Kabul when he was only 15, and of Hindāl when he was 11 or 12.

In giving his children a literary education, he was not satisfied with the mere appointment of learned maulavis as tutors but took personal interest also. In 1522, when Kāmrān was only a child of 8, Babur especially wrote a versified treatise on Muslim Law entitled

1 Babur's 3 other wives were
- (a) Māsūma Sultan Begam, whose daughter of the same name was married to Muhammad Zemān Mirza.
- (b) Dildār Āghācha, mother of Hindāl,
- (c) Bibi Mubārika, a Yusufzai lady.

2 The date of Babur's birth is February 14, 1483.

'Dar Fiqha-i-Mubaiyan' for his instruction.[3] When after the capture of Milwat,[4] in January 1526 he inspected the fort, the first thing that he did was to visit Ghazi Khan's[5] library and to choose some books for Humayun and Kāmrān. Again in January 1529, he sent his Indian verses to Humayun and Kāmrān and the alphabet of the Baburi script to Hindāl, then a child of 10 or 11.[6] *Baburnāmā* also gives one of Babur's Turki letters[7] written to Humayun in November 1528, when the prince was 20 years old, in which the king corrects his spellings and criticises his obscure and bombastic style.

The above facts show the keen interest that Babur took in the upbringing of his children. He died when they were young, the eldest being 20 and the youngest 12 years of age. During his career, Babur had set an example of affection for his relations and his dying instructions to his eldest son were to preserve this cordiality in the family and especially to be forgiving and kind to the brothers.[8]

Thus at Babur's death, the new king had his domestic policy chalked out by his father. According to it, he could not dispossess Kāmrān of the government of Kabul and Qandahar, where he had been posted for the last five years. The dispossession was probably necessary, for the direct allegiance of the Kabulis and the Qandahāris to himself would have been of great help to him, as it had been to Babur in facing the rebel Afghans of India. Humayun was practically a stranger to the Kabuli Afghans and, of course, in India, was hated by the Afghans as the son of a usurper who had deprived them of their ruling privileges. Kāmrān had thus an advantage over his brother, for he directly ruled over the warlike Afghans of Kabul.

3 *Babur-nāmā*, p. 438.

4 See Malot in the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. Situated in 31°50′ N. 76° E. in Hushiarpur district. There is another fort of the same name in Jhelam district, which Mrs. Beveridge wrongly identifies with this fort of Daulat Khan. See *BN.*, p. 461.

5 Ghazi Khan was the eldest son to Daulat Khan Lodi, the governor of the Punjab.

6 *BN.*, p. 642.

7 *Ibid.*, pp. 624-7.

8 See Gulbadan Begam's *Humayun-nāmā*, fol. 19b.

Humayun might have realised the disadvantage and still like a noble soul, did not question the instructions of his father. But matters did not end here. Babur in his overflowing generosity of heart had proportioned Humayun's share of inheritance to that of Kāmrān as 6 to 5.[9] Of course, Babur had a precedence in his own uncle's case. The eldest, Sultan Ahmad Meerza as the ruler of Samarqand had the largest share; the second, Sultan Mahmud Meerza had slightly less; while the third, Umar Shaikh Meerza and the fourth, Ulugh had considerably smaller shares.

So, when Humayun came to the throne, it was expected of him that Kāmrān's *jagirs* would be increased considerably beyond its existing limits.[10] Unfortunately, he was busy in more important matters and let this matter remain in abeyance for nearly two years.

Kāmrān, on the other hand, like all expectant youths, was impatient of any delay. When he found the king engaged elsewhere, he took matters into his own hands and proceeded to act independently. He collected an army and marched on Lahore, where Mir Yunus Ali, the governor, stoutly opposed him till his capture. Qaracha Beg, one of Kāmrān's chief nobles, went to Yunus Ali pretending to be displeased with his master and then as an opportunity occurred, captured him. The surrender of the place automatically followed. Kāmrān offered the continuation of the office to Yunus, but the latter declined and was then allowed to proceed to Humayun.

Erskine has very strongly criticised Kāmrān's doings[11] in these words: "No sooner did Kāmrān, who was at Kabul, hear of his father's death, than disdaining the ample dominions, he had enjoyed under his father and in the possessions of which his brother had consented to confirm him.........collected an army and in the true spirit of brotherhood among Asiatic princes marched for Hindustan, under pretence of congratulating Humayun on his accession,

9 *BN.*, p. 625.

10 Kāmrān's possessions in 1530 were less than half the present size of Afghanistan. He did not possess the province of Herat, neither any territory to the north of the Hindu Kush nor any south of Qandahar.

11 Erskine's *History of India*, vol. II, Humayun, p. 6.

but in reality to try the strength of his sword and to see whether his own good fortune might not raise him to the throne of Delhi itself". To us, it appears that there are two glaring inaccuracies in the statement:

(1) Erskine's reference to the disunion between the two brothers cannot be maintained at least for the first eight years of Humayun's reign. Neither did Kāmrān desire to contest the throne of Delhi with his brother nor act as an independent prince. Humayun, on his return to Delhi, not only added Lahore, Multan, and other eastern districts up to the Sutlej, but also Hissar Firuza, which was considered as the heir-apparent's jagir in the Mughal times.[12] The coins too of the period bearing the names of both the brothers and the mintage town and year also support our statement. Of the eight coins preserved in the British Museum six are dated, the latest being issued in 946 A.H.=1539-40 A.D. One of the inscriptions reads:

عدل محمد کامران بادشاہ غازی

and

محمد همایون غازی السلطان الاعظم المکرم تعالی الله ملکه و سلطانه

Translation

'The justice of Muhammad Kāmrān *Badshah-i-Ghazi*' and

'Muhammad Humayun Ghazi, Sultan the Great and Illustrious, may God bless his territory and Sultanate.'

These coins are stamped by Kāmrān in Lahore or some other town in his jagir. Kāmrān calls himself *Badshah* because his father had entitled himself as such while he owned the single province of Kabul. Humayun bore the more common title of Sultan.

The true relation between the two brothers is clear from the phrase, '*as Sultan-al-āzm*' added to Humayun's name. It signifies that Humayun was the greater of the two.

The titles, *Shah*, *Sultan*, etc., were so indiscriminately bestowed on princes and even on nobles that among Babur and Humayun's peers there must have been at least two dozens with these titles. *Badshah*

12 See Beni Prasad's *Jehangir*. If the statement is corrrect, since no son was born to Humayun, Kamran wa sindicated as his successor.

being an Irani title was not commonly used in India. As we have pointed out, Humayun, in compliance with Babur's wishes, *viz.*, to recognise Kāmrān's importance, bestowed on him the provinces of Kabul, Qandahar, Multan, Hissar Firuza and others, the right of coinage and gave him the permission to use the title of *Badshah*. Such grants were a common feature in Mughal India. Even so late as the middle of the 18th century, the East India Company and the Nawabs of Bengal issued coins, though they acknowledged the suzerainty of the Emperor of Delhi.[13]

(2) The second inaccuracy occurs where Erskine terms Kāmrān's territories of Kabul and Qandahar as 'ample dominions.' The two provinces together would be less than half of the present insignificant Afghanistan. Kāmrān's jagirs were so small that an addition was expected.

We may further point out that Humayun's governor Mir Yunus Ali's opposition to Kāmrān was due to the latters' impatience. What a

13 The last six rulers of Oudh were called *Shahs*, *Badshahs*, but they were wholly subordinate to the East India Company. A few mediæval examples also may be given. *Mirat-i-Sikandari* refers to the grant of the title of *Shah* by Bahadur Shah of Gujrat to Nizam-ul-mulk of Ahmadnagar who had submitted to him. Similarly Shah Jehan had granted to Muhammad Adil of Bijapur the title of *Shah*. Perhaps the most striking parallel is afforded by the coins of Ghiyasuddin Ghuri. There are many gold and silver coins in which the names of Ghiyasuddin and his brother Muizuddin Muhammad Ghuri jointly occur. Let us take one of these coins. In a gold coin (See Thomas' *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, p. 12.) dated 592 A.H.=1195 A.D., on the obverse side can be read.

السلطان الاعظم غياث الدنيا و الدين ابو الفتح محمد بن سام

on the reverse

السلطان المعظم معز الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر محمد بن سام

Now we know that the actual ruler was Ghiyasuddin Muhammad bin Sam while his younger brother Muizuddin Muhammad bin Sam was his commander-in-chief and governor of a province. (See *Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, p. 38.) It was the magnanimity of the elder brother that allowed regal titles to the younger brother; but all the same, the head of the family was the elder brother, commanding allegiance from all other members of the family including Muizuddin. Ghiyas's headship was so recognised a fact that the bestowal of titles on Muiz never clouded the issue.

Christianity at the Courts of Akbar and Jahangir

The story of Christianity under the first two Moghul Emperors, as told by contemporary writers, is something quite apart from the history of the Christian religion in India. Many centuries before the Moghuls set foot in Hindustan there had been, as there are still, communities of Syriac Christians on the Malabar coast and in other parts of Southern India; while small isolated groups, also professing Nestorian doctrine, were scattered here and there in peninsular India. But the history of the Christian Church in the Deccan was little affected by the powerful Empire which arose in the North. In the 16th century the extreme south of India was occupied by the Hindu Kingdom of Vijayanagar and it was on both the Malabar and Coromandel coasts of that kingdom that most of the Syrian Christian communities were to be found. Between Vijayanagar and the frontiers of the Moghul dominions were the four independent Moslem states of Bijapur, Golconda, Bidar and Ahmadnagar which, though continually at war with both their neighbours, as well as between themselves, managed to maintain their independence against Moghul aggression until finally subdued by the last of the great Emperors, Aurungzeb. The Christianity of the South of India was by these buffer states completely separated from whatever Christian influence made itself felt in the North and the proselytism which was pursued in Moghul India emanated mainly from Goa and the Portuguese.

Throughout the whole of the 16th century the Portuguese were the dominant maritime and commercial power in the East. They enjoyed a trading monopoly in India and strongly resisted every attempt on the part of the English or Dutch to participate in it. Owing to their powerful position at Goa and to their unscrupulous methods, supported by their naval and military forces and large merchant fleet, they were able for a long time to keep at bay the efforts of their rivals to open up trade with the Moghul Empire. Valuable to the Moghuls as was the commerce they conducted with them the Portuguese were more feared than loved wherever their presence was felt, and it was largely because of the threat

of Portuguese reprisals that so much difficulty was experienced by the early English merchant adventurers who visited the Moghul Court in obtaining the Emperor's sanction for the establishment of a trading 'factory.' The supremacy of the Portuguese in Indian waters and their firm hold on Indian trade made Goa in the 16th Century a populous and extremely wealthy and prosperous city. Church and State revelled in the riches that poured into it and both were equally active in promoting by all means in their power the continuance of the monopoly it then enjoyed. Never was the Church more militant than then. From Goa Jesuits, Franciscans and Capuchins made their way into all parts of India actuated as much by political and commercial as by proselytising zeal and to their labours and numerous writings we owe no small part of our information regarding the life and conditions of the time. In 1560 the Inquisition was introduced into Goa and the latent antagonism between Islam and Christianity was thereby accentuated. The tension between Moghul and Portuguese was further intensified by the hostility which developed from the efforts of both to control the Indian seas. The bigotry and intolerance shown alike by the Church and the Portuguese civil authorities roused the fiercest resentment and opposition and, by degrees, relations with Goa, from being mainly commercial, assumed a purely religious aspect.

Such was the state of affairs at the end of the 16th century when Portugal, from being the paramount European power in India, entered upon the decline from which she was destined never to recover. Beset with enemies, among whom were the Malabar pirates, and denuded of man-power by the constant strife, her commerce and, with it, her prestige gradually dwindled and her weakened naval forces were unable, eventually, to prevent the establishment of trading posts by her rivals. In 1603 and again in 1639 the Dutch blockaded Goa and during the first half of the 17th century routed the Portuguese everywhere in India. In 1612 the English defeated them at Sually, and still more decisively in 1615 in a second engagement at the same place.

The period during which the Portuguese reached the zenith of their power in India coincides roughly with that of the reign of Akbar—the first of the great Moghul emperors. His personality impressed all who came into contact with him—as may be judged from the accounts—

among others—of the English travellers who visited his court. His rule on the whole was just. He was eminent alike for his military achievements, his political acumen and his magnanimity, and his name is still reverenced as that of one of the ablest and most liberal-minded civil administrators India has produced. He consolidated the empire he founded which, after enjoying great prosperity during his lifetime, was passed on in a stable condition to his son Jahangir.

In view of this it is somewhat strange that he should have suffered a foreign power to adopt toward him the domineering attitude which characterised the Portuguese in all their relationships with Asiatic peoples and potentates. Akbar was certainly neither a lax nor a pusillanimous prince. On the contrary, he was by nature proud and energetic and fully conscious of his Imperial strength which was, indeed, far more than ample, had he mobilised it, to have wiped the Portuguese off the map of India once and for all. What is more, he must have been stung by the serious ravages they made upon his shipping as well as by the high-handed manner in which they conducted themselves at the treaty ports—yet he seems never to have contemplated, much less to have attempted, to humble the arrogance of these overbearing infidels at his very gates. The reason may perhaps be found in the strong geographical and strategic position of Goa; in the incontestable superiority of the Portuguese at sea; in material interest; and lastly, but by no means least, in the peculiar temperament of Akbar himself.

Goa, in the 16th century, was a better port than it is now; capable of providing a safe anchorage for the entire naval and mercantile fleets. It was also a strong and amply fortified place and in all respects an excellent base. Behind it stretched the formidable rampart of the Ghats, on the Eastern side of which was the kingdom of Bijapur. Had Akbar attempted to descend upon Goa from the landward side he would, in consequence, have been operating in enemy territory with the united forces of Bijapur, Golconda, Bidar and Ahmadnagar in the field against him. Even had he subjected the Mahomedan kingdoms of the Deccan he would still have been faced with the crossing of a natural barrier with heights up to 5000 feet. Viewed merely as a punitive expedition such a campaign may well have seemed scarcely worth the risks involved. Attack by sea was, for the Moghuls, out of the question—here

the Portuguese had it all their own way prior to the coming of the Dutch and English. Akbar must, also, have been well aware that any show of hostility on his part would mean ruin for the coast towns of Gujarat, which would have been completely at the mercy of the Portuguese frigates. Commercially it was not to Akbar's interest to fall out with the Portuguese. The volume of trade with them was considerable and lucrative and Akbar was fully alive to the advantages to his revenue which accrued from it. It was, also, the source of most of those 'curiosities' from overseas which excited so much interest when brought to Agra and of handsome presents designed to purchase his favour or 'throw dust in his eyes' according to the diplomacy of the moment.

Notwithstanding these desiderata of a more or less substantial kind it is difficult to account for Akbar's sufferance of much that he was called upon to stomach as the result of Portuguese insolence unless some specific traits in his character are taken into account. In the midst of the fierce and fanatical Islam of his day he appears to have been a sceptic. Not that he was irreligious or an atheistical freethinker. It was his custom, on Friday nights, to sit in solemn conclave in the Ibadat Khana at Fatehpur Sikri while Hindu pundits, Persian magi, Jesuits and Buddhists and other learned doctors and sages disputed with members of the orthodox *ulema* the merits of their respective faiths. The result of these apologetics was that Akbar gradually devised for himself an eclectic religious philosophy which eventually took the form of a pure deism based upon the ritual of Zoroaster. He invited scholars and professors of all kinds to these debates and, among others, the Christian missionaries he summoned from Goa were accorded an attentive hearing. That their arguments and exhortations made a great impression upon the emperor there is substantial, though contradictory, evidence though it is clear that he never became a convert. The *Ain-i-Akbari* states, "His Majesty firmly believed in the truth of the Christian religion and wishing to spread the doctrine of Jesus, ordered Prince Murad (his second son) to take a few lessons in Christianity by way of auspiciousness." That he was well disposed toward Christianity thus admits of no doubt. The fact is well attested by many statements in the journals of Europeans who visited Agra during his reign as well as by circumstantial evidence. The Jesuits had churches both in Agra and Lahore

and were given full permission to convert whom they could. Four among them—Jerome Xavier and Anthony Machado at Agra and Manoel Pinheiro and Francisco Corsi at Lahore were, in some sense, attached to the Imperial Court and enjoyed both the favour and confidence of the emperor. There were Jesuit churches and missions as a matter of course in all the trading posts and that they were resident, also, in other cities in the Moghul dominions is clear from such statements as that for example of Nicholas Withington, who was in Ahmedabad in 1613—only eight years after Akbar's death—and observes, "Here in Amadavar is a Jesuite remayninge to convert heathens to Christianitie, though he hath little profit therebye hetherto; yet still resteth in his vocation." Withington mentions, also, the Armenian merchants he found at Ahmedabad—they were also resident in Agra—and doubtless in other cities as well—who suffered no impediments on account of their religion.

From these circumstances it is evident that no opposition was offered during Akbar's reign to the establishment of Christian missions, and that those who professed the Christian faith could do so without hindrance. That much of the freedom they enjoyed was directly due to the emperor's personal leanings toward Christianity can scarcely be questioned. The influence exercised by the Jesuits at Agra and the favour he showed them may likewise be taken as proof of his goodwill; though it was none the less closely bound up with his political and commercial relationship with the Portuguese. His tolerance in this respect coming, as it did, in an age of fierce and bigoted partisanship, sharply distinguishes the reign of Akbar from those of his three successors.

Coming to the reign of Jahangir, who ascended the throne in 1605, we find a personality of quite another kind. Jahangir had already plotted against his father whose closing years were embittered by the misconduct of his sons—two of whom, victims of intemperance, predeceased him. Jahangir besides being of an intractable, rebellious and cruel disposition was notoriously dissolute. To the vices of luxuriousness and intemperance he joined a cynical lack of principle. Like his father he appears to have been a sceptic in religious matters but, unlike him, from indifference rather than lack of conviction. Religion with him was merely a political weapon and his attitude towards it purely

opportunist. But he cannot have remained entirely uninfluenced by the liberal sentiments and policy of his father and though it would, perhaps, be too much to credit him with the true spirit of tolerance, he did nothing to alter the *status quo* with reference to the Christians in his domains. On the contrary, Withington who visited the Jesuits in Agra in June 1614 "whoe have a verye fayer church buylte them by the King (he refers to Akbar) and a howse allsoe"—tells us that the "cheifeste" among them were allowed seven rupees a day and the rest three rupees a day and "have licence to tune as manye to Christianitie as they can." Speaking of Jahangir's devotions William Hawkins, who arrived in Agra in 1609, says. "The manner of his praying, when he is in Agra, is in a private faire roome, upon a goodly jet stone, having only a Persian lamb-skinne under him.........At the upper end of this jet stone the picture of Our Lady and Christ are placed, graven in stone." William Finch, who was at Lahore in 1611, speaking of an apartment in the palace there observes, "over the doore is the picture of Our Saviour; opposite on the left-hand of the Virgin Mary." Elsewhere, referring to the Jharokha (i.e. the throne) in the Diwan-i-Am (hall of public audience) at Agra he says, "on the right hand of the King, on the wall behind him, is the picture of Our Saviour; on the left, of the Virgin." From these and similar passages it would appear that Christian images and pictures were prominently displayed in the Imperial palaces—dating most probably from Akbar's time though it is difficult to understand how they can have failed to give great offence to orthodox Mohammedans seeing that Islam strictly forbids representations of the kind. Several of the early travellers remark that "he," meaning Jahangir, "speaks reverently of Our Saviour, calling him Hazarat Isa" (i.e. the great prophet Jesus) and Edward Terry, who was in India from 1616-1619, says, "there is not a man amongst them (but those of the ruder sort) that at any time mentions the name of our blessed Saviour, called there Hazarat Isa.........without reverence and respect." Such reverential references to Our Lord were, however, no indication that those making them professed Christianity—they would be perfectly orthodox from the tongue of any devout Moslem.

Jahangir's alliance, if one may so term it, with Christianity would seem to have proceeded mainly from habit acquired during his

father's lifetime. He was naturally familiar with the Christian symbols which had entered the Court in Akbar's reign, as well as with the doctrines and customs of the Jesuit priests who frequented it and, being by inclination self-indulgent, as well as indifferent to anything more than the externals of religious observance, was quite content to continue his father's precedent—but without his father's motives. But there are not lacking suggestions that his accommodating religious practices, noticeably out of tune as they were with his manner of life, gave offence to some of those about him. There is a hint of friction in the following passage from William Finch: "All this moneth also was much stirre with the King about Christianitie, hee affirming before his nobles that it was the soundest faith, and that of Mahomet lies and fables." The sincerity of his championship of the Christian faith may, however, be gauged from the following incident. He decided to make the three sons of his deceased brother Daniyal Christians and, for this purpose, handed them over to the Jesuits for instruction, ordering Christian apparel to be made for them, "the whole city admiring," as Finch says. William Hawkins, who was present when the decision was made, remarks, "the doing whereof was not for any zeale he had for Christianitie, as the Father and all Christians thought, but upon the prophecies of certain learned Gentiles (Hindus), who told him that the sonnes of his body should be disinherited and the children of his brother should reigne; therefore he did it to make these children hateful to all Moores (Moslems), as Christians are odious in their sight, and that they being once Christians, when any such matter should happen, they should find no subjects." The baptism was duly performed by Father Xavier and the baptised were christened Don Philippo, Don Carlo and Don Henrico respectively, being conducted to the church "by all the Christians of the citie to the number of some sixtie horse," Captain Hawkins himself being at the head of them flying the cross of St. George. Sir Thomas Roe and others state that only two of Daniyal's sons became converts and suggest that it was voluntary. Whether or not, their conversion was short-lived for they speedily renounced their profession on the ground that the Jesuits failed to provide them with Portuguese wives!

We may now enter upon some consideration of another aspect of

Christian activity at the Court of the Great Moghul. The presence of the Jesuits in the Moghul dominions was due at least as much to their usefulness as political agents of the Portuguese power as it was inspired by missionary zeal. They were the eyes and ears of Goa, the tools of diplomacy, and zealous watch-dogs on behalf of the Church and the State. The degree of their influence and the insidious nature of their machinations made them a grievous thorn in the side of the English envoys who endeavoured to establish trading facilities in India. The jealous suspicion shown by the Portuguese towards every European traveller who set foot in India—more especially if he were of a non-Catholic nation—was surpassed only by the resentment they evinced to any disposition on the part of the Moghul emperors to accord them trading advantages similar to those they themselves enjoyed. They no doubt realised that the grant of so much as a single 'factory' to another nation would be but the thin end of the wedge which would sooner or later split the monopoly which was theirs. Due, primarily, as it was to the Portuguese command of the sea they foresaw that trade with other nations must inevitably bring the ships which would contest with them this all-important factor—as in fact it did. In 1583 a company of merchants one of whom was Ralph Fitch, together with a jeweller named Leeds and a painter named Story who joined them independently in order to seek his fortune, set sail from London in the "Tiger." The expedition was financed by a syndicate of London merchants and had for its ultimate purpose the opening up of trading facilities with India. To this end Ralph Fitch was provided with letters from Queen Elizabeth to the Emperor Akbar. The company eventually reached Basra. Here some of the merchants remained while Fitch and a fellow merchant named Newbery, accompanied by Leeds and Story, sailed for Ormuz in the Persian Gulf. On their arrival the Italian merchants in that island, discovering that they were prospective rivals, advised the Portuguese authorities who arrested them and sent them to Goa. Here they fell into the hands of the Inquisition and were committed to prison where they remained about a month. They do not appear, however, to have been greatly ill-used and as nothing could be proved against them—and all professed to be good Catholics they were eventually released on condition that they did not

leave the town. Sureties were found for them by Father Stevens, an English Jesuit, and by a Dutchman who befriended them. Story had already secured his release by agreeing to become a lay brother in a Jesuit convent where his abilities as an artist were requisitioned for the decoration of the church. Fitch and Newbery opened a shop and began to trade. But it was not long before affairs began to assume a sinister complexion. The Jesuits hinted that they would be sent to Lisbon by the next fleet, whereupon they applied to the Viceroy for the return of the money they had deposited in the hands of their sureties, who made them a threatening answer. Alarmed by the outlook they determined to escape and, in April 1584, crossed the frontier into the kingdom of Bijapur. They were fortunate in getting away when they did as only a few months later letters arrived in Goa from King Philip exhorting the Viceroy to punish them and to take particular care that neither they nor any of their compatriots were allowed in the Portuguese territory. Informed of their escape he wrote again in 1587 and 1588 urging efforts to apprehend them and, in 1591, sent instructions that Story, who was still in Goa, should be sent to Lisbon. Whether this was done is not definitely known—but, if so, he probably perished in one of the ships which foundered on the homeward voyage in 1592. At all events nothing more is heard of him.

Fitch and his companions made their way to Agra only to find that Akbar was at Fatehpur Sikri whither accordingly they proceeded. We do not know whether Fitch had succeeded in preserving Queen Elizabeth's letters, whether they were presented, or what was the outcome of his mission to Akbar. One thing at least is clear it did not result in the granting of permission to trade as no mention of any such privilege is made in Fitch's narrative. In this respect the venture was abortive. At Fatehpur Sikri they parted company. Leeds entered the Emperor's service from which time nothing more is heard of him. Newbery decided to make his way home overland and, also, disappears from view. Fitch, after travelling in Eastern India, proceeded to Burma and Siam and eventually returned to Bengal whence he sailed via Cochin, Goa, and Ormuz—at the risk of being discovered—to Basra. From Aleppo he sailed for London where he arrived safely in April 1591.

Nearly twenty years later another effort was made—this time by a

'free-lance' adventurer—to obtain the coveted trading facilities. Sometime in 1603 John Mildenhall arrived in Agra where he solicited the Emperor's *firman* for the establishment of a trading post. This request Akbar seems, naively enough, to have referred to the afore-mentioned Jesuit fathers in Agra and Lahore, with the result, as Mildenhall remarks, that they were in "an exceeding great rage, and whereas before we were friends, now we grew to be exceeding great enemies." This was, perhaps, hardly surprising seeing that Mildenhall not only desired privilege of trade but permission to attack Portuguese ships and strongholds. Seeing that England was at war with Spain and Portugal mere permission for English ships to visit Moghul ports appeared to him useless unless accompanied by sanction to resist interference with them on the part of the Portuguese. Whatever the precise terms of his demands they were the cause of his falling out grievously with the Jesuits who vilified him and used every means in their power to disgrace him at Court. Mildenhall, on his side, lost no time in exposing his enemies' motives and stratagems and both succeeded in keeping their respective 'ends up' to such effect that Akbar inclined now to one side now to the other. It happened that Akbar had shown himself disposed to grant all that Mildenhall demanded save the right to attack Portuguese shipping. In his unwillingness to accede to this he was supported by his advisers, who were as well aware as was Akbar himself of the power of the Portuguese at sea and of the dangers of a breach with them. Mildenhall, however, ascribes his hesitation to bribery on the part of the Jesuits. For some time the acrimonious dispute continued during which, "the Jesuits day and night sought how to work my displeasure." At length, weary of delays, Mildenhall brought the whole matter to a head by something very like a formal arraignment of the Jesuits before Akbar and succeeded so well in discomforting them that Akbar issued the necessary *firman*. Whether this included the right to attack the Portuguese we are not told, but Mildenhall, having obtained what he sought, left Agra without delay and reached home overland. He is next heard of in June 1608 when letters from him addressed to Mr. Staper—one of the London merchants who had previously financed Ralph Fitch's venture—were read at a meeting of the East India Company. In these he detailed the privileges he had

secured and offered them and his own services for a payment of £1500. As Mildenhall had not returned to England by that date it was decided to defer consideration of his proposals pending his arrival. They were brought forward again in 1609 but, for a variety of reasons, it was thought undesirable to employ Mildenhall and his demands were considered unreasonable. The truth is that Mildenhall was something of a 'bounder' and his antecedents were probably as doubtful as was his conduct some time later when, on a second journey to the East early in 1611, he was involved in the embezzlement, in Persia, of goods with which he had been entrusted. Nothing came of the trading sanction he had obtained from Akbar. He died in Ajmer in 1614 and was interred in the Catholic cemetery in Agra.

Such was the fate of the two attempts made by the English to open up trade with India during the reign of Akbar. We come now to the first of several which were made during that of his successor Jahangir. After many vicissitudes Captain William Hawkins reached Agra on April 16th 1609, the bearer of a letter from James I to the Great Moghul. We are not here concerned with the picturesque story of his travels in India or with the stormy progress of his embassy at Agra, but the account he gives of his experience with the Jesuits in his endeavours to procure the Emperor's mandate for the opening of his ports is too graphic to be passed over. His efforts were fated to be unsuccessful, but they have at least provided us with some interesting side-lights upon Jesuitical activity. His trouble began from the very moment he landed at Surat where he and his companions experienced a great deal of obstruction and annoyance, instigated by the Portuguese, from Mukarrab Khan who was in charge of the ports of Surat and Cambay. It was intended that his ship the "Hector" should reload at Surat and proceed from thence to Bantam under the command of Anthony Marlow, one of the merchants who had accompanied Hawkins. Boatloads of goods, manned by about thirty of the crew, were therefore sent down to the ship at her moorings, but were attacked on the way by Portuguese frigates which captured all the goods and many of the men who, despite Hawkins' vigorous protest, were sent to Goa. Notwithstanding this "regrettable incident" the "Hector" sailed leaving Hawkins behind to proceed to Agra. Commenting upon it

Hawkins says, "After the departure of the ship, I understood that my goods and men were betrayed unto the Portugals by Mocreb-chan (Mukarrab Khan) and his followers; for it was a plot laid by the Jesuit and Mocreb-chan to protract time till the frigates came to the bar and then to despatch me." The Jesuit in question was none other than Manoel Pinheiro whom we last heard of in Agra. On arriving in Agra Hawkins was received with every mark of honour by Jahangir, as befitted one who came as an ambassador. Jahangir seems to have taken a personal liking to him and, at his request, Hawkins entered the Emperor's service, a circumstance which served only to increase the disfavour with which he was regarded by the Jesuits. He became the centre of intrigue and in his report to the East India Company he observes that "the Jesuites and Portugalls slept not but by all means sought my overthrow; and to say the truth, the principall Mahumetans neere the King envyed much that a Christian should be so nigh unto him.........and the Jesuites here, I think, did little regard their masses and church matters for studying how to overthrow my affaires." Their protests, however, were disregarded by Jahangir and, in consequence, "the Portugalls were like madde dogges, labouring to worke my passage out of the world." Hawkins explained the danger he was in to the Emperor whereupon, "the King presently called the Jesuites and told them that if I dyed by any extraordinary casualtie, that they should all rue for it." After many fruitless attempts to obtain the desired *firman* and a favourable answer to King James' letter Hawkins finally quitted Agra in disgust. After continuing his travels farther East he eventually sailed for England, but was destined not to return to his native land, dying somewhere off the Irish coast. From their adventures with and animadversions against the Jesuits we may gather that Hawkins and his fellow travellers were not greatly impressed with their missionary ardour or with the net result of their labours. Withington speaking of the Fathers at Agra remarks, "they have already converted manye; but (alas) it is for money's sake, for the Jesuites give them 3d. a daye."

The English victory over the Portuguese in November 1612 made a great impression at the Moghul Court. Their prestige rose as rapidly as that of the Portuguese declined and no later than the following

month there issued the Imperial *firman* sanctioning the opening of trading relations at Surat and Cambay—from which event dates the rise of the East India Company. Portuguese resentment knew no bounds and, despite the Imperial rescript, they had the temerity in the autumn of 1613 to seize a Mohammedan vessel trading to the Red Sea then lying in Surat—carrying off passengers and cargo as their prize. This proceeding aroused such indignation at Agra that Jahangir gave orders to stop all Portuguese trading at Surat and to lay siege to Daman by way of reprisals. The Jesuit church at Agra was closed and the Fathers were deprived of their stipends. Referring to this incident Withington comments, "And when the Jesuites (thro' the facte of the Portugalls) were debarred of theire paye from the Kinge, having noe moneye to paye theire new Christians withall, they dailey came and offered the Jesuitts theire beads agayne, tellinge them they had been longe without their paye and therefore they would bee no longer Christians." Thomas Coryat says, "Whereas the beggers begge in this countrey of a Christian in the name of Bibee Maria, and not of Hazaret Eesa, thereby we may gather that Jesuits have preached Mary more than Jesus," and Edward Terry after reference to the religious toleration at Jahangir's Court continues, "I would I were able to confirme the reports of their conversions. The truth is they have spilt the water of baptisme upon some faces, working on the necessities of poore men, who for want of meanes, which they give them, are content to weare crucifixes, but for want of instruction are only in name Christians. I observed that of the poore there, five have begged in the name of Marie, for one in the name of Christ."

Although it is but reasonable to ascribe some of their adverse criticisms to the Protestant prejudices of several of the early travellers in India it can hardly be questioned that Jesuit influence, both political and religious, was widespread and firmly established during the reign of Jahangir. In the Jesuits the Portuguese power found valuable emissaries who strove, in season and out, by all available means to uphold its ascendancy, while Jahangir regarded them and their missions as useful pawns which he could play to some effect in the game of countering Portuguese pretensions. That he looked upon them as political weapons may be judged from the fact of his closing the churches as a protest against the seizure of his vessel at Surat. It was

only some eighteen months after this incident that Captain Nicholas Downton gained his signal victory over the Portuguese in January 1615. The slump in Portuguese prestige which ensued encouraged Jahangir to humble their pride and pay off old scores, for in this year, according to an unpublished letter in the British Museum, he closed all the Christian churches throughout his dominations. Their closure was, apparently, only temporary and there is no evidence that the Jesuits suffered any persecution, or that they were either expelled from or voluntarily left the country. In Agra itself in 1617 a Christian College was founded.

In the following reign—that of Shah Jahan—Christianity suffered some set back and still greater disabilities during that of his intolerant successor Aurangzeb. Shah Jahan again closed the churches in Agra and Lahore and partly demolished that of Agra, but the Fathers continued to reside there, as Bernier says, "to accomplish their benevolent purpose by the powerful aid of money, and the warm intercession of their friends." That their ministrations were not entirely void of result may be inferred from the statement of Thévenot that about 1665, in Aurangzeb's reign, it was believed by some that there were 25,000 Christian families in Agra. This estimate was doubtless much too high —unless, indeed, we are to believe that the inducement of 3d. per day still held good! But it is clear from the statements of travellers of the time that communities of Christians, sometimes of considerable numbers, were scattered about the Punjab and Bengal in Moghul time. Many in the latter Province probably owed their evangelisation to missionary effort from the Portuguese settlements on the Hugli. These settlements appear to have been largely independent of and not too friendly towards Goa, and the methods of the Portuguese of Eastern India alike political, commercial and religious were less truculent and milder than were those of the Viceregal city on the Western coast. It is probable that numbers of Christian converts left Agra during the repressive *régime* of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb and became the nuclei of communities which maintained their faith down to recent times and became identified with later missions. Be that as it may, little is heard of Christianity in the Moghul Empire after the close of Aurangzeb's reign. With the military and commercial enterprise of the French and English during the 18th century missionary effort in India entered upon a new phase.

ERNEST F. ALLNUTT

The Development of the Bengali Script

Prefatory

There is now a general attempt among scholars to connect the origin of the Brāhmī alphabets with the pictographic script of the Mohenjo-daro seals. Dr. Langdon of Oxford who contributes the chapters on the Indus Script in the second volume of *Mohenjo-daro*[1] points out the close resemblance of the nineteen letters of the Aśokan edicts with signs used in the Indus valley seals and is definitely of opinion that the Indus script is the parent of the Brāhmī. Bühler also recognised that writing had a long history in Aśoka's time because of the existence of so many local varieties, and numerous cursive forms.[2] But the obvious difficulty lies in the fact that the Brāhmī characters are written from left to right, whereas "the Indus script undoubtedly runs from right to left." Dr. Langdon cites the example of the Greeks who borrowed the Phoenician alphabhet but altered its direction to suit their purpose. The legend of the Eran coin runs from right to left and from this Bühler observed that there was probably a period when the Brāhmī was written both from right to left and from left to right.[3] He also noticed three signs, *dha, da* and *bha* of the relic caskets of the Bhaṭṭiprolu in the position of the writing running from right to left. But the Aśokan edicts show only few traces of the writing from right to left.

The long interval between the Mohenjo-daro civilisation (whose lowest possible date, according to experts, is 2800 B.C.) and the Aśokan

1 *Mohenjo-daro*, vol. II, pp. 423 ff.

2 *Indian Palæography*, Eng. Trans. by Fleet, p. 7.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 8. Bühler noticed traces of the writing from right to left in *o* of the Jaugada and Dhauli, in *dha* of Jaugada and Delhi-Sivalik, *da* in the Patna seals. Hultzsch suggested in the *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXVI, p. 336 that the engraver of the die of the Eran coin might have forgotten through mistake that he ought to reverse the legend on the die itself. Fleet was inclined to accept this suggestion. This coin has been assigned to the 5th century B.C. by Cunningham. In view of the discovery of the Indus script it may be said that "the legend on the Eran coin is the only remnant which seems to have retained the original direction of its parent."

age must also be taken into consideration. If all the connecting links between these two periods would have been lost, it would have been perhaps impossible to establish the origin of the Bengali script from the Aśokan alphabets. The fact that the Mohenjo-daro script runs from right to left does not stand against the above view. The transformation was perhaps complete in the long interval that separates them. An instance may be taken. The letter *cha* which from the time of Aśoka almost towards the close of the Sena period is faced leftward is turned in the right direction in modern Bengali script. It would have been very difficult to trace its evolution if the transitional form in the intermediate position (resembling modern Bengali *ṭha*) of the Sunderban plate[4] of 1196 A.D. and the Chittagong plate[5] of 1243 A.D. would not have been found.

Dr. Langdon asks pertinently: Is it then reasonable to suppose that this pictographic script of ancient India survived without any archæological evidence? Mr. Jayaswal claims that the recently discovered signs in a rock-shelter of the Vikramkhol Rock, are the connecting links between the two ages (the Mohenjo-daro and Aśokan periods) and tentatively suggests the date of these signs about 1500 B.C.[6] Dr. C. L. Fabri characterises Mr. Jayaswal's conclusions as hasty because they are based on the comparison of nine signs only and strongly objects to the assertion of Mr. Jayaswal that the writing is in regular lines. He goes so far as to doubt that it is an inscription, but admits that "we have here some primitive, rural writing vaguely connected with the Brāhmī of the courts and temples."[7] The Vikramkhol signs bear more resemblance with the Brāhmī than the Indus Script and it must be admitted that they are more archaic than all the writings of the pre-Aśokan period, viz., the Piprawa Vase,[8] the Persian Sigoli,[9] Taxila coins,[10] Bhaṭṭiprolu letters,[11] the Sohgaura inscription.[12] It is not proper to pass any opinion on what they are, until and

4 *IHQ.*, 1934, p. 321.
5 *JASB.*, 1874, pt. I, p. 318-24 and pl. XVIII.
6 *Ind. Ant.*, 1933, pp. 55-60.
7 *Indian Culture*, 1934, p. 52.
8 *JRAS.*, 1906, p. 149.
9 *JRAS.*, 1895, p. 865.
10 Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 2.
11 Bühler, *Indian Palæography*, p. 8.
12 *JRAS.*, 1907, p. 510.

unless they are deciphered. Most probably the engraver attempted to arrrange the signs in lines, though it was not very much successful and the difficulty to cut letters on rocks in those times must be taken into consideration. Leaving aside the Indus Scripts, the Harappa Seals, the Vikramkhol signs and the Cairn letters,[13] we are somewhat on surer grounds as to the dates of the Piprawa Vase inscription (545-434 B.C.) and the Persian Sigoli (580-380 B.C.). Brāhmī was certainly used in the sixth century B.C. and its origin seems to be still earlier. Jayaswal's tentative suggestion[14] about the origin of the Brāhmī script about 1000 B.C. appears to be nearer to the mark, though it cannot be established.

The earliest inscription in Bengal

The earliest epigraphic record that has been discovered in Bengal is the Brāhmī inscription of Mahāsthān. The script resembles that of the Aśokan edicts but the vertical part of the letters *ta, pa, ha, va* and *sa* is somewhat more prolonged than that of the latter. Bühler, while distinguishing the Older Mauryan variety from the Younger Mauryan, observed that the prolongation of the verticals is a sign of the earlier one. Judged by this criterion, the Mahāsthān inscription seems to be a bit earlier than the time of Aśoka, say a generation or two.

The Mauryan and Kushan alphabets have been minutely examined by Bühler,[15] R. D. Banerjee,[16] Hultzsch[17] and Sten Könow[18] but nothing of importance has been added to our knowledge.

The Gupta Script from 350 A.D. to 550 A.D.

In 1891 Hoernle[19] classified the Indian script of the 4th and 5th centuries into two broad divisions, the North Indian and South Indian, the test letter being *ma*. He again subdivided the North Indian

13 *Hyderabad Archæological Survey*, 1917. See Yazdani's article.
14 *JBORS.*, vol. VI, p. 198.
15 Bühler, *op. cit.*, pp. 33-38, 40-42.
16 *Origin of the Bengali Script*, pp. 7-23.
17 *CII.*, vol. I, Introduction.
18 *Ibid.*, vol. II, Introduction.

alphabets into two, the Western and Eastern, the test letter being *ṣa*. This classification was accepted by Bühler[20] who added two more test letters *la* and *ha* for differentiating the Eastern and Western varieties. Mr. R. D. Banerjee[21] made a further classification according to the geographical distribution of the records—(1) Eastern, (2) Western, (3) Southern and (4) Central Asian. Allahabad has been taken to be the boundary of the Eastern and Western varieties. In differentiating the Eastern variety from the Western he added another test letter *sa*. We are mainly concerned here with the Eastern variety. Mr. R. D. Banerjee examined 8 records of the Eastern variety and since the publication of his *Origin of the Bengali Script*, the following records of the Eastern variety have been discovered :—

1 Susunia Rock inscription[22]
2 Damodarpur Plate No. 1 of 124 G.E.[23]
3 Damodarpur Plate No. 2 of 128 G.E.[24]
4 Baigram plate of 128 G.E.[25]
5 Sarnath inscription of 154 G.E.[26]
6 Sarnath inscription of 157 G.E.[27]
7 Paharpur plate of 159 G.E.[28]
8 Damodarpur plate of the time of Budhagupta[29] (No. 3).
9 Damodarpur plate of the time of Budhagupta[30] (No. 4).
10 Gunainagar grant of 188 G.E.[31]
11 Damodarpur plate of 224 G.E.[32] (No. 5).

As regards Hoernle's broad division of the Indian Script of the 4th and 5th centuries on the strength of the test letter *ma*, it may be said that in some of the Western records the Kushan type of *ma* with two sides of the triangle produced upwards or sometimes the two sides

19 *JASB.*, 1891, pt. I, p. 81.
20 Bühler, *op. cit.*, p. 47.
21 R. D. Banerjee, *Origin of the Bengali Script*, p. 24.
22 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XIII, p. 133.
23 *Ibid.*, vol. XV, p. 113.
24 *Ibid.*
25 *Ibid.*, vol. XXI, p. 78.
26 *ASI.*, 1914-15, p. 124.
27 *Ibid.*
28 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XX, p. 59.
29 *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*
30 *Ibid.*
31 *IHQ.*, vol. VI, p. 45.
32 *Ep. Ind.*, *op. cit.*

forming an open semi-circle are occasionally to be found in the Western variety of Northern India viz. Eran inscription of Samudragupta,[33] Mathura inscription of 61 G.E.[34] and the Udayagiri Cave inscription of 82 G.E.[35] But nowhere in any Eastern record the Kushan type of *ma* is to be found. In the Southern epigraphs this type was used even in the 6th century A.D. but in North-Western India it was discontinued after the time of Candragupta II.

Hoernle's division of Western and Eastern varieties on the strength of the test letter *ṣa* is substantially correct. But it may be said that the use of the Western *ṣa* with the cross-bar in ligatures was not unknown in Eastern India. The Bodh-Gayā image inscription[36] of the year 64 should be regarded as a record of the Gupta period. Lüders[37] and Cunningham held that this record is dated in the Śaka era. But Bühler and R. D. Banerjee[38] were definitely of opinion that it is a record of the Gupta time. The use of hooked *ma*, hooked *sa* and the cursive *ha* goes against its assignment to the Kushan period. In this record we have one Western *ṣa* in the ligature *bikṣu*. In the Kośam image inscription[39] of 139 G.E. all other test letters are of the Eastern variety but *ṣa* which occurs only in ligatures is of the Western type. A doubtful case of a Western *ṣa* is to be noticed in the word *puṣkaraṇa* in the Susunia Rock inscription. But in no Eastern record an independent Western *ṣa* is to be found.

Eastern *la* and *ha* are, no doubt, of the same type that was used in the Jaugada Separate edicts of Aśoka. In the Eastern variety the base line of these two letters has been suppressed and *ha* is turned leftward. It is very difficult to distinguish between Eastern *ṣa* and *sa*. Both of them are of the looped form.

Two other letters deserve careful attention, though they cannot be called test letters in the strict sense of the term. They are *ṇa* and *na*.

33 Fleet, *CII.*, vol. III, p. 18.
34 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XXI, p. 1.
35 Fleet, *CII.*, vol. III, p. 21.
36 Cunningham, *Mahabodhi*, pl. XXV.
37 *Ind. Ant.*, vol. XXXIII, p. 40.
38 R. D. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 23.
39 Fleet, *CII.*, vol. III, pl. XXXIXc.

In the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta which represents the Eastern variety both the hooked and looped forms of *ṇa* occur. In the eastern records of the 4th century looped types of *ṇa* and *na* are generally to be met with (Susunia, Baigram, and Kahum Pillar inscriptions). In this period in western records the hooked *ṇa* and the older form of *na* are to be found. The looped *na* was in later time adopted both in Western and Eastern India. The looped type of *ṇa* was discontinued in Eastern India from the fifth century A.D.

It is really a puzzle that Bühler who distinguished for the first time eastern *la* and *ha* from their western proto-types should regard the Meharauli Iron Pillar inscription[40] as a fine example of Western Indian epigraphs. Mr. R. D. Banerjee has omitted the palæographic examination of this important record. *La, ha, sa, ṇa* and *na* are clearly of the Eastern variety. *Ṣa* occurs in ligatures only and is of the Western type but we have already noticed that the use of Western type of *ṣa* in ligatures was not known in Eastern India. Either we shall have to admit that like the Udayagiri Cave inscription[41] of the time of Candragupta II, it is an Eastern record (i.e., the scribe was of Eastern India) or we shall have to concur with Mr. J. C. Ghose[42] in locating Viṣṇupadagiri somewhere in Eastern India where this magnificent pillar was originally set up.

The alphabets of the period from 550 to 650 A.D.

The 6th century alphabets have been very aptly described by Bühler as the *acute-angled* type. "The chief characteristic is that the letters slope from the right to the left, and show acute-angles at the lower or at the right ends, as well as that the tops of the vertical or slanting lines invariably bear small wedges and their ends either show the same ornaments or protuberances on the right." This is the period when

40 Bühler, *op. cit.*, p. 47; Fleet, *op. cit.*, no. 32.

41 Bühler, p. 46.

42 *Indian Culture*, vol. I, p. 515. Mr. Ghose's reasons for identifying Viṣṇupada-giri with the Mandāra Hill in Bhagalpur do not seem to be quite convincing to me.

the transition from the Gupta characters to what is often called the *kuṭila* variety took place.

In addition to the records examined by Mr. R. D. Banerjee, the following inscriptions should also be examined—

1 Four Faridpur plates[43] A, B, C, D)—palæographically to be assigned to the latter half of the sixth century A.D.

2 Vappaghoṣa grant of Jayanāga[44]

3 Nidhanpur plates of Bhāṣkaravarman[45]

4 Tippera grant of Lokanātha[46]

The outstanding feature of the Eastern Indian alphabets of the period 550-600 A.D. seems to be the displacement of the test letters *la, ha, ṣa* by the Western types of these letters. Dr. Hoernle was of opinion, that this displacement must have been in progress during the earlier part of the 6th century and was complete about 580 A.D. Mr. R. D. Banerjee modified this statement and observed that the movement towards the adoption of the Western variety was in evidence in the 4th decade of the 5th century and all traces of the Eastern variety form disappeared before the beginning of the 6th century A.D. The first part of his opinion was based on the evidence of the Dhanaidaha plate of 113 G.E.. The same scholar noticed the use of the eastern form of *la, ṣa, sa* and *ha* in this record. In only one solitary instance he traced a western *la* (in *Vakkralana* 1.8) but his reading of this word has proved to be wrong and no *la* occurs in this record.[47] In the Mankuwar inscription of 129 G.E., Kahum Pillar inscription of 141 G.E. we find the Eastern variety forms have been consistently used. The only evidence which R. D. Banerjee could cite in support of his conclusion was the undated Bihar Pillar inscription of Skandagupta in which

43 R. D. Banerjee admitted the genuineness of all the Faridpur plates in his lecture on the Age of the Imperial Guptas. For the plates see *Ind. Ant.*, 1910, p. 193; *JASB.*, 1910, pp. 429 ff.

44 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, p. 60.

45 *Ibid.*, vol. XII, p. 65 and vol. XIX, p. 115.

46 *Ibid.*, vol. XV, p. 301.

47 See new revised reading of the Dhanaidaha plate published in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVII, p. 345.

in the first part the Eastern forms have been used and in the last half Western forms of the test letters have been adopted. Eastern forms are to be found in the Kośam image inscription of Bhīmavarman, dated in 139 G.E. It is true that Western forms are to be found in the Pāli grant of Lakṣmaṇa, dated in 158 G.E., but Pāli is 30 miles away from Allahabad. If Allahabad be the western limit of the use of Eastern variety, the Pāli grant should properly be regarded as a record of Western India. In all other Eastern records of the fifth century the Eastern variety forms of the test letters have been invariably used. Even in the Gunainagar inscription of 188 G.E. = 507 A.D. and in the Damodarpur Plate No. 5 of 224 G.E.[48] = 543 A.D. we find the use of the Eastern forms. Under these circumstnces if in the first half of the Bihar Pillar inscription of Skandagupta the Eastern forms have been used, and in the last half the Western forms are to be found, this should be explained by the assumption that the last half is the work of a scribe from Western India.

The time of the displacement can be stated with a fair degree of certainty. In the fifth century the Eastern forms continued to exist and in the first half of the sixth century they were certainly used in Bengal. The earliest record showing the use of the Western forms of *la*, *ṣa*, *sa* and *ha* in Eastern India is the Amauna grant of Nandana, dated in 232 G.E. = 551-2 A.D. The Bodh-Gayā inscription of Mahānāman shows the use of the Western forms. The unhappy long-drawn controversy between Messrs. R. D. Banerjee and E. F. Pargiter is over and the genuineness of the Faridpur Plates are now established beyond doubt. The Faridpur plates belong to a transitional period when the Eastern variety forms were being gradually displaced by the Western forms of the test letters. In grant A, Eastern *la* occurs 6 times and the Western

48 The fascimiles of the Damodarpur plates published in the *Ep. Ind.* are not very distinct. In all the distinct cases the Eastern forms are to be found. I referred the point to the Editor of these plates, Dr. R. G. Basak, who informs me that my conclusion is correct in all cases. I take this opportunity to express my thankfulness to Dr. R. G. Basak who thoroughly examined the plates for me.

la 20 times, Eastern *ṣa* 14 times and Western *ṣa*[49] 5 times, and Eastern *ha* 8 times and Western *ha* 8 times. In grant B, Eastern *la*, *ṣa* 1 and 11 times and Western *la* and *ṣa* 14 and 3 times respectively. The Grant C is in a bad state of preservation and where it is legible we find the use of both Eastern and Western *la* and *ha*. In Grant D *la* and *ṣa* are always of the Western form. Eastern *ha* occurs in three instances and in all other cases the Western form has been used. In no epigraphic record of the seventh century we find the use of Eastern forms of *la*, *ṣa* and *ha*. It must be mentioned that the Eastern *ṣa* was not superseded by the Western form of the letter. The displacement therefore must have been complete by the close of the sixth century A.D.

The following letters changed considerably in this period—

(*a*) The left portion of *a* consists of a wedge joined to the comma-shaped curve by a short vertical line and is joined with the right vertical by a short horizontal line.

(*b*) Initial *i* consists of two dots and a scroll-like curve below.

(*c*) Initial *u* is taking the Bengali form in this period. A short vertical line is attached to the wedge and a curve is attached to this vertical.

(*d*) *Ka* is developed in the looped or triangular form. For the first time this form is to be found in the word *prakkatti* in *l*. 28 of the Faridpur Grant D. In the Bodh-Gayā Grant of Mahānāman dated in 588 A.D. this form has been used. In the Ganjam grant of 619-20 A.D. and in the Vappaghoṣa-vaṭa grant both the open and triangular forms are to be found. The Muṇḍeśvarī grant of 630 A.D. retains the open form. The change was complete in Eastern India by 650 A.D. though the open form continued to exist in certain ligatures even in the 12th century records.

49 It may be noted here that in all instances of *ṣa* in Grants A & B the Western form occurs in ligatures only which may be cited in favour of our contention that its use in ligatures was not unknown in Eastern India. But it may be observed that in the Faridpur plates the Eastern and Western forms of the test letters were used side by side It is significant that in no case an independent Western *ṣa* is to be found, although it occurs many times in ligatures.

(*e*) The Ganjam *gha* retains the Gupta form but in Vappaghoṣa-vaṭa and Tippera Grants the left part shows a curvature which in later times become the loop.

(*f*) The right arc of *dha* is transformed into a line.

(*g*) The development of *bha* is almost revolutionary and it is very difficult to trace its development. "The left hook of the Western variety has changed into a solid wedge, and this wedge has developed into a hollow one, at the same time separating the right limb of the letter from the upper part." There is not much difference between *bha* and *ha* in this period.

(*h*) The development of the bipartite *ya*. Bühler noticed the bipartite form of *ya* in ligatures as early as in the Kushan period (Bühler's Table III, Cl. XIII. XVI. 32). Its use was perhaps accidental because it was convenient to use it in ligature with some letters. Bühler also draws attention to "the oldest instance of independent looped *ya* found in Fleet's No. 59 of 371 A.D." But its appearance in this record seems to be premature as in other records of the 4th and 5th centuries we find invariably the tripartite form. Mr. Pargiter in determining the relative chronological position of the three kings of the Faridpur Grants noticed that between the tripartite *ya* with "three-pronged form with sinistrorse curl" and the full-fledged bipartite form there is a transitional form with a strong tendency to form a loop in the place of the curt in the left. The bipartite form is admittedly evolved out of this intermediate form.

Dr. Hoernle[50] fixed 600 A.D. as the lowest limit of the older form of *ya* and went so far as to assert that "any inscription in the North Western Indian alphabet which shows the more or less exclusive use of the old form of *ya*, must date before 600 A.D., while any inscription showing an exclusive use of the cursive form of *ya* must date after 600 A.D." After the discovery of the Udayapur inscription of the Guhila Aparajita, of V.E. 716=659 A.D. in which the tripartite

50 *JASB.*, 1891, pt. I, p. 90.

ya has been used Bühler observed that it "makes a modification of Hoernle's argument necessary but does not invalidate his final result." R. D. Banerjee[51] was wrong in his observation that one principal characteristic of the alphabets in North-Eastern India in the period 550-650 A.D. was the use of the tripartite form of *ya*. He asserts that the Bodh-Gayā inscription of 588 A.D. cannot be taken to represent the ordinary Eastern variety, though he does not assign any reason whatsoever. He takes the use of the bipartite form in the Ganjam plate of 619-20 A.D. as exceptional. This form has been used in the Faridpur Grants C and D. Still more unwarranted is the general statement[52] of R. D. Banerjee on the strength of the Amauna of Nandana, dated in 602 A.D. and the Nagarjuni Cave inscriptions of Anantavarman that the tripartite form of *ya* lasted about half a century longer in North-Eastern India than in Western India, although the same scholar referred to the use of the tripartite form in the Udayapur inscription of the Guhila Aparajita dated in 659 A.D. It is hardly to be expected that a new form of a letter should be accepted simultaneously by every scribe in every locality. But we shall not be very wrong if we place the displacement of the tripartite form some time about 650 A.D.

(*i*) A wedge or arrow-head in the lower part of *ra* is to be found in the Ganjam plate of 619-20 A.D.

(*j*) The loop of *sa* has become angular.

Alphabets of the period from 650-800 A.D.—Precursors of the Proto-Bengali and Proto-Nāgarī types

In the latter half of the seventh century we find that a great change has come over the North-Eastern alphabets. The change is so marked and in certain respects so fundamental that it may be said that the characters of this period have freed themselves of the Gupta stamp. In place of the simple and upright Gupta characters, we find elaborate ornamentation of many letters by addition of wedges, angularisation of curvatures, slanting of horizontal lines. The acute

51 *Op. cit.*, p. 41. 52 *Ibid.*, pp. 40-41.

angles are more sharpened, and more marked are the twist of the lower ends of the strokes. The Aphsaḍ inscription of Ādityasena is a typical record which shows all the changes. Its characters have been minutely examined by R. D. Banerjee. Though its findspot is outside Bengal and it is a record of the later Guptas of Magadha, it can be taken to be a record of Bengal proper, because the scribe was an inhabitant of Gauḍa. Fleet called the characters of the Aphsaḍ inscription the *kuṭila* variety of Magadha—a term which has since been accepted by many scholars. Bühler pointed out that the term '*kuṭila*' is based on a wrong rendering of the expression '*kuṭila akṣara*' in the Deval Praśasti and was of opinion that it should be excluded from the palæographic terminology. Kielhorn also avoided this term in his palæographic discussion.

The following records of this period should be examined—

1. Aphsaḍ inscription of Ādityasena.
2. Deo-Baranark inscription of Jīvitagupta II.
3. Ashrafpur plates of the Khaḍgas.[53]
4. Deulbāḍī image inscription of Queen Prabhāvatī.
5. Nālandā Stone inscription of the time of Yaśovarman.
6. Nelpur grant of Śubhakara.[55]
7. Bodh-Gayā inscription of the 26th year of Dharmapāla.

New transformation of the *ka*, *bha*, *ya* have been noticed in the transitional period of 550-650 A.D. and the changes in *a*, *i*, *u*, *gha*,

53 Memoirs, *ASB.*, vol. I, no. 6, pp. 85-91; *Dacca University Studies*, vol. I, p. 64.

54 Dr. Hirananda Sastri was wrong in taking this inscription as a record of the 6th century. The alphabets are admittedly of the period 650-800 A.D. The right arm of the looped *ka* has been considerably elongated downwards. The upper horizontal line of *ja* has become the serif, the central one is slanting and the lower one combined with the vertical line has formed two curves. The base line of *ṇa* has almost vanished. The left curve of *la* is considerably lengthened and the vertical line elongated downwards. With these characteristics and the general features of the characters, we have no hesitation in assigning this record to the period 650-750 A.D.

55 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XV, p. 1.

dha, *sa* have also been emphasised. In addition to these developments the following changes deserve attention—

(*a*) The left two sides of the triangle at the bottom of *kha* have formed a curve or a loop.

(*b*) The mango-shaped *cha* of the Gupta time has become angular in this period. This can also be marked in the periods of 550-650 A.D.

(*c*) The most important change is to be noticed in *ja*. The upper horizontal line has become the serif and the lower two are slanted downwards.

(*d*) The base line of *ṇa* is slanting.

(*e*) The loop of *na* in the Aphsaḍ inscription is separated from the main body of the letter and joined by a short horizontal line. The letter somewhat resembles its modern Nāgarī form.

(*f*) The right verticals of *pa, va, ma, ya, la, ṣa* and *sa* are elongated more downwards and the acute angles at the lower extremity are more sharpened.

(*g*) *Ba* is discontinued from this time onwards and the two sides of *va* in the left form a curve or loop.

(*h*) *Śa* assumes various forms. The old Kushan form with the round top is not yet discontinued and is to be found in the Bodh-Gayā inscription of the 26th year of Dharmapāla. It appears in the looped form in the Aphsaḍ inscription which is one of the settled forms of the letter in the 8th and 9th centuries. Yet another form is to be noticed in the Deo-Baranark, Ashrafpur and Bodh-Gayā inscriptions. The right vertical is projected upwards and at the lower extremity of the left curve a small wedge appears like that of *kha* and *ga*. The left curve is joined to the vertical by another curve as in *la*. This form is discontinued for a time but reappears in the eleventh century.

A great change is also to be noticed in the medials *ā, i, ī*. In the Gupta period the medial *ā* is denoted in four or five ways by attaching a hook to the right vertical or left vertical, by raising a straight or curved line over the serif and by addition of a short vertical line from the right of the serif. All these forms are to be found in the Vappaghoṣavaṭa grant. But in this period the last form which ultimately prevailed is generally to be met with and the *ākāra* by

which the medial *ā* denoted is elongated downwards considerably in proportion to the right verticals of the letters. Medials *i* and *ī* are also considerably elongated in the left and right respectively and this is to be noticed in the transitional period of 550-650 A.D. (Vappaghoṣa-vaṭa grant).

Alphabets of the period 800-900 A.D.—Beginning of the Proto-Bengali forms

This is the period in which the origin of Bengali, Nāgarī, and Śāradā alphabets in Northern India can be traced. According to R. D. Banerjee, another variety which he calls "Trans-Indus alphabet of the 9th and 10th centuries" also appears in this period. We are mainly concerned with the origin of the Bengali script. Bengali alphabets have got some peculiar characteristics in respect of certain letters which differentiate them from the neighbouring Nāgarī script. The upward projection of the verticals of *kha, ga, dha, śa* which Bühler calls "horn-like protuberances" was discarded in Nāgarī (except in the case of *dha*) but is still retained in the Bengali Script. So also the opening of triangle or loop at the bottom of *kha*, of the upper right *pha*, the left part of *e*, the upper left of *tha* has been discarded in Nāgarī and is retained in Bengali. Bengali *ṇa* is formed by the complete disappearance of the base line whose vanishing tendency we notice in this period. In Nāgarī the line joining the loop with the vertical in *ma, ya* is at right angles but in Bengali in acute angles. As Bengali and Nāgarī have a common parent, some of these developments can be noticed in Western Indian records of the period but because of the abandonment of these developments in subsequent Nāgarī forms and their continuation and preservation in Bengali forms, this period should be regarded as the beginning of the Proto-Bengali forms. R. D. Banerjee's remarks that "in the alphabet of the Bhagalpur grant of the 17th year of Nārāyaṇapāla we have the proto-Bengali forms almost complete" appears to be correct. Bengal and Magadha were politically united and the same variety of alphabets were used in these two regions. The Bhagalpur grant like the Monghyr

and Nālandā grants of Devapāla, were issued from Mudgagiri. But this grant, like the Aphsaḍ inscription of Ādityasena, should be regarded as a record of Bengal proper, because the scribe was an inhabitant of Samataṭa.

The following records of the period are to be examined—

1 The Chittagong plate of Kāntideva.[56]
2 The Khalimpur plate of the 32nd year of Dharmapāla.
3 Vīradeva Praśasti (Ghoṣarawan inscription of the time of Devapāla).
4 The Monghyr plate of the 33rd year of Devapāla.[57]
5 The Nālandā plate of the 39th year of Devapāla.[58]
6 The Bodh-Gayā inscription of the 7th year of Nārāyaṇapāla.
7 The Indian Museum inscription of the 9th year of Nārāyaṇapāla.
8 The Bhagalpur grant of the 17th year of Nārāyaṇapāla.
9 The Badal Pillar inscription of the time of Nārāyaṇapāla.

Besides these, there are some votive inscriptions of the period viz. the Nālandā Saṅkarṣaṇa image inscription of the time of Devapāla, the Hilsā Statue of the 35th year of Devapāla and two Bihar image inscriptions of the 2nd year of Vigrahapāla.

The following developments are to be marked:—

(*a*) *A*—In Khalimpur, Monghyr, Nālandā and Bodh-Gayā inscriptions a top-stroke covering the left and right limps is to be noticed. It resembles the modern Bengali *a*.

(*b*) *Ā*—In the above mentioned records it is formed by adding a vertical line in the right instead of a comma-shaped curve to the lower extremity of the vertical. The older form has been used in the Chittagong, Ghoṣarawan and Hilsā inscriptions.

(*c*) *U*—The Proto-Bengali form as found in the Ganjam plate and Lokanātha's grant has been used.

56 *Modern Review*, 1922, p. 612.

57 The lost Monghyr plate of Devapāla has been found, and the facsimile is published in *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVIII, p. 304.

58 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVII, p. 310.

(*d*) *E*—In the Monghyr and Nālandā grants and in the Bādal Pillar inscription the left portion of the letter is open, thus resembling the modern Bengali form. "The hypoteneuse has snapped leaving a curve at the top of the vertical and a part of it at the lower end." This form has been used in the later records. The closed form is to be found in Khalimpur, Ghoṣarawan and Bādal inscriptions (in some cases in the last one).

(*e*) The right arm of *ka* is elongated downwards.

(*f*) *Kha*—In Chittagong, Monghyr, Nālandā and Bhagalpur plates and in the Bodh-Gayā and Indian Museum inscriptions the loop or triangle at the lower part of the vertical has opened and in the lower part of the left portion the small wedge has turned into a curve. The resemblance to the modern cursive form of the letter is complete.

(*g*) *Ga*—The small wedge at the lower extremity of the left has, like that of *kha*, turned into a curve. The left portion does not merge in the vertical but the vertical is projected upwards. It is approaching the modern Bengali form.

(*h*) *Gha*—The middle vertical is vanishing, the base line in the left is raised higher and the upper part of the letter is shortened in breadth. Though the looped form is not yet complete, there is strong tendency to be so.

(*i*) *Ja*—The upper horizontal line has become the serif, the middle one is slanted downwards and the lower one forms a double curve.

(*j*) *N̄a*—This letter is to be found in ligatures only. In the Khalimpur and Bhagalpur grants its approach to modern form is to be noticed even in ligatures.

(*k*) *Ṭa*—In the ancient form the letter is a semi-circle. In the Khalimpur grant the letter consists of a vertical line attached to the right of the top-stroke and a curve attached to the left of the top-stroke by means of another curve. But in the Bhagalpur grant the right vertical is shortened in length and the upper curve in the left looks like a slanting line. In this form the letter is to be found up to the 12th century.

(*l*) *Ṇa*—The slanting base line is to be found in the Khalimpur grant. In all other records there is strong tendency of its vanishing.

(*m*) *Ta*—Usually the previous form is to be met with. An instance of the Proto-Bengali form occurs in the Indian Museum inscription in the last word 'iti'. The vertical is converted into a curve and turned to the left.

(*n*) *Tha*—In two instances in the Monghyr and Nālandā grants the left part of the letter seems to be open and resembles the Nāgarī form. But the closed form with a horizontal line in the middle occurs in all other records.

(*o*) *Da*—It appears both in angular and cursive forms.

(*p*) *Dha*—A small opening in the upper part between the vertical and the left portion is noticeable in the Bhāgalpur grant. This form is used in later lines. The acute angle at the lower portion is more pronounced.

(*q*) *Na*—The Proto-Bengali form occurs in the Bādal Pillar and Indian Museum inscriptions. The loop is separated from the vertical line and joined with it by a short horizontal line.

(*r*) *Ma*—In Monghyr, Bodh-Gayā, Indian Museum and Bādal Pillar inscriptions the looped form is to be found.

(*s*) *Ya*—The lower part is decreasing in breadth.

(*t*) *Ra*—The arrow-head is increasing in breadth.

(*u*) *La*—The curve in the left is joined to the vertical by a short slanting line or sometimes the joining line is a curved one.

(*v*) *Śa*—Of all the letters *śa* has got the most checkered career in this period and appears in various forms. Of the two settled forms of the letter one is the looped one and the other may be regarded as the parent of the Nāgarī form. The looped form is to be seen in the Khalimpur, Nālandā, Bhagalpur and Bādal Pillar inscriptions. The other consists of two vertical lines joined by a curve on their upper parts and another curve coming out of the top of the left vertical cuts it and meets the right vertical at its bottom. This form is to be found in the Khalimpur, Monghyr, Nālandā, Bhagalpur and in

subsequent period and in one of the grants inscriptions of the Candras. There are three transitional forms of palatal *śa* in this period. Of the earliest form the left part consists of semi-circular curve with the lingering cross-bar and forms an angle with the vertical but does not merge in it. In one instance it has been used in the Bodh-Gayā inscription of the 26th year of Dharmapāla and frequently used in the Ghoṣarawan inscription and also in some votive inscriptions.[59] There is another variety in which the curve in the left portion does not touch the vertical.[60] Again there is another variety in which the curve in the left does or does not touch the vertical but there is no cross-bar (Bodh-Gayā and Indian Museum inscriptions).

(*w*) *Ha*—It appears in the cursive form and the addition of a small vertical line in the left of the lower part is to be noticed.

In the Bādal, Bodh-Gayā and Indian Museum inscriptions the upper part of *ma*, *ya* and *sa* is closed. Another most remarkable fact is that the modern Bengali forms of the medials *e* and *o* appear for the first time in the Bādal Pillar inscription. The ligatures *kle*, *mba*, *spha*, *vva* in Bodh-Gayā and Indian Museum inscriptions strickingly resemble their modern Bengali forms.

Alphabets of the 10th and 11th centuries—Further development of the Proto-Bengali forms

The following epigraphs of the period are to be examined:—

1 The Vaghiswari Stone inscription of the time of Gopāla II.
2 The Tarkeśvar Stone inscription of the time of Gopāla II.
3 The Bharella Naṭeśvara Image inscription of Layahacandradeva.[61]
4 The Rampal grant of Śrīcandradeva.[62]
5 The Kedarpur plate of Śrīcandradeva.[63]
6 The Edilpur grant of Śrīcandradeva.[64]

59 R. D. Banerjee, *Eastern Indian School of Mediæval Sculpture*, pl XII (a), (b), (c).

60 *Ibid.*, pl. XXV(a), XXVII(a).

61 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVII, p. 349.

62 N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. III.

63 *Ibid.*

64 *Ibid.*

7 The Dinajpur Pillar inscription of the Kamboja king.
8 The Baghaura Image inscription of the 3rd year of Mahipāla I.[65]
9 The Bangaḍ Plate of the 9th year of Mahipāla I.
10 The Nālandā inscription of the 11th year of Mahipāla I.
11 The Sarnath inscription of the time of Mahipāla I.
12 The Kṛṣṇadvārikā Temple inscription of the 15th year of Nayapāla.
13 The Narasiṃha temple inscription of the same year of Nayapāla.
14 The Akṣayavaṭa inscription of the time of Vigrahapāla III.
15 The Gadādhara Image inscription of Viśvāditya.
16 The Bihar Image inscription of the 13th year of Vigrahapāla III.
17 The Amgachi plate of Vigrahapāla III.
18 The Bihar image inscription of the 2nd year of Rāmpāla.
19 The Gaya inscription of Yakṣapāla.
20 The Silimpur Stone inscription of the time of Jayapāla.[66]

One important fact of this period is that the western alphabets also came to be used in Magadha. The Dighwa-Dubhali and Rām-Gaya inscriptions of the Pratihāra emperor Mahendrapāla show a mixture of Western and Eastern (Proto-Nāgarī and Proto-Bengali forms). The same fact is also evident from the occurrence of Proto-Nāgarī *kha, ṇa, ta, ma* and *ba* in the Kṛṣṇa-Dvārikā, Narasiṃha, Akṣayavaṭa and Gaya inscriptions. The circumstances that made the Kamboja chief master of Gauḍa are not properly known but in this record also we find Proto-Nāgarī *gha, ta, na, pa, bha, ma* and *sa*. The Silimpur inscription, though a record of Northern Bengal, was engraved by an artisan of Magadha and shows a mixture of Proto-Bengali and Proto-Nāgarī forms. The Sarnath inscription also shows the same characteristic.

The following developments are to be noticed:—

(*a*) *A, ā, e, kha, ga, ja, ṇa, ṭa, na, da, pha, la, ba, sa* and *ha* are of the previous types.

(b) *I*—It is denoted by two dots and a small line over them. In Kedarpur and Rampal grants a slanting line is coming down from the wedge. It is a step towards the Bengali form.

65 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XVII, p. 349.
66 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, p. 283.

(c) *Ka*—The loop is becoming angular, thus differentiating it from the Nāgarī form.

(d) *Gha*—The upper part is equal in breadth with the lower. The upper part is coming to be closed. It is approaching the modern form.

(e) *Cha*—The acute-angled form is to be found but the upper line of the triangle is becoming horizontal.

(f) *Ḍa*—The round-backed form instead of the acute-angled one is to be found. *Ḍa* of the Dinajpur Pillar inscription is cursive and more advanced.

(g) *Ta*—The right curve has become a vertical line.

(h) *Tha*—The upper part is flattened. It is still closed but the horizontal cross-bar is slanting, thus offering the opportunity to open the upper part.

(i) *Dha*—The open form is used in the Rampal and Kedarpur grants. In Dinajpur, Silimpur and Amgachi inscriptions we find the closed form. In the Amgachi plate a small horn of the upper part of the left portion is seen for the first time. Thus it is approaching the modern form.

(j) *Na*—In the Bangaḍ, Nālandā and Bhạrella inscriptions the looped form has been used. But in all other records the form in which the loop is separated from the vertical and joined by a short horizontal line has been used.

(k) *Ma*—In most cases the line joining the loop and the vertical is slanting, thus differentiating from the Nāgarī form.

(l) *Ya*—The same is the case with this letter.

(m) *Ra*—The arrow-head is gaining in breadth.

(n) *Bha*—The old form is generally used. In Dinajpur and Silimpur inscriptions we find an entirely new form. It consists of a top-stroke, a vertical line and a wedge joined to the left of the vertical line. The wedge has some breadth. It is not unlikely, as R. D. Banerjee has suggested, that the wedge has been formed by closing in of the sides supporting the obtuse and acute angles of the older form. This form may be regarded as the parent of the Nāgarī form.

In this period we have top-strokes over all letters. It is interesting to note that *ru* and *rū* of the Bangaḍ and Nālandā inscriptions resemble the modern Bengali peculiar forms of these two ligatures.

Alphabets of the period from 1100-1300 A.D.—Development of modern Bengali forms

The following records are to be examined—

1 The Vajrayoginī plate of Sāmalavarman.[67]
2 The Bhuvaneśvar Praśasti of Bhaṭṭa Bhavadeva.
3 The Belāva plate of Bhojavarman.
4 The Māṇḍā inscription of the time of Gopāla III.
5 The Kamauli plate of Vaidyadeva.
6 The Deopārā inscription of Vijayasena.
7 The Barrackpore grant of Vijayasena.
8 The Naihāṭī plate of Vallālasena.
9 The Anulia grant of Lakṣmaṇasena.
10 The Govindapur grant of the same.
11 The Tarpaṇdighī plate of the same.
12 The Mādhāinagar grant of the same.
13 The Dacca image inscription of his 3rd regnal year.
14 The Śaktipur plate of the same.
15 The Sundarban grant of Madanapāla of 1196 A.D.[68]
16 The Cambridge MS. No. 1699 of 1198-99 A.D.[69]
17 The Edilpur grant of Keśavasena.
18 The Madanpāḍā plate of Viśvarūpasena.
19 The Calcutta Sāhitya Pariṣat plate of Viśvrūpasena.
20 The Gadādhara inscription of 1232 V.E.
21 Two Bodh-Gayā inscriptions of the time of Aśokavalla.[70]
22 The Janibighā inscription of the time of Jayasena.[71]
23 The Chittagong plate of Dāmodara.[72]

67 *Bhāratvarṣa,* 1340 B.S.
68 *IHQ.*, 1934, p. 321.
69 Bühler, *Ind. Palæography*, Table VI, col XI.
70 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. XII, pp. 27 ff.
71 *JBORS.*, vol. IV, p. 273.
72 *JASB.*, (1874), pt. I, pp. 318-24 and pl. XVIII.

Though Bengali was ultimately superseded in Magadha by Nāgarī, the former was still used in this period in that region. In the Govindapur inscription of the poet Gaṅgādhara of 1137 A.D.,[73] the Nālandā inscription of Vipulaśrīmitra[74] and the Bodh-Gayā inscription of Jayacandra[75] we find the use of almost fully developed Nāgarī forms in the 12th century. But the Gaya inscription of Govindapāla of 1232 V.E., two Bodh-Gayā inscriptions of the time of Aśokavalla and the Janibighā inscription of the time of Buddhasena show that the mixed Nāgarī and Bengali forms were in use in that locality in that century. Though occasionally in some votive inscriptions of later time, Bengali scripts are found, it seems that Nāgarī displaced Bengali in Magadha by the close of the 13th century. This is the period in which the complete development of all modern Bengali forms excepting *ca*, *cha*, *śa* can be seen. In the Deopārā Praśasti Mr. R. D. Banerjee found *a*, *e*, *o*, *kha*, *gha*, *jha*, *ta*, *pha*, *bha*, *ma*, *ya*, *va*, *ṣa*, *sa*, *tha* more or less complete. In the Cambridge Mss. of A.D. 1198-99 Bühler found Bengali forms of *a*, *ā*, *ū*, *ṛ*, *ṝ*, *ḷ*, *ḹ*, *e*, *ai*, *au*, *ka*, *kha*, *ga*, *ta*, *tha*, *na*, *ma*, *ya*, *ra*, *va*, and *sa*.

In four or five epigraphs (towards the close of the 11th and beginning of the 12th centuries we find that a general feature of the letters in them is the hollow triangular wedges appearing as part of the top-strokes. Its beginning is to be noticed in the Vajrayoginī plate of Sāmalavarman and in their complete form the triangular wedges appear in the Bhuvaneśvara Praśasti, Belāva plate, Māṇḍā inscription and Kamauli plate. Occasionally they are to be found in some letters of the Anulia and Tarpaṇdighi plates. "The triangle itself is a modification of the top-stroke with a semi-circle below, occasionally met with in ornamental inscriptions from North Central India, as in Vināyakapāla's plate and in the Candella inscription in Cunningham's *Archæological Reports*, vol. X, plate 33, No. 3." This hollow triangular wedge has been discarded in Bengali. According to Bühler, another peculiarity that has been abandoned in Bengali is the "Nepalese hooks"

73 *Ep. Ind.*, vol. II, p. 330.
74 *Ibid.*, vol. XX, pl. XXI, p. 97.
75 Memoirs, *ASB.*, vol. V, no. 3, pl. XXXII.

attached to the left of letters. Particular letters with hooks which he mentions are *ka* and *ta* and the letters of the Kamauli plate. In the Kamauli plate these hooks are part of the hollow triangular wedges. The hooks of *ka* and *ta* are, no doubt, the part of vertical above the juncture with the triangle and curve respectively. In MSS. of the fifteenth century these hooks are to be found.

The following developments of this period deserve notice:

A—In the Vajrayoginī, Kamauli, Belāva, Naihāṭī grants the left portion is cursive like modern Bengali *kha* and the line joining the curve with the vertical is absent. The Khalimpur variety is generally to be met with in all other records. The small vertical line joining the curve with the top-stroke is present and the line joining the curve with the vertical is slanting. The formation of modern *a* and *ā* is complete.

I—The form in the Kamauli plate is abnormal. According to Bühler, it is of southern origin. In the Māṇḍā inscription it has a wedge over the two dots or circles and beneath them is a comma-shaped curve. In the Belāva and Deopārā inscriptions a slightly curved line is to be found beneath the dots. In the Govindapur grant two dots are joined by a slanting line from the top-stroke is to be found in the Sunderban, Bodh-Gayā and Chittagong inscriptions.

Ī—Rarely to be found. In the Cambridge MSS. the slanting line is placed below the short *i*.

U—The formation is complete in other respects excepting the curve above the serif.

Ū—The formation is like *u* in the Naihāṭī plate by the addition of a curve at the bottom.

E—Complete long ago.

Ṛ, *ṝ*, *ḷ*, *ḹ*, *ai*, are not to be found in the epigraphs but are completely developed in the Cambridge MSS.

O—Complete in the Naihāṭī plate in the Cambridge MSS.

Au—Complete in the Govindapur plate and in the Cambridge MSS.

Aṁ and *aḥ* are also completely developed even before this period. (Amgachi plate).

Ka—The acute-angled Bengali form is to be found generally excepting in the Kamauli plate.

Kha—Complete long ago.

Ga—The upward elongation of the vertical is to be found in the Kamauli, Naihāṭī, Sunderban and Chittagong plates.

Gha—The outward projection of the left limb is to be found in almost all records. But in the Chittagong plate the loop is projected inwardly and the formation of the modern form is complete.

Ca—It continues generally of the old type but a great change is to be found in the Sunderban and Chittagong plates. In these two grants the letter looks like modern Bengali *ṭha*. But it is not yet faced completely in the right direction. "The conversion of the left curve into a line and the right curve in round form happened after the fifteenth century."

Cha—No independent instance is to be found. In ligature it is of the old type.

Ja—In most cases it is to be found with its right limb shortened and consequently less developed than the eleventh century form. The fully developed form occurs in the Naihāṭī grant.

Jha—This letter is to be found in the Anulia and Sāhitya Pariṣat grants. Its development is complete in the latter.

Ña—Long ago complete.

Ṭa—The letter continues to be of the form found in the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla. In the Chittagong grant the vertical line in the right is absent. But the waving curve above the serif is still wanting to complete it.

Ṭha—Not to be found independently. But in ligature its resemblance to the modern Bengali form is almost complete.

Ḍa—The completely developed form is to be found in the Dacca Image and Bodh-Gayā inscriptions and in the Chittagong grant.

Ḍha—The completely developed form is to be found in the Chittagong plate.

Ṅa—The eleventh century form is to be generally met with. But a completely developed form with a single curve in the left and with the vertical considerably projected upwards is to be found in the Chittagong plate.

Ta—In the Vajrayoginī, Bhuvaneśvara and Belāva inscriptions the eleventh century form (the right limb is a vertical line) is to be found. A peculiar form has been used in the Māṇḍā inscription. But in almost all other records the right limb is a curve and is turned to the left. Thus the form is almost complete. A fully developed form occurs in the Cambridge Mss.

Tha—The old form is to be found in the Māṇḍā inscription but in all other records the modern Bengali form is to be met with.

Da—The old form with curved back is generally to be met with. The modern form is to be found in the Bodh-Gayā, Gadādhara inscriptions, in the Cambridge Mss. and Chittagong plate.

Dha—The Māṇḍā inscription shows the old form. In some records we find the open form with the horn. But the modern closed form with the horn occurs in the Dacca Image, Tarpaṇdighi, Sāhitya Parisat inscriptions.

Na—The modern form in all cases excepting the Kamauli grant.

Pa—The old form continues in many records but in the Māṇḍā, Kamauli, Bhuvaneśvara and Deopārā inscriptions we find the transitional form in which the curve in the left has a short inward curve. The fully developed Bengali form in which the curve in the extreme left is joined by two other curves meeting in one point in the vertical is to be found in the Dacca Image, Sunderban, Bodh-Gayā and Chittagong inscriptions.

Pha—Complete in Deopārā, Sunderban and Sāhitya Pariṣat inscriptions.

Bha—The eleventh century form in Māṇḍā, Bhuvaneśvara and Belāva inscriptions. The transitional form occurs in the Kamauli grant. The modern form with the lower curve elongated to the left is to be found in the Deopārā, Naihāṭī, Sunderban, Sāhitya Pariṣat and Chittagong inscriptions.

Ma—Modern form with the acute angle in the lower part occurs in almost all records excepting the Kamauli and Gadādhara inscriptions which show the Nāgarī form.

Ya—The modern angular form is to be found in the Māṇḍā, Belāva, Dacca Image, Kamauli, Naihāṭī, Tarpaṇdighi inscriptions and in the Cambridge Mss. though in some cases the cursive form is to be met with.

Ra—The modern form in all cases excepting in the Māṇḍā inscription.

La—The modern form is to be found in almost all cases. In Māṇḍā inscription in some cases the base line reappears and in the Sunderban the left part consists of a single curve in some cases.

Va—It generally shows the looped and cursive form. The sharpening of the acute angle is complete in the Cambridge Mss.

Śa—The eleventh century form used in all records.

Ṣa—The modern form is used in all cases.

Sa—The letter is generally to be found with hollow wedge but the modern form with solid wedge is to be found in the Deopārā and Sunderban inscriptions and in the Cambridge Mss.

Ha—The cursive form is generally used. The modern form occurs in the Chittagong plate.

The medial *ā* in the Kamauli and Chittagong plates which is formed by the addition of a vertical line is joined to the top-stroke by a short slanting line. The numerals 1,6,7 and 9 are completely developed in this period. In our period the modern forms of *ca*, *cha*, *sa* are not to be found and also the medials *u* and *ū*. The dearth of records, both epigraphic and handwritten, in the latter half of the 13th and 14th centuries, inevitably leads us to trace their origin in the 15th century. The fully developed forms of *ca*, *cha* and *śa* are to be found in Kṛṣṇakīrtana MS. of the 14th-15th century. The fully developed medials *u* and *ū* are to be found even later.

In most of the official records of the Pālas (exception being the Khalimpur and Nālandā plates) we find shorter or longer tails which slant off towards the right below the bottom-line of the letters. These tails also appear in the Kṛṣṇa-Dvārikā and Narasiṃha Temple inscriptions of the time of Nayapāla, the Akṣayavaṭa inscriptions of the time

of Vigrahapāla III and in the Sitalāghāṭ inscription of Yakṣapāla. They are a marked feature of the Mss. of the Pāla period. They are also to be occasionally found in the Sena inscriptions. According to Bühler, these tails become vertical strokes in Nāgarī in *gha, ca, tha, dha, pa, ba, ma, ya, la, va, ṣa,* and *sa,* except in case of *e*. These tails are to be found added to the vertical line which denotes medials, to the two curves of *ja,* to the left curve of *la,* to the right arm of *ka* and even to the two dots of *i*. They occur in parts of the letters from which there could have been no elongation or formation of the verticals. Therefore it seems that these tails should be regarded as ornamentation of the letters but were discarded subsequently.

Writing in 1896 Büler remarked that only a few among the Proto-Bengali letters are local formations and in his opinion *e, ai, na, jña* are local formations. He traced the origin of *ṛ, ṝ, ḷ, ḹ* from the Horiuzi Mss. These letters cannot be found in any epigraph and its next appearance is in the Cambridge Mss. of 1198-99 A.D. It is not known where the Horiuzi Mss. were written. Palæographically they should be assigned to the period 550-650 A.D. and in this period there was not much difference between Eastern and Western alphabets. Bühler found the precursors of Proto-Bengali, *a, ā, ka, na, ma, ya, va, ṣa, sa, tha, ga* and *ṇa* from western records of the 8th-10th centuries. Very few records of the early Pāla period were discovered or known when Bühler wrote his monumental work on palæography and he had no other recourse to trace the origin of these distinctive Bengali forms from Western India. The signs for these letters occur simultaneously in Western and Eastern alphabets. The Western and Eastern alphabets had a common parent and in the 8th-10th centuries the distinction between Proto-Nāgarī and Proto-Bengali was not very fundamental. Therefore some of the developments towards Proto-Bengali forms are to be found in Western records. As we have already said, that the fact that the peculiar signs of these letters were subsequently abandoned in Nāgarī and that they were continued and are being used to the present day in Bengali script leads to the conclusion that they are to be regarded as distinctive Proto-Bengali forms.

PRAMODE LAL PAUL

MISCELLANY

Iconism in India

[*Yakṣas, Mauryas, Mūrtis*]

In the *JRAS.*, 1915 (pp. 413-415), Spooner drew attention to the connection between the Mauryas and iconism, and pointed out the unsatisfactory nature of the explanation generally offered on Patañjali's comment *Mauryair hiraṇyārthibhir arcāḥ prakalpitāḥ* on Pāṇini, v, 3,99 — *Jīvikārthe cāpaṇye.*

In *Bhāratīya Anuśīlana*,[1] 1935 (pp. 59-66), Keith sums up the differences in matter of religion between the Aryans and the Indus Valley civilisation as follows:—"The *Ṛg-vedic* religion is certainly aniconic in principle; the fact that fetishes might exist does not destroy this fundamental feature of the organised cult. On the other hand, iconism seems to permeate the Indus Valley civilisation, proving a very different outlook."

Between 1915 and 1935, new sources have come to light, and new light has come from old sources. It may be profitable to review the whole position of iconography in India with special references to the following points:—

(i) Were the Ṛg-vedic Aryans devoted to icons?

(ii) To whom did the icons referred to belong?

(iii) Relation in time and space between Mūra-deva, Yakṣas, Mauryas and Mūrtis?

(i) Keith is probably right about Ṛg-vedic aniconism. An image, idol or icon may possibly be meant in *ṚV*. IV, 24, 10 where the poet asks, 'Who will buy this my Indra for ten cows? When he has slain his foes he may give him back to me.' But in most cases, the material objects are obviously symbols.[2] Bollensen's reference to idols of Agni

1 *Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaurisankar Hirachand Ojha Commemoration Volume*, Hindi-Sāhitya-Sammelan, Prayāg, 1990.

2 Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, 1897, p. 155.

in *ṚV*. I, 145, 4.5, is inconclusive. But that images were not unknown to the *Ṛg-veda* is clear. As Bollensen[3] says—"From the common appellation of the gods as *divo naras*, 'men of the sky', or simply *naras* 'men', and from the epithet *nṛpeśas*, 'having the form of men,' *ṚV*. III, 4.5, one may conclude that representations in human form were also done. The question is, by whom? Later additions to the Brāhmaṇas, e.g., the Adbhuta-Brāhmaṇa, the last of the six chapters of the Ṣaḍviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa, a supplement to the Pañcaviṃśa-Brāhmaṇa, and the Sūtras refer to idols, but by that time the assimilation of diverse view-points in a synthetic outlook had admittedly reached an advanced stage. Books like Gopinath Rao's *Elements of Hindu Iconography* draw upon the extant Purāṇas which in their present form presume this synthesis.[4] The various sources are practically indistinguishable in time and locality—but are utilised *ad hoc* as in *Rājadharmakaustabha*[5] of Anantadeva (end of the 17th century). This failure to distinguish the initial sources has introduced an element of inconsistency between the subjective and objective evidence, a lack of entente between literature and archæology in the earliest period. The Ṛg-vedic Āryas could not possibly avoid referring to many things they did not approve of but found in vogue among their contemporaries and co-inhabitants of India.[6] Icons were among these. Yāska, Pāṇini and Patañjali do not even support Sāyaṇa's interpretation of *Tīrtha* as a shrine, but explain it simply as a ford.

3 Bollensen, *ZDMG.*, 47, 586 ff.

4 Cf. also Bhattacharya, *Buddhist Iconography*, p. 6 for a similar treatment from eclectic Tantra descriptions.

5 Gaekwad's Oriental Series, vol. LXXII, 1935, pp. 17-101. Temples and Icons.

6 Cf. *śiśnadevaḥ*, ṚV., 7,25; 10,99. "Phallic worship which was known in the earliest Vedic period." Macdonell, *Ved. Myth.*, p. 155.

This is really bætylic as distinguished from iconic proper. }
Ṛgvedic image=anthropomorphisation without representation } aniconic.

Mohenjo-Daro { *Bætylic—liṅga and śālagrāma=śiśnadeva.'*
Siva image worshipped by Nāgas: *Mohenjo-Daro*, vol. I, p. 56 ='mūradeva'. } iconic.

(ii) Who then used these icons?

The story of icons in India is linked with *Yoga* and *Dhāraṇi* In his *Yogasūtras*, Patañjali defines *dhāraṇā* as "the process of fixing the mind on some object well-defined in space." The Buddhist *dhāraṇis* are based on pre-Buddhistic Tantras founded on Yoga. It is significant that in his references to Mauryan images, Patañjali mentions the images of Śiva, Vaiśravaṇa, Skanda and Viśākha—Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, VI. 3, 1—"Śiva and others." What is the historical significance of this peculiar juxtaposition of ideas in Patañjali? Is it a pure coincidence to connect Śiva, image and Mauryas?

Mohenjo-Daro has shown that Yoga, Śiva and icons go back to the 4th millennium B.C. in India.[7]

Scholars, however, are not agreed, to whom this civilisation belonged. It is time to revise this negative attitude. It is admitted that the Vedic Āryas found at least two other peoples—one sufficiently civilised but not their kith and kin,—"*Pūrum mṛdhravācam*, described as Asuras in the *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa;* the other uncivilised,—stigmatised as *dāsa*. But what were their names? Surely they could not have designated themselves as *anāryas*, in view of the fact that they must have preceded the Āryas, and must have had names of their own. In my *Asura India*, I suggested the two terms *Asura* or *Nāga*, and *Niṣāda*. Oppert[8] has called the latter (the autochthonous people) the Bhāratas, the Pañca Janāḥ. There is a fourth term in the Ṛg-veda, viz. Mūradeva. The icons of *mahāyogī* Śiva and of animals, specially the bull Nandivardhana, and of birds, specially the peacock, might belong to these Mūradevas—worshippers of *mūras* or icons.

(iii) Who were these Mūra-devas?

Vigrīvāso Mūradevā ṛdantu, *ṚV*. VII, 104, 24.

Ajihvayā Mūradevān rabhasva, *ṚV*. X, 87, 2, 14.

(*gewisser Unholde*—Böhtlingk und Roth).[9]

'As in the case of the term *Ārya*, *Mūradeva* may be a general designation, covering ethnic entities that have persisted through the

7 Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro*, vol. I, pp. vii, 52-59.

8 Oppert, *The Original Inhabitants of India*, pp. v-vi, 577, 578, 601.

9 Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 206-7, 256, 267.

ages, connoting specific groups though hardly ever denoting the same group or individuals at two different epochs, the similarity of name notwithstanding. This aspect of the generic and specific value of names has not been adequately appreciated in recent discussions. A few instances may be cited.

In *Indian Culture*, vol. II, no. 2, (Oct. 1935), pp. 189 ff., Sten Konow replies to Bhandarkar's interpretation of the *Mahābhāṣya* on Pāṇini, II, iv, 10. regarding the date of the Sakas. Bhandarkar holds that the Sakas were in India in the 2nd century B.C. Konow quotes Ts'ien Han-shu and reiterates his opinion that the Śakas entered India after Patañjali, in the first century B.C. But neither seems to realise that different groups may be meant. As a matter of fact, Śakas are mentioned in the Purāṇas.[13] If the Purāṇas are doubted they are also mentioned in the Mahābhārata, Sabhā 78,99; Bhī. 9,45.

In the *JRAS.*, 1935, Spooner assumed that Patañjali was referring to the royal Mauryas when he was describing the habit of the Mauryas in setting up their images. There is not a trace of evidence to this effect. The word *Maurya* is formed by adding *ṣyañ* to *Mūra*, *Mahābhāṣya*, VIII, 2,1. They were a tribe of long standing. The *Mahāvaṃsa Ṭīkā* (pp. 119-121) says that some Sākiyas being oppressed by King Viḍuḍabha fled to the Himalayas where they built Moriyanagara. Candagutta might have belonged to the Moriya clan settled at Pipphalivana.[11]

In his *Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa*, pp. 18, 19, 24, Jayaswal[12] attempts to equate Buddhapakṣa and Gambhīra of the Yakṣa dynasty with Kadphises I and II. Coomaraswamy in his *Yakṣas*, Part II, Washington, D.C. 1930, has pointed out the manifold ramifications of the Yakṣas from pre-Vedic days. He has adduced literary and archaeological evidence regarding the general character of the Yakṣa type. There were Yakṣas long before Gautama Buddha, and their descendants continued to hold sway long after the Suṅgas. In *Le catalogue géographique des Yakṣa dans la Mahāmāyūrī*, 1915,

10 *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, 1868, part V, p. 851.
11 Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, 1934, pp. 18-9.
12 *Journal Asiatique*, Janvier-Février, 1915, pp. 55-6.

Sylvain Lévi[13] has traced the Yakṣa belt and the kingdom of the *Yue-tche*, and the country of Varṇu noted in Pāṇini.

A comparison of *Mañjuśrī*, Coomaraswamy's *Yakṣas* and Lévi's *Mahāmāyūrī* is instructive. The following premises emerge:

(a) The geographical distribution of Yakṣa history and Yakṣa sculptures agree.

(b) Special sites of Yakṣa cover the Indus valley, the North-West and the Himalayan regions spreading from the west to the east. (i) Thus Varṇu (30, 4. *Mahāmāyūrī*)[14] is mentioned by Pāṇini, 4,2,103 along with Suvāstu, Sindhu and Gandhāra. (ii) Nandivardhana (35,3) associated with Vaiśālī, Puṣkalāvatī and Takṣaśilā, *BEFEO.*, 1905, p. 230.

(c) Jayaswal's *Gambhīrayakṣa* (*Imp. Hist. Ind.*, p. 19—*Mañjuśrī*, G. 62) should be compared with *Mahāmāyūrī*,[15] 101—*Kumbhīro yakṣo Rājagṛhe vipule'smin niveṣikaḥ*.

(d) Intimate association of Yakṣas with *Mayūra* in literature, and of the Mauryas with Mayūra in archæology[16] (*JRAS.*, 1935, p. 413); cf. also *Mohenjo-Daro*, vol. I, p. 349—"We have a bird with a very long, broad tail, which may possibly be a peacock."

(e) The similarity in technique between Yakṣa and Maurya sculptures has been pointed out by Bachhofer in his *Indian Sculptures* under the Saiśunāka statues in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, and the Didarganj image in the Patna Museum.

(f) The name of Nandi, the bull in place names, and its representations in icons and plaques.

I will merely indicate the direction of the conclusion, leaving it to shape gradually with the progress of further research. May it not

13 Cf. *SBE.*, vol. II, 34, 135; also *Jaina-Sūtras*, *SBE.*, 22, p. 286.

14 Przyluski, *Journ. As.*, 1914, vol. II, p. 513.

15 Lévi, *Journ. As.*, *op. cit.*, 1935, p. 41.

16 As regards the persistence of the *mayūra* lāñchana among the Mauryas and Kadambas, see *les origenes de la Heráldica India* (Madrid, Tipografia de Archives. Alśgaga, I, 1934) by H. Heras, pp. 7-9, and LAM. vi).

be suggested tentatively that *mūrti* is a derivative from *Mūra*, worshipped by the earliest pre-Vedic people, the Mūradevas, to whom may be affiliated the Yakṣas and the Mauryas?

The connection between the Yakṣas and the Mauryas, and between these two and the inhabitants of the Himalayan fringe, and their special aptitude for sculptures were noticed by the Rev. Father Metz in his *The Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherry Hills*, Mangalore, 1864, pp. 13-14. This view finds further corroboration in Lieutenant-Colonel Congreve's article *The Antiquities of the Neilgherry Hills*,[17] including an Inquiry into the Descent of the *Thautavars* or *Todas*:

"The Todas were the constructors of the old cairns for the following reasons: 1st. The shape of the cairns. 2nd. The basins and other utensils, knives, arrow-heads, shreds of cloth, mingled with charcoal and bones found in the cairns. 3rd. In both cases these things are deposited in holes under large slabs in the middle of the cemeteries. 4th. *The numerous figures of buffaloes, some with bells round* their necks, made of pottery, are monuments of the antiquity of the Thautawar custom of sacrificing buffaloes decorated with bells at funerals." Breeks[18] has discussed the statement that "the cairns contain agricultural implements, and must therefore have belonged to a comparatively civilized people." Regarding the origin of the remains, and the sculptured cromlechs, compare Grigg, *Manual of the Nilagiri District*, pp. 229-247: "As regards the third class of monuments, none of the present hill inhabitants of the Hills are capable of executing sculptures of even so elementary a degree of art as those on the cromlechs." Whose sculptures were they? The Rev. Father Metz states that such kistvaens are called *Moriaru mane*, house of the *Morias*, and recognises in the latter the Mauryas or Usbeck Tatars.[19] Colonel Congreve referred to the *Scythian* origin of these people and their cairns. The Chinese call them the Yue-Chi, and the

17 *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, 1847, vol. XIV, no. 32, pp. 77-146.

18 W. Breeks, *Primitive Tribes of the Nilagiris*, pp. 72-110

19 Oppert, *The Original Inhabitants of India*, 1893, p. 183.

Vedas, the Purāṇas, the Buddhist and Jaina tradition refer to them as the Yakṣas.

Przyluski[20] has attempted to equate Sanskrit *mayūra-*, *mayūka-*, *marūka-* with a non-Aryan loan-word of the type *marak*. He explains the name Maurya through the Prakrit form *mora-*. He appears to be right regarding the non-Āryan origin. But Khāravela's inscription records the other form *mura-*. From this non-Aryan root in *mura-* there are two words of daily use in northern India:—*muṛa* and *muṛi*, in the sense of a bust.[21]

It is deadly commonplace, but, after all, the commonplaces are the great poetic truths.

A. Banerji-Sastri

20 Przyluski, *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique*, 1925 (79), pp. 98-103.

21 Cf. the *muṛā* and *lejā*, the head and the tail e.g. of a fish. Hindi *moṛā*= shoulders, *mura-ṭhā*=head-gear. Just as Indra is Vṛtrāri, so Viṣṇu is Murāri. In Buddhistic tradition Vaiśravaṇa is the great Yakṣa of bounty (Vaiśravaṇa or Vaiśramaṇa, Pāli Vessavana, Kuvera: *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, and *Suttani-pāta*) and *Mura-jā*, Lakṣmi of plenty. Cf. Mūradeva with Mūraka, *SBE.*, under **Demons**: *mūra-ka* might mean 'maker of *mūra*', i.e. icon.

Vācārambhaṇam

The meaning of the word *ārambhaṇa* in Sanskrit seems to have been somewhat obscure or confused. It occurs in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, VI. 1. 4-6, in the well-known passage: *vācārambhaṇaṃ vikāro nāmadheyaṃ mṛttikety eva satyam.* Śaṅkara explains *vācārambhaṇaṃ* in his commentary there thus: *vācārambhaṇaṃ vāgārambhaṇaṃ vāgālambaṇaṃ ity etat.* This appears to me to be the right explanation.

In the *Brahmasūtra*, II. 1.4 (*tad-ananyatvam ārambhaṇaśabdādidhyaḥ*), evidently the above passage of the *Ch. Up.* is referred to and the word *ārambhaṇa* is quoted. The latter is interpreted differently by different authors. Rāmānuja says: *ārabhyate ālabhyate spṛśyata ity ārambhaṇaṃ, vācā vākpūrvakeṇa vyavahāreṇa hetunā ity arthaḥ*/ Here *ā*+√*rambh* (*rabh*) is shown to be *ā*+ √*labh* 'to touch'. Raṅgarāmānuja, a follower of Rāmānuja, says in his ṭīkā on the *Ch. Up.* loc. cit. *ārabhyate spṛśyata ity ārambhaṇṃ.* Then he proceeds, evidently in order to refute the explanation given by Śaṅkara, saying that there is no evidence to show that *ārambhaṇa* means *ālambana.* We shall see later on that this observation is wrong.

Mādhya takes it in the sense of *adhiṣṭhāna* 'basis'. Accordingly the phrase under discussion means that modification (*vikāra*) is a mere 'basis' or object of speech.

Śrīkaṇṭha in his commentary on the *Brahmasūtra*, II. 1. 16, explains the word in the sense of *niṣpādaka* 'that which effects'; *vācārambhaṇaṃ vācāyā abhilāpārthakriyārūpa vyavahārasya niṣpādakaṃ bhavati.* It means that modification effects the use or employment of speech, or, according to him, it may mean that it is only an object of commencement of speech, such as 'this is a jar' (*vācārambhaviṣayamātram*). Vallabha's explanation (*tatra vikāro vāṅmātreṇaiva ārabhyate*°) is not so clear, but it is made so by the commentator, Puruṣottama, when he writes like Śrīkaṇṭha that *ārambhaṇa* means *niṣpādaka.*

In Nimbārka's school *ārambhaṇa* means *vyavahāra* as says Śrīnivāsa in his *Vedāntakaustubha* (*Brahmasūtra*, II. 1. 14): *vācā vāgindriyeṇa ārabhyate vyavahriyate.*

Baladeva explains the phrase saying to the effect that the name 'modification' is begun (*ārabdha*) by the people owing to the use of speech.

Vijñānabhikṣu strikes here quite a different note. He does not think that the above passage of the *Ch. Up.* is referred to here. According to him it is a passage from the *Bṛ. Up.*, IV. 4.2 (*taṃ vidyākarmaṇī samanvārabhete*°). This, however, cannot be accepted. For in that case the actual word in the sūtra would have been *samanvārambhaṇa* and not mere *ārambhaṇa*. He has refuted here Śaṅkara writing the word *ārambhaṇa*, but does not give its meaning.

Śaṅkara's explanation from the *Ch. Up.* is quoted in the beginning of the paper. On the *Brahmasūtra*, II. 1. 14, he simply writes *vācaiva kevalam ārabhyate*. What is the meaning of the last word? Vācaspati in the *Bhāmatī* does not throw here any light, nor does the *Ratnaprabhā*. But on the *Brahmasūtra*, I. 1. 8, where Śaṅkara quotes the *Chāndogya* passage again, Ānandagiri follows Śaṅkara as the latter is found in the *Chāndogya* commentary, and writes: *yo vikāraḥ sa vāgālambanam ucyate*. Such *ṭīkās* or *vṛttis* on the *Brahmasūtra*, II. 1. 14, as the *Brahmāmṛtavarṣiṇī* and *Śaṅkarānandadīpikā*, or the *Bhāṣyārtharatnamālā* take *vācārambhaṇa* as *vāgālambana*, as Śaṅkara himself does.

Now what does *ārabhyate* mean in the above line of Śaṅkara? It cannot be anything but *ālambyate* when he himself explains *vācārambhaṇam* as *vāgālambanam*.

Thus in Sanskrit *ālambyate* may be explained as *ālambanaṃ kriyate* 'being made an *ālambana*'. The word *ālambana* literally means a thing upon which one leans or rests. The object of sense perception is an *ālambana*, the object of one's meditation is an *ālambana*, for, that perception or meditation rests upon it. So *vāgālambana* means the *ālambana* or object of speech. The line of the Upaniṣad implies that modification is merely an object of speech, it is only expressed by speech, only the speech rests on it; it is a mere name, expression.

The question arises: How can Śaṅkara explain *ārambhaṇa* (in *vāg-ārambhaṇa*) as *ālambana* (in *vāg-ālambana*) equating √*rambh* to √*lamb*?

In Pāli we have a word *ārammaṇa* exactly in the same sense as of *ālambana*. The exact Sanskrit word for Pāli *ārammaṇa* is *ārambaṇa*

from √*ramb* which is the same as √*lamb* only *r* being changed to *l*. The use of this root in classical Sanskrit is hardly met with, but in the Vedic we come across it. For instance, in *Ch. Up.* II. 9-4: *vyaṃsu° antarikṣe 'nārambaṇāni* 'the birds in the sky without support.' Śaṅkara explains: *anārambaṇāni anālambanāni.* So in the *Bṛ. Up.*, III. 1-6: *antarīkṣam anārambaṇam* 'the sky without support.' The same passage occurs in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, XIV. 6. 2-7, but with the reading *anārambhaṇa* for *anārambaṇa.*

In the same *Brāhmaṇa* IV, 6. 1-2, the word in the same sense occurs again: *tad ārambhaṇavat* (=*ālambanavat* 'with support').

We come across the word *ārambhaṇa* also in the *Saṃhitās*. It occurs only once in the *Ṛgveda*, X. 81.2 (=*Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā*, XVII. 18): *Kiṃ svid āsīd adhiṣṭhānam ārambhaṇam.* The commentators explain that it means materials (*ārabhyate 'nena ity ārambhaṇam upādānakāraṇam*), but considering the significance of *anārambhaṇa* used thrice in the *Ṛgveda* (I. 116.5, with reference to *samudra* 'ocean'; and 182.6, and VI. 104.3 with reference to *tamas* 'darkness'), and Sāyaṇa's explanation (*ālambana-rahita*) thereof, one can hardly accept it. The sense of *ālambana* is quite appropriate in these cases.

Yāska in his *Nirukta*, X. 32, in explaining *askambhana* in a stanza of the *Ṛgveda*, X. 179.1, writes *anārambhaṇe antarīkṣe* 'in the supportless space' (meaning hereby the intermediate space between heaven and earth). Here we see that for *ālambana* of later days Yāska writes *ārambhaṇa* as in the times of Vedic texts, the *Mantras* and *Brāhmaṇas*.

Gradually *ārambhaṇa* losing its aspiration changed to *ārambaṇa*, from which Pāli had *ārammaṇa*, and later Sanskrit *ālambana*.

It is thus clear that Śaṅkara's explanation of *vācārambhaṇaṃ* is quite right.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

Two Traditions about Ancestry of Yusuf 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur

(1)

Yusuf Beg Sāwi,[1] who afterwards became known as 'Ādil Shāh, was the founder of the 'Ādil Shāhi dynasty, exercised sovereign authority in Gāzāh[2] and worked his will upon the people of the country.[3] Having despotically put in practice the rules of the empire,[4] he struck coins and had the *khutba*[5] read in his own name.

Historians disagree in their opinion about his lineage. The correct version, as given by some of them, is that, he descended from the rulers of Ruhm.[6] They are of opinion that, when consistent with the eternally powerful predestination, Sultan Murad[7] vacated his exalted throne for the coffin in the year 854 H. (A.D. 1450-51). Sultan Muḥammad,[8] his son, in accordance with the testament of his father, added adornment to the throne by his own accession.

The new Sultan had a younger brother Yusuf by name, who for his personal beauty and charm was called the second Joseph![9] Muḥammad

* From *Busatin-us-Salatin*, a history of Bijapur, by Mirza Ibrahim Zubairi written in 1824 but a reliable work being based on older sources.

1 Sāwa (Sava), a town in northern Persia, situated to the west of Qum (Kum).

2 Gāzāh, a town in Syria, situated on the south-west of Jerusalem.

3 در ملک کزه بنام سلطنت حکمرانی کرده و داعیهٔ پادشاهي پیش گرفته لوازم فرمانروائ سر انجام داد

4 بر سبیل استقلال قواعد فرماندهی را کار بستـه

5 Sermon delivered in mosques on Fridays, in which it was the practice to praise God, bless Muhammad and his descendants and pray for the Sultan. This was generally proclaimed in former times by the reigning Sultan or the heir-apparent.

6 Turkey.

7 Ferishta calls him Agha Murad. European historians designate him Amurath II. Gibbon places Amurath's death in 2nd February, 1451.

8 Gibbon (XII. 150) calls him Mahomed II.

9 یوسف ثانی Joseph was the ideal of manly beauty in Eastern tales.

bore a sincere love for his younger brother and he could never part company with him.

Muhammad wishes Yusuf's death

The devoted servants and well-wishers of the court brought to bear upon the Sultan the sentiments of their good will and warned him in private against keeping an intimacy with those who laid any claim to the throne. Such an intimacy, in their opinion, was imprudent and unreasonable, and it was comparable to the act of rearing up of young serpents in the breast of one's garment.[10]

As the ministers had exceeded the limits in their persistence, the Sultan, perforce, yielded to their entreaties.[11] "With regard to this essential proposition," the Sultan said, "two very difficult problems need be considered. Firstly, there comes the question of an unlawful killing of a person for no fault or crime of his. Secondly, one has also to consider the problem of burning out the heart of the mother in the fire of separation from the son." "Now, it is advisable," the Sultan continued, "the mother of Yusuf be referred to, and her opinion in the matter be sought for." Thus, at the orders of the Sultan, the pillars of court set out to the palace of the lady and diplomatically placed the whole matter before her. Yusuf's mother, a prudent lady, that she was, understood everything. She thought that the thing was sure to happen whether she assented or not, and under the circumstances, she should devise some plan of operation. "My opinion is the same as yours," she said to the officers, "but I beseech you to put off the deed for this night, so that, I may be delighted by the interview with my son."[12] "I will," she promised, "hand over my son to you to-morrow morning, or else, I will put him to death with my own hands." The officials thought that the lady was reasonable, and not causing her any further trouble, they returned.

10 از قبیل بچۂ مار بجیب پروردن

11 Ferishta writes that, the Sultan gave orders for his brother to be put to death, and that, the executioners came to demand the child from his mother.

§ The text is here faulty: The word is مناصب and not صیائب

12 The text is قرة العین literally meaning, lustre of the eyes.

Yusuf entrusted to 'Imād-ud-din's care

By chance, there appeared in the city one Khwajah 'Imād-ud-din Gurjistani* from Sāwah with valuable merchandise and Turkish slaves for sale, and among the group of the slaves there happened to be one, who in appearance and beauty resembled Prince Yusuf. Being informed of this, Yusuf's mother invited the merchant to the harem in the darkness of night and purchased from him the aforesaid slave at a very high price. Having prevailed upon him, she entrusted Yusuf to him along with gold and precious jewels. She then emphasised upon the merchant the necessity of keeping the matter a close secret, and exhorted him to leave the harem at night and to make his way towards his native country.

Subsequently, she administered poison[13] to the newly purchased slave the same night and caused the body to be turned blue in colour. Then, towards the end of the night, lamentations arose in the harem, and the mother mourned the loss of her son. Having received the news, the nobles and officers of the court found their way to the harem and brought out the poisoned body in order to give it an adequate funeral befitting a prince. The Sultan, along with some of his courtiers, took his way to the harem for expressing condolence, and then, having, mourned with her and offering her earnest consolations, traced his way back.

Khwajah 'Imād-ud-din, the merhcant, on the other hand, having thus secured affluence and wealth, lost no time in setting out the same night. Reaching Sāwah,[14] his native country, he spared himself no pains to make proper arrangements for the education of Yusuf, who was then seven years old. He appointed wise tutors for the child and

13 Ferishta writes that the slave was strangled. Gibbon (IXVIII. p. 186) is of opinion that Sultan Muhammad, after his accession to the throne, ordered all his brothers to be put to death, but one of them made his escape and accepted Christianity.

* Ferishta says Khwajah 'Imad-ud-din.

14 Ferishta says that the Prince was at first taken by the Khwajah to Arbdeel where he was enrolled among the disciples of Sheikh Suffy. He was taken to Sāvah afterwards.

made perfect arrangements for imparting to him knowledge in science and arts, in etiquette, in the ways of mankind and the rules of kings.

After a year, some confidential persons sent by Yusuf's mother came to Sāwah with money and rare articles, and having served the prince, they returned carrying with them the cheering news of the prince's health.. Sometime after, there again came to Sāwah some servants of the harem[15] with gold and jewels for the Khwajah and having waited upon Yusuf for sometime, they retraced their way back carrying the pleasing news of the prince's well-being. In fact, the same story was repeated every year.

Thus, gradually Yusuf's pedigree was made known to the public. The ruler of Sāwah was an avaricious man. He laid his plans to extort money from the merchant. Being thus distressed and affected with *ennui* at the governor's conduct, 'Imād-ud-din' removed Yusuf to Qum.[16]

Yusuf's dream

Some time after, the governor of Sāwah having drunk the wine of death out of the cup of fate, the Khwajah made up his mind to return to his native place with Yusuf. Meanwhile,[17] Yusuf saw a dream which gave happy news. There appeared a vision of a gentleman with impressions of fortune on his forehead who announced himself as Khwajah Khizir.[18] "Oh Yusuf!" the venerable figure remarked, "be thou determmined to forsake Sāwah and march towards Hindustan. It is there that the tree of thy desire will bear fruit." "It is not," the figure went on, "that thou would'st have thine desired object fulfilled

15 Ferishta writes that Yusuf's old nurse, her son Ghuzunfur Beg and her daughter Dilshad Aga were sent on this occasion. It should here be remembered that Ghuzunfur accompanied Yusuf in his journey to India and was made the general on Yusuf's accession to the Bijapur throne.

16 A city in Persian Irak, situated between Kazwin and Ispahan.

Ferishta is of opinion that the secret of Yusuf's birth was divulged by the indiscretion of his old nurse sent to him by his mother.

17 Ferishta writes that after the Governor's death Yusuf proceeded via Kushan and Ispahan to Shiraj, where he saw the dream.

18 The prophet Khizir or Elias.

after the fatigue of a long journey. Thou should'st join the sovereignty of a great kingdom."

Yusuf kept the dream secret from his comrades, but informed Khwajah 'Imād-ud-din about his intended journey and became solicitous for it. The Khwajah therefore, postponed his return-journey to the native land, took the ship bound for Hindustan and reached the port of Dabul in the year 864 H. (A.D. 1461). The Khwajah remained there for sometime.

Accidently, one day Yusuf set out on a hunting excursion on the sea shore when he felt very thirsty. Suddenly, there came in sight an effulgent figure[19] which resembled one that had appeared before him in dream at Qum. The human form, with a goblet full of sweet water held in his hands, approached Yusuf and addressing him said, "Drink, and make merry! The dream that thou hast seen in the past is true! Fear thee not and be hopeful."

While Yusuf was engaged in drinking and ere had he finished the cup, the figure vanished. This recurrent and enlivening glad tidings made Yusuf overjoyous. He and the Khwajah left Dabul[20] and set out for the capital city Bidar.

'Imād-ud-din's intimacy with Khwajah Gawān

The age was commensurate with the commencement and growth of the fortune and power of Khwajah 'Alā'ud-din Maḥmud Gilāni alias Malik-ul-Tajjār, who afterwards became known as Khwajah Jahān and also as Khwajah Gawān. He attained the position of one of the four ministers of the Bāhmani Kings. Khwaja 'Imād-ud-din sought an interview with Khwaja 'Alā'-ud-din and between the two there grew up a close intimacy on grounds of propinquity and nearness of native places.

Yusuf was appointed a royal attendant

It so happened that, on a certain occasion, Yusuf's striking appearance and engaging manners attracted the attention of Khwajah

19 Ferishta has no reference to this vision.

20 Ferishta writes that, on their arrival at Dabul, the Khwajah and Yusuf became acquainted with a merchant named Khwajah Mahmud Gurjistani.

Jahān. "It is better," the minister addressed 'Imād-ud-din, "that this youth (Yusuf) be included in the circle of Sultan's attendants."[21] Now, there was in those days a custom in the Deccan to appoint the sons of the nobility as royal attendants, who by dint of merit, gradually rose to the top of prosperity by promotion and obtained the ministry.*

At first 'Imād-ud-din refused to give his consent to the proposal thus made, but having received a divine revelation and considering that the offer would ultimately do good to Yusuf, he consented. Thus was Yusuf appointed in the group of royal attendants. It is for this reason that most of the historians not being aware of the truth, look upon Yusuf as a Turki slave got by purchase.[22]

Yusuf became known as Malik-us-Shark

To sum up, after he was appointed a personal attendant of Sultan Maḥmud Bāhmani, Yusuf, with the aid of Fortune and on account of his personal accomplishments, made a rapid rise to power and obtained a high position in the state. The minister bore a parental affection for Yusuf. By gradual stages Yusuf rose to be a grandee of the court[23] and became the general of the Bāhmani forces. He was designated Yusuf 'Ādil Khān and later, *Majlis-i-Rafi* and also *Malik-us-Shark*. In the year 897H (A.D. 1491) he raised the standard of independence at Bijapur[24] and its vicinity.

21 The text reads در جرگه جیلها

* I have here made a free translation. The text runs,

بحسب قسمت باظهار جوهر ذاتی بارج ترقی و کامیابی فایز میگشتند و در قلیل ایام بقوت طالع و مساعدت بخت کامرا گردیده بپایهٔ امارت و وزارت میرسیدند

22 Even Ferishta is of the same opinion. He says that Yusuf was sold as a Georgian slave to the minister Gawān for the royal bodyguard. But Ferishta's account seems to be more authoritative.

23 Ferishta writes that Yusuf became the master of the Horse, and after the death of Mahmud Bahmani rose to the throne of Bijapur and read the Khutba in his own name in the year 895 H. or 1489 A.D.

24 علم استقلال بطرفداری و فرمانروائی بیجاپور و توابع آن بر افراشت

(2)

Yusuf's pedigree as narrated by Rafi-ud-din

Another tradition concerning the ancestry of Yusuf 'Ādil Shāh is based upon the statement of Rafi-ud-din Shirazi. Rafi-ud-din asserts that, in the year 968 H. (A.D. 1560) he left his home with some merchandise and reached the Deccan. At the village called Gogi he found the mortuary of Yusuf 'Adil Shāh and his family and an alms house with an establishment of menials and directors. There were about 100 rectors and a similar number of retainers and other officials. Hafiz Shamsh-ud-din Hazri was one of the superintendents of the sepulchre. He was a pious and an honest soul and in age about four score and ten. He was en experienced itinerant and an old and faithful retinue of Yusuf 'Ādil Shāh, who during the last years of his life had appointed him officer-in-charge of the cemetry. Rafi-ud-din accidentally met Shamsh-ud-din and cultivated friendship with him. The latter narrated to the former the following story about Yusuf's birth and early history.

It was during the reign of Ḥasan Beg Āqqunilu[25] that Shamsh-ud-din resided at Bakr. The Amirs of Jahān Shāh having raised the standard of rebellion and set to quarreling with one another, Ḥasan Beg availed himself of this opportunity and led an expedition against Jahān Shāh. Reaching Tabriz he learnt that Jahān Shāh had passed away. Ḥasan Beg placed his own officers in the country of the deceasd Sultan at Ajarbaijān, Khorāssān, Irāq, Fars and Kirman, and marked out Sāwah and its dependencies for his sister's son Aḥmad Beg.

With great ingenuity Aḥmad augmented his own authority and by rendering justice to military and civil population made good his domination. Under his rule, the aspect of the country changed for better. Aḥmad espoused the daughter of a noble of Sāwah and a son was born

25 A Turkish tribe.

چون هنوز از بقیهٔ ظلمت نکبت مانده بود ظهور طباشیر صبح مرادش مهلتی بایست

of the union. Subsequently, when he departed from this world, his son, Maḥmud Beg, ascended the throne.

Not unlike his father, Maḥmud reigned in conformity with the principles of equity and justice and earned high renown. After a reign of two score years with credit and distinction he met with death in the confusion that followed a riot which resulted from the change of circumstances and from dissension and discord among the nobles. His family was turned adrift.

Yusuf Beg, the eldest son of Maḥmud Beg, who lived at Ispāhān deeming himself not out of the harm's way went to Shirāz and remained there for five years. Being discountenanced by Fortune and in fear of being persecuted by the enemies he felt distressed and made up his mind to migrate to Hindustan. He made his way to Lār where in a certain masjid he saw a dream. A human form, well advanced in years with an elevated forehead and luminous, appeared and offered him a few hot breads. "Thou shalt proceed to the Deccan," the figure spoke, "it is there that thy subsistence awaits thee!" When he rose from slumber Yusuf felt excessive joy, and, in compliance with the divine hint, proceeded to the port of Harun.

Here, Yusuf met by chance, Khwajah Zain-ul-Abedin Sahmnāni who had come from the country of Muḥammad Bahmani with commodities of every variety. The said dealer disposed of his merchandise and made fresh purchases at Harun, and having secured some Turkish slaves was about to set sail when Yusuf met him. Abedin and his associates out of love and commiseration for the young, elegant and robust Yusuf took him on the vessel.

The party reached Bidar and Yusuf remained there for some time with Khān Sālār with whom, while on board the ship, he had picked up an acquaintance. As his star was still on the wane,[26] Yusuf, perforce, had to quit the country and return to his native land. Reaching the city, he repaired to his old abode where he saw a vision. "I had sent thee to the Deccan," some one questioned, "wherefore hast thou been impatient?" Get thee back, and thou shalt be crowned with success!"

Thus, at the recommendation of Fate, Yusuf returned to the Deccan and took up his abode with his old acquaintance, the Khān Sālār. Yusuf conceived of adopting the military profession; he, therefore,

began practising, and soon excelled in, archery, javelin-throwing, sword-playing and wrestling. He opened a gymnasium and trained people in games of skill. Thus he came to the forefront.

It so happened that, there appeared at the capital city Bidar a famous pugilist from Delhi. He had put out of court all his compeers and was regarded the chief-wrestler of the age. On many an occasion he received rewards and benefactions and ultimately secured an imperial firman bestowing on him the title of the "champion fighter." On a certain occasion, the said duellist took the other gladiators, artists and athletes with him and displayed his own skill before the Sultan. He, thus gained an access to the Sultan's favour and became the recepient of gifts and rewards. Further, he looked about for the notable prize-fighters of the locality, took them to the Sultan's presence and made a short work of them in a contest. He then began throwing up his cap and talking big. The nobles of the court enjoyed his demonstrations, but the Sultan knit his brows at the swashbuckler's bravadoes. He prayed that God might produce such a Paladin who could take the wind out of that braggart's sail.

Yusuf, who was awaiting an opportunity for obtaining prominence, sent a petition to the Sultan through his patron the Khān Sālār, requesting his permission for a contest with the vainglorious boxer. The sovereign was pleased to get this representation and he forthwith granted his prayers.

One day, all the famous combatants assembled at the colosseum, and Yusuf, too, with all his followers appeared on the scene of action. At first, for some days the bruisers exhibited their talents, while Yusuf, dressed in the garb of a competitor, remained standing near the arena. The Delhi man looked at the dignified appearance of Yusuf and became irritated, when there was an order from the Sultan asking him to meet Yusuf's group. The champion from Delhi represented that he had a trial of strength with some already and that he would like to meet the yonder young combatant, but prior to this, if he was so permitted, he would send some of his pupils against Yusuf as a tentative measure Yusuf agreed.

Ultimately, some of the Delhi combatants met Yusuf one by one, but each was put to the rout by him. The Sultan now ordered the

leader of the party to join issue with Yusuf and in the contest that took place, Yusuf with great skill and dexterity got a whip hand over his adversary. The air rang with an uproar from the courtiers, and the Sultan, who was greatly delighted, presented Yusuf with special robes of honour, jewels and a large amount of cash. To please the king, the nobles of the court, likewise, conferred robes, gold and jewels on the victor. Yusuf was soon raised to the dignity of an omrah and was appointed the Superintendent of Police. He ably brought under strict control the thieves and robbers of the city and its vicinity and effected safety and order in the country. Every day his star was on the ascendant and he came to occupy a position of eminence and the highest rank till he unfurled the banner of royalty at Bijapur.

K. K. Basu

The Ghorāghāṭ Inscription of Rājā Prāṇanātha

The inscription, now before us, is edited here for the first time from a pencil rubbing kindly supplied by Mr. H. E. Stapleton, the late Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, for the purpose. It comes from a place named Ghorāghāṭ, a village and an important trade centre in the south eastern corner of the district of Dinajpur. Situated on the western bank of the river Karatoyā and thus within the land of salvation (*muktikṣetra*) according to the *Karatoyā Māhātmya*,[1] an early importance of the place can reasonably be assumed. That it was of some consequence in the Hindu times may be gathered from numerous images and image fragments that have been, and are still to be, found there. Unfortunately the early history of this once important place has been shrouded in a mystic sanctity by a tradition, widely current, which connects Ghorāghāṭ (Skt., *Vājighaṭṭa* as we have in this inscription) with Virāṭ Rājā of the *Mahābhārata*, who kept his horses here and had his residence at a place called Virāṭ, some nine miles further south. In the Muhammadan times Ghorāghāṭ was an important military station under a Fauzdar, who had his residence in a fort said to have been constructed by the Hindus. It was connected with Damdama (Gangarampur) by a fine military road constructed by Husain Shah, which eventually formed the basis of a District Board road, still kept up. Another road also runs north from this place and goes to Kamtapur, the capital city of the Khyen kings, Nīladhvaja, Cakradhvaja and Nīlāmbara.

The writing covers a space of $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$ and is arranged in four lines forming a complete verse. The letters are incised and vary in size from $\frac{3}{4}''$ to $1\frac{1}{4}''$. The characters are Bengali. But for '*r*' formed by a triangle with a slanting a cross-bar inside as in modern Assamese, the palæography calls for no special remark. The doubling of '*m*' after the superscript '*r*' is the only orthographic peculiarity.

1 *Karatoyā paścime tīre lohinī yatra mṛttikā* /
Muktikṣetraṃ samākhyātaṃ mahāpātakanāśanam / /
verse 26.

The inscription is dated in the Śaka year 1637 (expressed by a chronogram) corresponding to A.D. 1715, and refers itself to the reign of Rāja Prāṇanātha who, in that year, built at Ghorāghāṭ a temple dedicated to Kṛṣṇa. Rājā Prāṇanātha, the greatest of the Dinajpur Rājās, reigned almost as an independent prince for forty years from A.D. 1682 to 1722. Twelve miles south of the Dinajpur town the fine tank of Prāṇasāgara still commemorates his name. The grand and beautiful temple of Kāntajī at Kāntanagar, 12 miles north of Dinajpur, begun by this prince in 1704 A.D. and the temple at Ghorāghāṭ constructed in 1715 A.D. testify to his extreme devotion for Kṛṣṇa (cf. the epithet, '*Kṛṣṇapādapadmayugmaraṅgabhṛṅgacetasā*' of this inscription). The Ghorāghāṭ temple seems to have been built of stone as the use of the conjunct, *saudha-dhāma*, signifies. *Saudha* in this case ought to be taken to mean a kind of stone (limestone), a meaning which the author of the *Rājanirghaṇṭu* gives.

TEXT

1. *Kaṇṭha-vahṇi-vora-candra-saṃkhya-śāka-hāyane,*
2. *Rasikadeva-tuṣṭaye saudha-dhāma nirmmame|*
3. *Kṛṣṇa-pāda-padma-yugma-raṅga-bhṛṅga-cetasā,*
4. *Vājighaṭṭa-nāmni dhāmni Prāṇanātha-bhūbhṛtā||-*

TRANSLATION

In the Śaka year counted by 1637, in order to please Rasikadeva (Kṛṣṇa) this stone temple was built by the king Prāṇanātha, whose heart was like unto a bee to the lotus-like pair of feet of Kṛṣṇa, in the place named Vājighaṭṭa (Ghorāghāṭ).

SARASI KUMAR SARASWATI

REVIEWS

THE PADYĀVALI of Rūpa Gosvāmin critically edited by Dr. Sushil Kumar De (pages cxliv+296). Dacca University Oriental Publication Series No. 3. Dacca 1934.

It is an anthology, or more definitely, unlike the *Subhāṣitāvalī*, etc., a Vaiṣṇavite anthology, the verses herein being devoted to the *Kṛṣṇa-līlā*. One of its special features is this that the subject-matter being the *Kṛṣṇa-līlā* verses of non-Vaiṣṇavite themes compiled from non-Vaiṣṇava authors is often placed in Vaiṣṇavite context or Vaiṣṇavized by making slight changes here or there.

There were already two editions of the work, but none of them was critical and as such could not meet the demand of modern scholars. It was thus a desideratum, and it is gratifying to note that it is now supplied by Dr. Sushil Kumar De of the University of Dacca, who is already known to us by his writings and specially by his *Sanskrit Poetics*, and from whom we are expecting soon the critical edition of the *Udyogaparvan* of the *Mahābhārata* of the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona.

In preparing the edition he has collated sixteen MSS. of which six belong to the University of Dacca itself, and two were secured from two foreign Universities. In this connexion the difficulty experienced by the editor in securing the MSS. in his own province, Bengal, deserves to be noted as it will show the poor condition under which an Indian scholar is to work even in his own country. Repeated applications for two MSS. were made to the Secretary, Asiatic Society of Bengal, by the authorities of the Dacca University, but in vain. The Vice-Chancellor of the University then asked the editor to see the Secretary personally, but this, too, proved ineffective, the ground offered being that the Society was "not a public institution."

In the present edition for which both the editor and the University of Dacca deserve sincere thanks from every student of Sanskrit, there is an elaborate and very learned Introduction by the editor covering 117 pages. The greater part of it is devoted to the discussion of the

philosophy and the principle of *bhakti* as a *Rasa* as in the school of Caitanyadeva. This helps a reader much in understanding the main work properly.

Then follows the *Padyāvalī* itself. A patient and careful perusal will show what care and labour are required not only in finding out the original and other works in which the verses are found, but also in selecting readings from so many variants in the large number of MSS. including the texts in which the verses originally occur or are cited.

As regards the selection of readings, however, it seems that there are some which are better than those accepted by the editor. For instance, Dr. De reads the verse 328 as follows:

सेयं नदी कुमुदबन्धुकरास्त एव
तद् यामुनं तटमिदं विपिनं तदेतत् ।°

Here in the first line though in the large number of MSS. we have *ta eva*, the reading *ta ete* for it in three MSS. from different provinces appears to us to be much better when we compare *sā iyam* in the first line and *tad* (°*taṭam*) *idam*, and *tad etat* in the second. Or, again, the adopted reading of *d* of 163 is

मनो मे व्यालोलं क्वचन गृहकृत्ये न वलते ॥

Here with ASB and *Bhaktirasāmṛta* the reading *lagati* is preferable to *valate* specially considering the use of √*lag* and not of √*val* with *manas* even in Indo-Aryan vernaculars.

After the text there are Notes on Authors, containing valuable information about them. Then follow various Indices making the book as useful as possible. Here the editor could give an Index also of the topics for which the verses are cited.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

THE EARLY HISTORY OF CEYLON by G. C. Mendis, with a Foreword by Prof. W. Geiger. Y.M.C.A. Publishing House, Calcutta 1935.

We are much impressed by this excellent brochure, in which the author has shown great ability and judgment in the marshalling and presentation of a mass of facts within a small compass. He has maintained the style and standard of the works of the Heritage of India Series, and has also fulfilled the object of the Series, namely, to enable people "to know better and to appreciate more fully the treasures, both past and present, of the island of Ceylon."

Though the title of the book is "Early History of Ceylon," it carries the history from the earliest time through the mediæval period up to the advent of the Portuguese during the reign of Parākramabāhu VIII (1484-1518 A.C.). It is divided into three sections: the first (chapters I & II) is confined to the pre-Christian eras; the second, which the author calls the early mediæval period, extends up to the tenth century A.C.; and the third (chapters IV & V) deals with the succeeding five centuries. The topics dealt with in each of these sections are almost mechanically identical: Political History; Agriculture and Irrigation; Buddhism and Hinduism; Literature; Architecture, Sculpture, Painting, and Foreign Relations.

It is a relief to me, and probably so to Prof. Geiger to find that the author who began his research work in London to smash the *Mahāvaṃsa* tradition, has thought it wiser to utilise the reliable data in the Sinhalese Chronicles for a history of Ceylon. In Appendix I, he has dealt with the merits of the Chronicles, and we believe, no one will disagree with his opinion.

The chronology of political events, as the author says, is a tentative one, as much yet remains to be confirmed by further researches and archæological explorations. The information supplied by him about the career of Buddhism in Ceylon, growth of Pāli and Sinhalese literature, gradual development of art, architecture and sculpture, and the activities of the kings in connection with irrigation, is commendable. His treatment of the succession of kings by brothers and then by sons, the administrative departments, the time of composition of Pāli and Sinhalese works in Ceylon, and particularly,

the prevalence of non-Theravāda and Mahāyāna Buddhism in Ceylon, is highly interesting. The author at times makes digressions, which he could have avoided *e.g.* in speaking of the religious belief of the Aryans (pp. 11-12), in giving accounts of the Andhra kings, the Pandyas, Cholas, and Cheras, and the Pallavas (pp. 22-24, 48-49), the Guptas (p. 44-45), and aryanisation of South India (p. 47).

We wish the author had given the Pāli forms along with the Sinhalese names. He has, on the whole, acquitted himself of his task very well. We commend this book to all who seek a knowledge of the history of Ceylon within a short compass.

NALINAKSHA DUTT

SRITATTVACINTĀMAṆI, an authoritative work on Tantra critically edited by Bhuvanmohan Sankhyatirtha and Chintamani Bhattacharyya, Vol. I, 760 pages, No. XIX of the Calcutta Sanskrit Series.

The editor and organiser of the Calcutta Sanskrit Series should be congratulated for having brought out such a large number of useful Sanskrit texts during a very short time. The present volume is a hitherto unpublished Tantric treatise by Paramahaṃsa Pūrṇānanda, who lived in the 16th century and was undoubtedly one of the great sādhakas of Bengal. The work is complete in 26 chapters, of which 19 chapters have now been published. The get-up and printing of the text are praiseworthy and the value of the work has been increased by the addition of a Sanskrit commentary prepared by the editors.

The text is no doubt highly important for the study of the Tantras. It is a compendium like the *Tantrasāra* of Abhinavagupta dealing with various aspects of Tāntric Sādhanā. The importance of the work may be realised from the fact that only one chapter of this work (Chap. VI) was published some years back by Arthur Avalon (Sir John Woodroffe) under the title *Ṣaṭcakranirūpaṇa.* The work was translated and studied by Sir John Woodroffe in his important work "*The Serpent Power* or *the Mysterious Kuṇḍalinī.*"

The present compendium will be helpful to those who want to form a comprehensive idea of the Tantras and go into details. The Tantras once played a preponderating rôle in the history of Bengali culture and it is impossible to fill up the wide gap in its history unless the Tantras are properly studied. It is necessary at this stage to edit critically and publish Tantric texts hitherto lying in manuscripts and all those who collaborate in this arduous task will surely win the praise of the world of scholars.

NALINAKSHA DUTT

VIJAYANAGARA: ORIGIN OF THE CITY AND THE EMPIRE by N. Venkata Ramanayya, M.A., Ph.D. (Bulletin of the Department of Indian History and Archæology, No. 4). Published by the University of Madras, 1933. Pp. iv+191+2 maps.

This is a valuable addition to the recent literature on the great mediæval Hindu Empire of South India. Its keynote is struck in the Preface where the author claims to have based his work exclusively on the evidence of contemporary inscriptions and literature to the more or less complete exclusion of tradition. The application of this sound method has enabled the author not only to disprove a number of current theories on the subject, but also to illumine many a dark corner of the same.

The present work consists of two Parts bearing the titles *'Origin of the City'* and *'Origin of the Empire'* along with five Appendices. In Part I, Ch. I the author appears to have conclusively proved the untenableness of Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's and Father Heras' view that the Vijayanagar city was founded by the Hoysala Vīra Ballāla III. In the following chapter the author demonstrates on sufficiently good grounds his characteristically moderate contention that Harihara I and his preceptor Vidyāraṇya (Mādhavācārya) had some share in founding the city. In Part II, Ch. I, the author subjects to a thorough scrutiny the views of Dr. Aiyangar and Father Heras to the effect that Harihara I was established with the tacit or express consent of Vīra

Ballāla III, and he seems to be on firm ground in rejecting the same. More speculative is the startling conclusion drawn by the author about the antecedents of Harihara I on the basis of the combined evidence of Ibn Batuta, Barani and of the contemporary inscriptions. Proceeding with the family history of Harihara, the author plausibly argues (Ch. IV) as against Father Heras, that Harihara's grandfather was a subordinate of the last Kākatīya king of Warrangal, Pratāparudra II. This theory of the Telegu origin of the family is sought to be supported (Ch. III) by certain indirect lines of evidence, while Heras' objection against the theory is ably met (Ch. IV) by a reference to the political history of the Telugu country in the stormy period following the downfall of the Kākatīyas. The fifth and concluding chapter appears to establish, on the firm foundation of the contemporary inscriptions, the main lines of extension of Vijayanagara especially at the expense of the Hoysala kingdom. The fine appendices are full of informing matter and throw great light on the points with which they deal. An Index of seven pages brings this useful work to a close.

While it may be conceded that the author's painstaking researches have cleared the field of many prevailing misconceptions about the early history of Vijayanagara, his own conclusions are not always above criticism. In particular, it is difficult to understand how Harihara I could be credited with extensive conquests (presumably as an independent sovereign) for some years before 1344, when, according to the author's theory, he apostatised from Islam and threw off the yoke of Delhi. This objection likewise applies to the map (opp. p. 2) which claims to show "the extent of the Vijayanagara Empire in 1340 A.D." i.e. four years before the alleged declaration of independence by Harihara. Equally inexplicable is the insignificant part assigned in this theory to Bukka I whom the author elsewhere (p. 139) declares to be the most prominent of the five brothers who founded the kingdom of Vijayanagara.

U. N. Ghoshal

1 DEVATĀMŪRTI-PRAKARAṆAM and Rūpamaṇḍanam of Sūtradhāra Maṇḍana ed. by Upendramohan Sankhyatirtha with an introduction by Haridas Mitra. Calcutta Sanskrit Series no. 12. Super Royal 8vo., pp. 70 + 187 + 46 + 6; Calcutta 1936.

2. BUDDHAPRATIMĀ-LAKSAṆAM with the commentary Sambuddha-bhāṣita-Pratimālakṣaṇa-vivaraṇī, ed. by Haridas Mitra, Prince of Wales Saraswati Bhavana Studies no. 48. Pages Demy 8vo. iv + 12 + 44 + 6. Benares, 1933.

Competent scholars have already given the learned world a good general idea about the Buddhist, Jain and Brahmanic iconography, derived mainly from a study of the archæological remains. But in spite of the very illuminating treatises and articles written on the subject by Coomaraswamy, Foucher and others, it cannot be said that the subject has been exhaustively discussed in all its major aspects even. Hence the publication of Sanskrit texts like the *Devatāmūrti-prakaraṇa* and the *Buddhapratimā-lakṣaṇa* dealing with Indian iconography have their importance. They add to our knowledge of the subject on many points which can scarcely be illumined by numerous ancient images and their fragments. For example, the *Buddhapratimā-lakṣaṇa* (*BpL.*) describes in details the image of Buddha, while the *Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa* (*DmP.*) of Maṇḍana (1500 A.C.) deals among other things, with the selection of stone for images, the relative height of images as determined by the height of temples, temple-doors and *sanctums*, height of images to be worshipped in an open space, height of big, medium and small standing or seated images, the measurement of images in terms of *tālas*, iconographic description of gods like Viśvakarmā (divine architect), Brahman, Viṣṇu and *Sāvitrī*, twelve kinds of Sūrya, nine planets, ten *dikpālas*, selection of stones for the *śālagrāma*, twenty-four different kinds of images of Viṣṇu and his ten avatāras, different kinds of Rudra (Śiva) images.

The *DmP.* of Maṇḍana is one of the least known among the author's works. It has not been mentioned in the *Dictionary of Indian Architecture* by P. K. Acharya, which otherwise contains a very good account of Maṇḍana's work. Hence scholars interested in Indian iconography will be thankful to the editor and the publishers of the Calcutta Sanskrit Series bringing out a critical edition of the text.

This edition, based though it is on a single ms. with many errors, will be considered useful. The original commentary which the editor gives will, with its numerous quotations from allied literature, render the understanding of this text easier. In the introduction Mr. Haridas Mitra has discussed in detail the time of the author and has given besides a brief account of the entire available literature on *śilpa* which includes iconography, and the place of the *DmP.* in it. Incidentally he has discussed also the principles of reconstructing a text of *śilpa* from corrupt texts. This very informative introduction may be said to have added to the value of the work.

The *BpL.* was noticed as early as 1905 by Mm. H. P. Shastri in his *Catalogue of Palmleaf and Select Paper Mss. belonging to the Durbar Library of Nepal*, vol. II (p. 41). This was, however, not accessible to the scholars before 1933 in which year almost simultaneously two editions of it were published. The one (the volume under review) is by Mr. Haridas Mitra and the other by Mr. Jitendra Nath Banerjee. Each of these editions has its own merit. Mr. Mitra's work contains also the critical edition of the available commentary of the *BpL.* which contains many valuable information and throws welcome light on some difficult passages of the text. In his introduction to this work he gives much useful information about the literature on *śilpa* and *ācāryas* of *śilpa* and determines the lower limit to the date of the work as the 10th century. This text deserves to be carefully studied by students of Buddhist iconography.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

THE DYNASTIC HISTORY OF NORTHERN INDIA: EARLY MEDIÆVAL PERIOD by Dr. Hem Chandra Ray, M.A., Ph.D., Vol. II., pp. xxiii+665-1298. With ten tricoloured maps. Calcutta University Press, 1936.

The second volume of Dr. Hem Chandra Ray's *Dynastic History of Northern India* (Early mediæval period) has seen the light of the day. It is a sequel to its first volume which, as we all know, was very well received by scholars everywhere. We all looked forward for the continuation of the work, hence this much expected second volume is now a very welcome publication. In reviewing this work of Dr. Ray and such other books we should be guided by the spirit of only judging how far the authors have succeeded in advancing scholarly search for historical truth and should leave his views and opinions to be criticised in detail by other workers in the same line of research.

This volume forms an epitome of great laborious work in the field of Indian historical research. The manner in which Dr. Ray has recorded the results of his researches is very scholarly. In this volume the author has attempted a thorough analysis of the political history of the several dynasties that spread their sway in different parts of Northern India during the few centuries before the Turks succeeded in establishing their imperial rule at Delhi. The dynasties dealt with in the book are the Rajput dynasties which had their origin during the weak and later days of the imperial Pratīhāra dynasty. They are the dynasties of the Candellas of Jejābhukti, the Haihayas (or the Kalacuris), the Kachwāhs, the Paramāras, the Caulukyas (or the Solaṅkis), the Cauhans, the Tomars and the Guhilots. The history of these dynasties belongs to a most complicated and obscure period (roughly from the 10th to the 14th century A.D.), and is not much known to scholars in detail. A drastic overhaul of the history of the period under review was a great need and Dr. Ray very properly took up the performance of that work. This period has been usefully divided by the author into five sections in Chapter XIX, *viz.* (1) the period from the fall of Gurjara-Pratīhāra empire to the accession of Mahmud of Ghazni (*c.* 915-998 A.D.), (2) the age of Sultan Mahmud (*c.* 998-1030 A.D.), (3) the period from Mahmud's death to the accession of Cahamāna Pṛthvīrāja III (*c.* 1030-1179 A.D.), (4) the age of

Pṛthvīrāja and the disappearance of Hindu ascendency in Northern India (*c*. 1179-1200 A.D.), and (5) the period of gradual penetration of Islamic power into the outlying parts of India (i.e. after 1200 A.D.). So it may be said without doubt that Dr. Ray's book is an excellent study of the facts that led to the gradual loss of Hindu supremacy in Northern India and the rise of the Islamic power. Generally speaking, readers of Indian history are in the dark regarding the political causes that gradually brought about the loss of Hindu power in Northern India. This book, therefore, though by its own nature, it devotes itself to the compilation of historical materials from various sources, literary, epigraphic and numismatic, for the Rajput dynasties named above, is at the same time a very valuable and authoritative contribution to the problem of the causes of Hindu downfall and will be read by students of history to their great benefit. There are also put in this book original discussions on several historical topics, along with compilation of materials. Chapters XV, XVI, XVIII i.e. those on the Caulukyas, the Cauhans and the Guhilaputras have been treated in a masterly manner. In Chapter XIV Dr. Ray has tentatively accepted the view of Dr. D. C. Ganguly who has tried to trace and establish the Rāṣṭrakūṭa origin of the Paramāras. Dr. Ray's own view that the ancestors of the Guhilaputras of Mewar were originally Brahmans of Ānandapura in Gujerat seems to be a plausible conclusion. To us the history of the outstanding personalities, viz., Candella Dhaṅga, Paramāra Bhoja, Ḍāhala Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva and Lakṣmī-Karṇa, Caulukya Bhīma and Jayasiṃha Siddharāja of Aṇahilapāṭaka, and Cauhana Pṛthvirāja, as given by Dr. Ray appeared to be of absorbing interest. Dr. Ray is perhaps right when he hints that the fall of the Hindu power in Āryāvarta is to be ascribed to the absence of a ruler of the type of Candragupta Maurya, who only could have kept the separate state units under one lord-paramountcy. It is only the Candellas who tried their utmost "to grasp the crown of Imperialism," but failed to stand strongly against the onslaught of the Turkish invaders.

Considering the enormous amount of materials collected for writing the volume, it may be regarded as a monumental work. It is not a "synthetic survey" as owned by the author himself. But it

contains enough materials for future scholars to pursue and prepare more detailed history of each of the dynasties treated in Dr. Ray's volume. The criticism that may be offered is that the nature of the details collected made it impossible to co-ordinate them properly and well in every instance. Another defect that a reader may sometimes meet with is the author's attempt to offer comments, off and on, on some of the words of the texts from epigraphic records—so that sometimes the trend of historoy he tries to make out is disturbed by such occasional comments. But undisputed and uncontroversial points of true history will only come out by such detailed discussions as are made by Dr. Ray.

To find fault with this or that is quite easy, but to produce such a stupendous work is most difficult. Dr. Ray has proved his capacity in handling original sources. His acquaintance with Muslim sources is enormous and use of materials collected from Sanskrit and Prākṛt works is splendid.

Here and there Dr. Ray might have committed some errors because of his following certain opinions held by previous works in the same field. But that should not in any way detract from the great value which the volume must have earned on account of its excellent contents. The book is fully referenced and is based mainly on original sources. The materials have been discreetly and fairly related. The whole work is the outcome of great care and accuracy.

The other good features of the volume are the useful genealogical tables the adequate index, the valuable bibliographies, and the invaluable maps which alone are enough to add to the great benefit that will otherwise accrue from a study of the book.

A synthetic survey of the period under review in a smaller volume is a desideratum and Dr. Ray has promised to write another volume to which we shall look forward with eagerness.

The Calcutta University should be heartily congratulated on the publication of this second volume of Dr. Ray's work.

R. G. Basak

RĀJASTHĀNĪ RĀ DŪHĀ, Part I, edited by Śrī Narottama Dāsa Swāmi, M.A., with a Foreword by Mm. Raî Bahadur Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha: Pilānī Rājasthānī Granthamālā, No. 2. Published by the Navayuga Sāhitya Mandir, Delhi (pp. 117+248).

Sri Narottama Dasa Swami has done good service to the cause of Rājasthānī by publishing this representative and classified anthology of the language. In his learned introduction of 117 pages, he has made rapid survey of its literature, pointed out some of its peculiarities, and indicated in a general way the lines on which the work should be carried further by other workers in the field. Footnotes explain difficult words, and the notes at the end clear up allusions, point out comparisons, and give other necessary details. A few pages on the historical value of the dūhās would have been welcome, and it is hoped that the editor will make up this deficiency in the next edition of the work.

We await eagerly the publication of Part II of the anthology.

DASARATHA SARMA

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, vol. XVII, pt. ii (January, 1936).

HIRALAL AMRITLAL SHAH.—*Vedic Gods.* The paper deals with the nature and identity of several Vedic gods and gives details about the ancient calendar, seasons, vernal and autumnal equinoxes, etc.

H. D. VELANKAR.—*Kavidarpaṇam.* The edition of this treatise on metre in Prākṛt is being continued.

V. S. SUKTHANKAR.—*Epic Studies.* The chronology of the five major commentators of the *Mahābhārata*—Devabodha, Vimalabodha, Sarvajñanārāyaṇa, Arjunamiśra and Nīlakaṇṭha—is discussed in these notes.

Buddhaprabha, vol. 4, no. 2 (April, 1936).

K. A. PADHYE.—*Buddhist Centres in and around Bombay.* Further search for Buddhistic relics in the regions near the Western Coast of India specially at Sopara have been advocated and some objects of antiquarian interest found there have been described in the paper.

Calcutta Oriental Journal, vol. III, no. 6 (March, 1936).

KSHITIS CHANDRA CHATTERJI.—*Some Notes on the Naiṣadhīyacarita of Śrī Harṣa.* It deals with the merits and defects of Śrī Harṣa's poetry. In the course of a comparison of the excellences of some of the stanzas of the *Naiṣadhīya* with those of the *Kumārasambhava,* the former poem has been shown to fall far short of the latter.

M. R. TELANG.—*Ancient Sanskrit Works on Indian Music and its present Practice.* The writer makes a review of the ancient Sanskrit works on music published hitherto and shows that musical theories on particular points have changed from time to time. An appendix supplying names of old authors and works quoted in the musical treatises has been added.

language, its relationship with the European languages and the antiquity of the Brahmanic lore. The reason why Sasseti's discovery went unheeded was perhaps the biblical prejudice in the 16th century against any language other than Hebraic as also the fact that the aforesaid letters said nothing about the morphological structure and the rich literature of Sanskrit.

S. K. Banerji.—*The Opening Year of Humayun's Reign—Expedition to Kalinjar—1539-41.*

C. R. Ray —*The Anthropometry of the Sindhis.* This account about the inhabitants of Sind is based on anthropometrical measurements and observations of 100 individuals.

Jean Przyluski.—*Mudrā.* The uses of the term *mudrā* in the senses of a seal, a mode of holding fingures, and a female consort have been pointed out and the mutual relations of the meanings have been discussed.

S. K. De.—*The Theology and Philosophy of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism.* The subject-matter of this instalment of the paper is the *Paramātma-sandarbha* of Jīva Gosvāmin dealing with the concept of the godhead in relation to nature and spirit.

A. Berriedale Keith.—*Pāṇini and the Veda.* The paper shows that Vedic portion of Pāṇini's grammar is imperfect and unsystematic. It is inconsistent in the use of terminology, and inaccurate in the statement of facts.

C.A. F. Rhys Davids.—*A 'Basic Conception of Buddhism'.* This is a critisism of Prof. V. Bhattacharya's Lectures on the 'Basic Conception of Buddhism.'

Ramesh Chandra Banerji.—*The Vaṅgālas.* A tribe called Vaṅgāla near the northern borders of India at present represented by the Kulu district in the Punjab invaded the Vaṅga country in the 10th century A.C. Vaṅga originally formed the southern half of the eastern part of Bengal. The invaders at first settled in the region to the east of the Brahmaputra, and established themselves later in the southern part of East Bengal.

Amalananda Ghosh.—*Śiva—his Pre-Aryan Origin.*

Adris Banerji.—*The Capital of the Sena Kings of Bengal.* The writer conjectures that the Sena Kings had royal residences at places like

Gaur and Suvarṇagrāma but Vikramapura was their capital, probably renamed Vijayapura by Lakṣmaṇasena with a view to perpetuate the memory of his grandfather Vijayasena.

G. P. BAGCHI.—*The Origin and Home of Pāli.* The conclusions reached in the note are:—

(a) Pāli canons were written before the 3rd century B.C.

(b) Pāli was a standard language of East India, Magadha and its neighbourhood, and

(c) the Khārvela Inscription was written in a developed form of Pāli.

PRAMODE LAL PAL.—*Was there a Bhadra Dynasty in Eastern Bengal?*

BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.—*Somadeva, the Jaina Political Philosopher of the Tenth Century.* The contents of Somadeva's *Nītivākyāmṛta* have been discussed.

B. C. LAW.—*Geographical Data from the Mahāvaṃsa and its Commentary.*

LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN.—*The Ātman in the Pāli Canon.*

Journal of the Assam Research Society, vol. III, no. 4 (January, 1936).

R. M. NATH.—*Mohenjo-Daro and Mithraic Influence on Nāthism.* It has been pointed out that the bull and its head figuring so prominently in the inscriptions discovered at Mohenjo-Daro are associated with several important cults of the world. In Mithraism, a dead bull is the origin of all creations, in Nāthism the sacred father transformed himself into a dead bull and caused the well-known Siddhas to spring from his different limbs, and in Meithism of the Manipur State in Assam, the Supreme Spirit of the Universe assumed the form of a dead cow. Even the mystic symbols of the Tantra may be construed as parts of a bull's head.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.—*A Kāmarūpa Brahman in Kaliṅga in 700 A.D.* A charter found in a village in Ganjam, issued by king Ānandavarman in 700 A.C. records the name of a Kāmarūpa Brahman as the donee.

PADMANATH BHATTACHARYA.—*Buddhism in Assam.* The view that Buddhism ever flourished in Assam is opposed in this note.

Ibid., vol. IV, no. 1 (April, 1936).

B. A. SALETORE.—*A Sumerian Custom and its Historic Indian Parallels.* The burial of the Sumerian kings was accompanied by human sacrifices as the favourites, attendants and queens of the deceased had to die along with him. The object of this paper is to show that in India specially in Karṇāṭaka and Assam there are in historical times some instances showing that many followers of important personages died with their masters.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.—*Mahārāja Pṛthu.* Relying on the local traditions recorded by Buchanan, the writer comes to the conclusion that there was a king called Pṛthu ruling over a tract of land lying in the districts of Rangpur and Jalpaiguri in Bengal. It has been surmised that he was a feudatory chief and the father of Viśākhadatta, the author of the *Mudārākṣasa.*

K. L. BARUA.—*A Rejoinder.* According to Mr. Barua's findings, Pṛthu was an independent king of Kāmarūpa and so could not be Viśākhadatta's father, mentioned as a feudatory chief under Avantivarman.

AMARNATH RAY.—*Buddhism in Assam.* The author of the note opposes the view that Buddhism could never gain grounds in Assam. Traces of the religion associated specially with the later phases of Buddhism are still found in Assam.

K. L. BARUA.—*An Assamese Source of Mughal History.* The *Pādshāh-Burañji* recently published by the Assam Research Society is a chronicle in Assamese embodying a number of episodes connected with the greater Timurids and is thus very important for the history of the Mughal rule in India.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Society, vol. XXII, part 1 (March, 1936).

C. E. A. W. OLDHAM.—*Dantapura and Pālūru in Northern Ganjam.*

K. K. BASU.—*An Approach to the Sīrāt-i-Fīrozshāhī.* This is an English translation of the prologue and epilogue of the *Sīrāt-i-Fīrozshāhī* which is a contemporary Persian record of the reign of Firoz Shāh, the third Tughluq Sultan of Delhi. The narrative covers a period of about twenty years from the Sultan's accession to the throne in 1351 A.C.

RAHULA SANKRITYAYANA.—*Vādanyāya* Dharmakīrti's *Vādanyāya*, edited from a Ms. found in Tibet, contains in this 2nd instalment the criticism of the Nyāya views (nyāyamatakhaṇḍana).

Journal of the Greater India Society, vol. III, no. 1 (January, 1936).

KALIDAS NAG.—*Sylvain Lévi and the Science of Indology.*

J. PRZYLUSKI.—*Greater India and the Work of Sylvain Lévi.*

J. HACKIN.—*Archæological Explorations of the Neck of the Khair Khaneh.* The paper describes the ruined temple and the images of Sūrya and his attendants recently excavated from the Neck of the Khair Khaneh situated to the north-west of Kabul. The images are assigned to the 4th century A.C.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMI.—*The Source of, and a Parallel to, Dionysus on the Beautiful.* A passage from the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* (IV, 15) has been interpreted to show that it contains a parallel to Dionysus' conception of 'an absolute, immutable, and single Beauty or Loveliness in which all several goods and beauties inhere.'

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.—*Non-Aryan Elements in Indo-Aryan.* To the number of Sanskrit words already known to be of Austric origin and affinity, a few more are added.

S PARANAVITANA.—*The Kaliṅga Dynasty of Ceylon.*

J. L. SWELLENGREBEL.—*On the Old-Javanese Korawāśrama.* The article deals with the story of the Kauravas and Pāṇḍavas as given in the *Korawāśrama*, a work in Old-Javanese written in the style of the Sanskrit Purāṇas.

O. C. GANGOLY.—*On Some Hindu Relics in Borneo.* Some Saivaite relics including the representation of a Nandī bull found in Borneo have been described by the writer who conjectures that the island of Borneo may have been the Barhiṇa dvīpa of the *Purāṇas.*

HIMANSU BHUSAN SARKAR.—*A Sanskrit Grammar of Bengal in Java.* That the study of the *Cāndra-Vyākaraṇa* was prevalent in Java is known from a copper-plate inscription of 1365 A.C. discovered in the island. Candragomin, the author of this grammar was born in Varendrī in North Bengal.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH.—*On the Source of the Old-Javanese Rāmāyaṇa Kakawin.* By an examination of the Kakawin, the Old-Javanese work of Yogīśvara, Mr. Ghosh comes to the conclusion that it was partially a translation and partially an adaptation of the *Bhaṭṭikāvya.*

Journal of Oriental Research, vol, X, pt. 1 (January-March, 1936)

V. RAGHAVAN.—*The Number of Rasas.* The writer gives an account of the controversy regarding the recognition of 'Śānta' as the ninth Rasa, and promises to deal with the history of this Rasa as can be traced from works on poetics.

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.—*On the Grammatical Work Si-t 'an-chang.* The writer identifies the *Si-t'an-chang* or Siddha-composition, mentioned in I-tsing's Record as a grammatical work, with the *Kātantra-Vyākaraṇa* of Śarvavarman and inclines to believe that another work, the *Shi-erh-chang* mentioned by Hiuen Tsang refers also to the *Kātantra.*

M. SOMASEKHARA SARMA.—*The Māyalūr Plates of Vinayāditya.* The inscription records a grant made by the Badami Chalukyan ruler Vinayāditya of the 7th century A.C.

C. R. SANKARAN.—*Accentual Variation in Relation to Semantic Variation.* (Continued).

C. SIVARAMAMURTI.— श्रीमद्रामायणे शिल्पम् This is a discussion in Sanskrit on the arts and crafts in the *Rāmāyaṇa.*

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, April, 1936.

GIUSEPPE TUCCI.—*The Ratnāvalī of Nāgārjuna.* The 2nd and the 4th chapters of Nāgārjuna's *Ratnāvalī*, the 1st chapter of which has already been published, are edited here with English translation. The work is in the form of a discourse to a king on *dharma* (mystic and spiritual laws).

Journal of the University of Bombay, vol. IV, pt. iii (November, 1935).

V. A. GADGILL.—*The Āprī Hymns in the Ṛgveda.* Ten hymns of the *Ṛgveda* known as Āprī have been described, translated into English, and annotated.

A. M. SHEMBAVNEKAR.—*The Origin of the Ṛgveda.* The new interpretation given to some Ṛgvedic verses by Dr. Pran Nath is not accepted on the ground that it is founded on mere phonetic semblance, and that the discovery of the name of the people of 'Bhibla' in 'abhivlagya', 'Shir' in 'cid', 'Amaean' in 'amāka' and 'Chaldea' in 'śrādho' requires corroboration.

R. V. JAHAGIRDAR.—*Speculation on Vedic Speculation.* Some of the philosophical hymns in the 10th Book of the *Ṛgveda* have been analysed and interpreted.

A. M. GHATAGE.—*The Text of the Tattvārthādhigamasūtrāṇi.* It is a study of the Jain work, the *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* of Umāsvātī.

P. M. MODI.—*The Scheme of the Brahmasūtras I, 1-3: A Rapprochement.*

Ibid., vol. IV, pt. iv (January, 1936).

H. HERAS.—*The Origin of the Pallavas.* The writer once argued that the Pallavas of South India belonged to the Aryan stock, but now changes his views and supports the theory that they were descendants of the Parthians known also as Pahlavas. They had at first settled in the north-western parts of India and came to the south when expelled from those regions by the Kuṣāṇas.

Poona Orientalist, vol. I, no. 1 (April, 1936).

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.—*Are the Gauḍapādakārikās Śruti?* The writer opposes the views that the *Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad* is a Śruti text and that the Kārikās in the *Āgamaprakaraṇa* are not the compositions of Gauḍapāda.

B. A. SALETORE.—*Some Historical and Quasi-historical incidents in Kauṭalya's Arthaśāstra.* Details about Dāṇḍakya Bhoja and Vātāpi referred to in the *Arthaśāstra* as having brought about their own ruin through licentiousness and arrogance are given from the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata.*

HARA DUTT SHARMA.—*The Meaning of the Word Upacāra according to Gotama and the Rhetoricians.*

P. K. GODE.—*Jayadeva, a writer on Prosody.* A ms. of Jayadeva's *Chandaḥśāstra* and Harṣaṭa's commentary on it are described in the note. This Jayadeva has been quoted by Abhinavagupta (*circa* 10th century A.C.) in his commmentary on Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra*.

—*Campūbhāratatīkā called Candrikā of Pitāmbara Sūri and its probable date—1st half of the 18th century.*

GANGANATHA JHA.—*Nyāyasūtras of Gautama with the Bhāṣya of Vātsyāyana.* Text edited with Sanskrit Notes.

—*English Translation of same.*

Sahitya Parishat Patrika, vol. 42, nos. 3 and 4.

SUKUMAR SEN.—*Grammar of Kṛṣṇakīrtana.* The grammatical peculiarities of the *Kṛṣṇakīrtana* are discussed.

JOGENDRANATH GHOSH.—*An old-edition of the Harivaṃśa of Bhavānanda and the birth-place of the poet.* It is an account of an old edition in Sylhet Nāgarī script of the mediæval Bengali text which has lately been critically edited and published by the Dacca University, the author of which is shewn to have hailed from Sylhet and not from Mymensingh.

BIBHUTIBHUSAN DATTTA.—*Āryabhaṭa and the Theory of the Motion of the Earth.* The theory is supposed to have been promulgated by Āryabhaṭa who is different from and anterior to the famous Āryabhaṭa, the author of the *Āryabhaṭīya*.

BRAJENDRANATH BANERJEE.—History of Bengali periodicals (1864-7).

MANINDRAMOHAN BASU.—*Rāsalīlā of Dīna Caṇḍīdāsa.* Dīna Caṇḍīdāsa is shown to have composed two different sets of poems on the Rāsalīlā, the earlier of which was based on the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* and the later on a tradition which can be traced in work like the *Padyāvalī* and the *Veṇīsaṃhāra.*

BIMALA CHURN LAW.—*Spread of Pāli Buddhism in Southern India.* It is an account of Buddhism and Buddhist literature of South India.

CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA.—*A Number of Terracottas in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣat.* It contains a description of three terracotta figurines assigned to the Gupta period. C.C.

Visvabharati Quarterly, vol. I, pt. iv (January & April, 1936).

HARIDAS MITRA.—*Gaṇapati.*—This continued article traces the gradual development in the conception of the deity Gaṇapati and his worship.

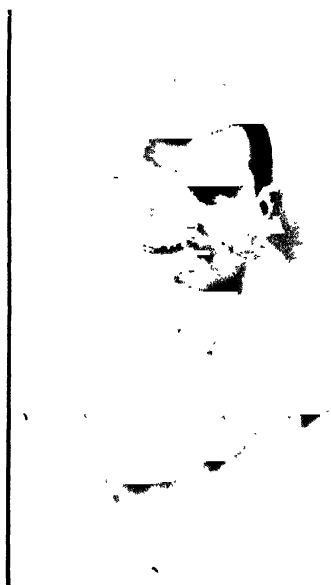
Young East, vol. 5, no. 4 (Winter, 1935).

BEATRICE LANE SUZUKI.—*The Place of Compassion in Mahāyāna Buddhism.*

ROLF HENKI.—*Some Parallels between Buddhist Thought and Conceptions in Modern Science.*

Obituary Notice

Dr. E. E. Obermiller

Dr. E. E. Obermiller (according to the Russian manner of addressing everybody by his Christian name and the name of his father —Evgenii Evgeniewich, i.e., Eugen son of Eugen) was born in St. Petersberg (now Leningrad) on the 29th October 1901. In his earliest youth his extraordinary gifts, especially his never failing memory and great musical capacities, attracted general attention. He received a good education in his family home where great care was bestowed on teaching languages and music. When he entered the Government School he already possessed an almost perfect knowledge of French, German and English. His parents prepared him for a musical career, they had every reason to expect that he would be a celebrated composer and performer. But in the year 19[illegible] when he was already a University student a constitutional illness appeared and that obliged the parents to alter their plans. This illness 'Seringomuelia' was hereditary in the Obermiller family, it was lameness progressive and incurable. The mother of E.E. died of it at the age of 30. As his father died before her the young student Obermiller was left an invalid orphan to the care of two aunts Mrs. Olga Obermiller and Mrs. Elizabeth Schwede. These two devoted ladies did all they could for the life of their dear nephew under the very difficult conditions from which the country suffered during the great war and the revolutions which followed. It was at this juncture that he began at the University to attend to my lectures on Indology and Sanskrit Grammar. He very quickly mastered all the difficulties of Sanskrit Grammar, owing to his quite extraordinary memory he also very successfully went through all other courses of Sanskrit literature which I couducted at that time in the University of Leningrad. When we began the study of Pāṇini on the basis of *Siddhānta-Kaumudī* he was profoundly impressed by, and full of admiration for the greatest Indian linguist, he knew by heart almost every sūtra and cherished for some time a scheme of writing the grammar of the Russian language according to the grammatical sūtra-method of Pāṇini. After that we studied with [illegible]

Dr. E. E. Obermiller

Alamkāra Śāstra on the basis of *Alamkāra Sarvaśva* and the *Dhvanyāloka* when the young student became thoroughly versed in the Śāstra style. I initiated him into Indian philosophy. This is the usual series of courses in Sanskrit which are followed in the Leningrad University. After having acquired a good basis in Sanskrit it became a quite easy task to acquire the knowledge of Tibetan and Mongolian tongues, since the ideas expressed in the respective literatures are thoroughly Indian, the grammar and vocabulary offered—for a man so gifted as was Obermiller—no difficulty at all. After having taken his University degree of Ph.D., Obermiller was engaged by the Academy of Sciences of Leningrad as an under-secretary to the Redactor of the Bibliotheca Buddhica where he at once began to work also as an independent scientific producer. His first works were two Indices verborum Tibetan-Sanskrit and Sanskrit Tibetan of the celebrated work on Logic by Dharmakīrti, the *Nyāya-bindu*. They were executed with the greatest care and thoroughness in every detail; the scientific activity of Obermiller extends only over 8 years, from 1927 to 1935. During these eight years he has produced quite enough to fill up a long and successive life entirely devoted to science. Here is a list of his main works—

1. *Sanskrit and Tibetan Index Verborum to Nyāyabindu, Nyāyabindu Ṭīkā,* edited; Bibliotheca Buddhica, Leningrad 1927.
2. *Tibetan and Sanskrit Indian Verborum* to the same work, Leningrad 1928.
3. *Abhisamayālamkāra*, Sanskrit text and Tibetan translation, jointly edited with Prof. Th. Stcherbatsky, Bibliotheca Buddhica, Leningrad 1929.
4. *Bu-ston's History of Buddhism*, Part I, in the Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus, Heidelberg 1931.
5. The Sublime Science of the Great Vehicle to Salvation, a translation of *Uttaratantra* of Bodhisattva Maitreya with the commentary of Asaṅga, *Acta Orientalia*, vol. IX, 1931.
6. *The Doctrine of Prajñā Pāramitā*, as exposed in the Abhisamayālamkāra of Maitreya, *Acta Orientalia*, vol. XI, 1932-33.
7. *Bu-ston's History of Buddhism*, II, Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus, Heidelberg 1932.

8. The Account of Buddha's Nirvāṇa and the first Councils according to the Vinayakṣudraka, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. V, III.
9. A Study of Twenty Aspects of Śūnyatā, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. IX, 1933.
10. *Analysis of the Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, Fasciculus, I Calcutta Oriental Series, 24.
11. Nirvāṇa according to Tibetan Tradition, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1934.
12. On the meaning on the term '*Śūnyatā*', *Journal of the Greater India Society*, July, 1934.
13. A review of the *Madhyāntavibhāgasūtrabhāṣya-ṭīkā*, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, December, 1933.
14. *'Bhāvanā-krama* as an historical document. Calcutta 1935.
15. *Bu-ston's History of Buddhism* and the *Mañjuśrī-mūlatantra*, *JRAS.*, London 1935.
16. A review of Goddard's *Principle and Practice of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, 1935 *OLZ.*, No. 15.
17. A review of Winternitz's *A History of Indian Literature, vol. II*, *Orientalische Literatur Zeitung*, Leipzig 1935.
18. *Sphuṭārtha Abhidharmakoçavyākhyā* edited by Prof. U. Wogihara and Prof. Th. Stcherbatsky and carried through the press by E. E. Obermiller, *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, XXI, 1931.
19. Additional Indices to the Doctrine of Prajñā Pāramitā as exposed in the Abhisamayālaṃkāra of Maitreya, *Acta Orientalia*, vcl. XI, 1933.

Th. Stcherbatsky

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Uposatha

(A Babylonian Element in Indian Culture)

We possess 36 documents of the neo-Babylonian age, apparently coming from Uruk, and all of which belong to the short period running from the year 13 of Nabû-nà'id to the year 6 of Cambyses. They are monthly statements of sacrificed animals, and one of the items—a list of the sacrificed kids is particularly interesting, because the periodicity of this sacrifice may throw some light upon the question of the "Babylonian sabbath." A study of those documents, by M. C. Fossey, has just been published in the *Revue des Études Sémitiques*, year 1936, fasc. 1, p. ii—ix. Here are the essential results of this work:

The sacrifice of the kid is reported for certain months on:

the 7, the 14, the 21 and the 28,

the 6, the 13, the 20 and the 27,

the 6, the 14, the 21, and the 28,

the 6, the 14, the 21, and the 27,

the 6, the 14, the 20, and the 27.

"The result of the above comparison may be termed thus: the days 7, 14, 21 and 28 of each month, that is to say, the end of each *phasis* of the moon, are marked, as a rule, by the sacrifice of a kid, but there

are many exceptions to this law. The day introduced by the alteration is always an earlier one than the normal date: 6 instead of 7; 21 instead of 28 (coming after a 21st!): 20 instead of 21 (coming after a 14th!). From the 6th we pass on to the 13, and the interval of seven days is observed, or to the 14, which brings us back to the normal date. In the present state of our knowledge, we are unable to explain these anomalies.

A comparison seems called for between this killing of a kid at the end of each period of the moon and the interdictions enumerated, for the same dates,[1] in the hemerologies for the second *Ulûlu* and *Arahśamma*[2] (IVR 32-33):

"The pastor of the many tribes shall eat no meat cooked on the coals, and no roasted bread. He shall not change his shirt. He shall not put on clean (robes). He must offer no sacrifice. The king shall not mount his chariot. He will not speak like a sovereign. On the place of the mysteries, he shall pronounce no word. The doctor shall not touch the sick with his hand. This day is not favourable for the execution of a plan."

The reason for all these interdictions is given at the head of the chapter: the day in question is an inauspicious one (*ûmu limnu*)......

The hemerologies give proof then, and more precisely than our lists, that the days 7, 14, 21 and 28 of each month bore this special character. What does the Jewish sabbath have in common with what has been called "the Babylonian sabbath"?

The Jewish sabbath, as it is practised after the return from the exile, shows two outstanding features: a strict periodicity of 7 days,

1 The same interdictions are expressed in those texts for the 19th day. This has been explained by the fact that the 19th day of the month is the 49th since the beginning of the preceding month, and that 49=7×7. But this is true only when the preceding month is a 30 days one. And where does one find another instance of such a calculation?

2 They can be found again in the fragments of the series *Inbu bêl arhim*, published by Virolleaud, ZA., 19, 377-383, but for other months, and without any dates.

independent of the *phasis* of the moon, and an absolute interdiction from work of any kind. This resting day is not, however, an inauspicious, or a woeful, or a fasting one. Isaiah (58, 13) desires that the "sabbath be considered as a delectation."

This Jewish sabbath, at least since the return from exile, is then in complete opposition to the "Babylonian sabbath." But the Jewish sabbath has evidently gone through an evolution. And if we try to determine the reason why the interval of 7 days was chosen by the Hebrew in preference to others, this one seems the most probable: 7 is the whole number which comes nearest to illustrating the average length of the moon periods: 7 days 1/2; 6 3/4; 7 3/4; 7 1/2.

Like the "Babylonian sabbath," the Jewish sabbath has probably been instituted, originally, in connection with the periods of the moon. The two celebrations, though different in many ways, may have originated in the same custom."[3]

This question of a comparison between the Jewish sabbath, and the "Babylonian sabbath" has often been discussed; but, generally, the Indian facts are not taken into consideration. Whereas Buddhism has propagated an institution, named *uposatha*, and which might be called the "Buddhist sabbath." In the Pali Text Society's *Pali-English Dictionary*, we read, under the word *uposatha*:

"At the time of the rise of Buddhism the word had come to mean the day preceding four stages of the moon's waxing and waning, viz. 1st, 8th,15th, 23rd nights of the lunar month that is to say, a weekly sacred day, a Sabbath. These days were utilized by the pre-Buddhistic reforming communities for the expounding of their views, *Vin.* I.101. The Buddhists adopted this practice and on the 15th day of the half-month held a chapter of the Order to expound their dhamma, *ib.* 102. They also utilized one or other of these Up. days for the recitation of the *Pātimokkha* (*pātimokkhuddesa*), *ibid.* On Up. days laymen take upon themselves the Up. vows, that is to say, the eight Sīlas, during the day. The day in the middle of the month is called

3 *Revue des Etudes Sémitiques*, 1936, fasc, 1, pp. vii-ix.

cātudassiko or *paṇṇarasiko* according as the month is shorter or longer. The reckoning is not by the month (*māsa*), but by the half-month (*pakkha*), so the twenty-third day is simply *aṭṭhamī*, the same as the eighth day. There is an occasional Up. called *sāmaggi-uposatho*, "reconciliation Up.", which is held when a quarrel among the fraternity has been made up, the general confession forming as a seal to the reconciliation."

By this article, it seems that the 14th day of the month, or the 15th, was an uposatha day, "according as the month was shorter or longer," and that in the same fortnight the 14th and the 15th day could not both be successively uposatha. But if we read the 146th sutta of the *Majjhima-nikāya,* we observe that the 14th day of the month was uposatha (*tadahuposathe cātuddase.........*) and that the next day, 15th of the month, was also uposatha (*tadahuposathe paṇṇarase......*).

This is confirmed by two texts of the Vinaya in Pāli: *Mahāvagga* II, 1, 2:

"Now when the Māgadha king Seniya Bimbisāra was alone, and had retired into solitude, the following consideration presented itself to his mind: "The Paribbājakas belonging to Titthiya schools assemble now on the fourteenth, fifteenth, and eighth day of each half month and recite their Dhamma. The people go to them in order to hear the Dhamma. They are filled with favour towards, and are filled, with faith in, the Paribbājakas who belong to Titthiya schools; the Paribbājakas who belong to Titthiya schools gain adherents. What if the reverend ones (the Buddhist Bhikṣus) were to assemble also on the fourteenth, fifteenth, and eighth day of each half month."

Mahāvagga II, 4, 2,:

"At that time the Bhikṣus, considering that it had been prescribed by the Blessed One to recite the Pātimokkha on the Uposatha day, recited the Pātimokkha three times each half month, on the fourteenth, fifteenth, and eighth day of each half month."

We see that, as a rule, there were three uposatha days in each fortnight (*pakṣa*); by exception, when the half-month counted but 14 days, there were only two uposatha days.

The sanctity of the three uposatha days was publicly recognized in Aśoka's time, because, in the 5th Pillar Edict, this king forbids that

animals be mutilated on "the 8th, the 14th, and the 15th day of every half-month."

According to the indications given by the texts, the succession of events can be represented as follows: At the time of the rise of Buddhism, several sects celebrated already the uposatha. This custom was adopted by the Buddhists. By the end of Aśoka's reign it had become a state institution.

This system did not go without some drawbacks. The bhikṣus were no astronomers, and it happened that inside a community some of them counted the day as the fourteenth of the *pakṣa*, whilst others looked upon it as the fifteenth; another number counted the day as the first day of the *pakṣa*, and the rest, as the fifteenth of the preceding *pakṣa*. The *Mahāvagga* II, 34 indicates how the difference must be settled by following the advice of the majority. The need of a more simple system must indeed have been felt.

It seems that back in Aśoka's time, some of the uposatha days must have been regarded as more important than the others. The 5th Pillar Edict forbids the killing of animals on the 8th, the 14th and the 15th of each *pakṣa;* but it forbids even the killing or the selling of fish on the 14th, the 15th, and on the day after the full moon. The 8th, then, was not marked by so many interdictions as the 14th and the 15th.

E. Senart is not definite as to whether the 14 and the 15 mean the 14th and the 15th of the month, that is to say of its first half, or if they are applied to the second half as well.[4] He has chosen the second solution. But, according to modern customs,[5] I think that Aśoka may possibly have had in mind the day before the full moon, and the full moon itself, to the exclusion of the new moon. Moreover, the *Mahāvagga* II, 14, 1, recognizes two uposatha days only: the 14th and the 15th:

> Now the bhikṣus thought: "How many uposatha (days) are there?"

4 *Les inscriptions de Piyadasi*, II, p. 57.

5 Sp. Hardy, *Eastern Monachism*, p. 236.

They told this thing to the Blessed One.

"There are the following two uposatha (days), o bhikṣus, the fourteenth and the fifteenth; these are the two uposatha (days), O bhikṣus."

The word *uposatha* seems obviously to be taken in a sense more limited here than in the older times, where three uposatha days were admitted for one half-month. The ancient system, too complicated, was being simplified.

The Babylonian sabbath had probably remained very near the origins. It is directly inspired by the stages of the moon, the irregular rythm of which it follows, with some unavoidable differences: 7 days 1/2; 6 3/4; 7 3/4; 7 1/2. One meets no difficulties[6] in ascribing the Buddhist sabbath to an influence of the neo-Babylonian system. But the difficulty arises when one tries to understand how the Babylonian sabbath of four days a month, has become in India a system of three days for a half-month. However, things grow clearer if one accounts for the fact that, in Vedic times, the full moon and the new moon were already marked by religious rites and interdictions.[7] The Babylonian system founded upon the stages of the moon, has been added to an Indian system founded upon the half-month periods (pakṣa). The first result, prior to the later simplifications, was a system of 6 uposatha days for the longer months, which was reduced

6 I have studied the problem of Babylonian influences over the civilization of India in: *La ville du Cakravartin*, Rocznik Orientalistyczny, 1929, t. 5, pp. 165-185. To the bibliographical indications which are given in this article, may be added: W. Kirfel, *Die Kosmographie der Inder*, pp. 28-36; J. Przyluski, *L'influence iranienne en Grèce et dans l'Inde*, Revue de l'Université de Bruzelles, 1932; *Le symbolisme du pilier de Sarnath*, in Mélanges Linossier; C. L. Fabri, *Mesopotamian and early Indian art: Comparisons*, in Mélanges Linossier; W. F. Abright and P. E. Dumont, "A Parallel between Indic and Babylonian Sacrificial Ritual" *JAOS.*, vol. 54, pp. 107-128. Moreover, the question has been taken up, taking the researches of Heine-Geldern and Stutterheim into account, in the work of P. Mus, *Barabudur*, which the *Bulletin de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient* is publishing at present.

7 Cf. A. Hillebrandt, *Ritual-Litteratur*, pp. 75, 111-114

to 5 for the short ones. However, as high as it is possible to look back in India, the uposatha system does not enjoy the same elasticity as the Babylonian sabbath: the Buddhist sabbath is celebrated on settled dates; it shows, up to a certain point, though not as freely as the Jewish sabbath, a relative independence towards the stages of the moon.

It can be objected that the observation of the lunar periods is not unlikely to have given birth independently to the week system both in Babylon and in India, so that the uposatha would not necessarily come from a foreign origin.[8] But if the uposatha had been inspired to the Indians by the observation of the stages of the moon, the result would have been different.

In fact, according to the Vedic custom, there were three or four holy days in the lunar month: 1, 15, 16, 30, the last day missing in the 29 days months. Out of these four holy days, 1 and 16 were *pratipad*, they marked the opening of the *pakṣa*. The 15 and 30 only were actually *uposatha*, "fast on the eve of the Soma sacrifice."

The Buddhists replace this ancient custom by the institution of a triple uposatha for each *pakṣa*: 8, 14, 15. This is a positive revolution. Naturally the Buddhists, who have rejected the Vedic sacrifice and extolled fasting and mortification, allow the *uposatha*<*upavasatha* notion to prevail upon that of *pratipad*. The observance of the *pratipad* has, however, survived in India in times after the Buddha, as proved by the 5th Pillar Edict of Aśoka, and even by a text of the

8 Roscher has endeavoured to prove that the division of the lunar month into four quarters is a natural fact, which can have happened spontaneously in different places, (*Die enneadischen und hebdomadischen Fristen und Wochen der älteren Griechen*, in Abhandl. Phil.-Hist. Klasse Sächs. Wissensch. Gesellsch., 1903, t. 21, 4; *Die Hebdomadenlehren der Griechischen Philosophen und Ärzte*, *ibid.*, t. 24). Basing himself upon a work by Andrian, *Die Siebenzahl im Geistlesleben der Völker*, (Mittheil. Anthrop. Gesellsch., Wien, 1901, t. 21, pp. 225-274), he believes to have strongly shaken the notion that the holiness of the number 7 was due to the 7 planets, and therefore to the Assyro-Babylonian astrology. But the facts stated above prove that the uposatha and the "Babylonian-sabbath" were not linked to the number 7.

Pali Vinaya. *Mahāvagga* I, 30, 4 marks a distinction between "meals given each fort-night (*pakkhikam*) each uposatha day (*uposathikam*) or the first day of each fort-night (*pāṭipadikam*)."

In short, the Buddhists have maintained the two Vedic *uposatha* of the 15 and of the 30, to which they have added in each *pakṣa* 2 new days 8 and 14, thus reaching a total of 6 days for each month. If they had considered the astronomical facts, that is to say the 4 stages of the moon, they would have added two days, and two days only, to the two stages already marked by the *uposatha* of the 15 and 30. Therefore, it seems likely that the neo-Babylonian system, based upon the four stages of the moon, has superposed over the more ancient Vedic system.

J. Przyluski

Religious Policy of Aurangzeb*

II

(8) Hindu converts to Islam during Aurangzeb's Reign.

The Annals of Aurangzeb's reign furnish an interesting list of Hindus who were converted to Islam. The proselytizing activity of Aurangzeb seems to start about the year 1666 and remained unabated till the end of his life. The following list has been compiled after an exhaustive study of the original sources of his reign, more particularly the news letters and the correspondence of the period.

Hari Ram Bhagat who had been converted to Islam in December, 1666 was given a daily allowance of As. -/4/- only.

The next set of converts fared better. Surat Singh, Ram Das, Makarkishor, and Chohan Rupa were given dresses of honour on 16th February, 1667; as also was Murari, a Khatri by caste, on May 4, 1667.

In April 1667 the cases of four revenue collectors (Qanungoes) were brought up before the emperor. They had been dismissed for various faults. On April 22, 1667, it was reported that they had expatiated for their short-comings by accepting the true faith whereupon the emperor was pleased to order their reinstatement.

It seems to have soon become bruited abroad that conversion to Islam was a sure method for covering all sins of omission and commission.

On May 4, 1667, another Qanungo, Parmanand similarly embraced Islam and was thereupon honoured with the reward of a dress of honour. On the same day, Mohan Dass Khatri was also similarly honoured.

On September 5, 1669, Prasram and four others were reported to have been converted to Islam.

On January 26, 1670, one Chanda submitted that he was a collateral of Budh Prakash, a Zamindar. If he be set aside and the Zamindari be assigned to Chanda, he declared, he was willing to become a Muslim. Aurangzeb was prepared to accept this time-

Continued from p. 257 of vol. XII.

serving convert, but the minister, Asad-ullah Khan, opposed this manifestly unjust deposition of an innocent Zamindar.

On January 26, 1670, one Gopi Nath was converted to Islam, given a daily allowance of seven rupees and named Aqil Muhammad.

Another attempt at conversion was made the same day. Bhupat Singh requested that his brother Murari Dass be given the vacant chieftainship of Choki Garh. Aurangzeb at once used the occasion for attempting a conversion and ordered that Murari Dass be made the chief of Choki Garh if he accepted Islam. It seems that Murari Dass resisted the temptation held forth to him.

A brother of the Zamindar of Dev Garh accepted Islam and was given the name of Islam Yar. He was at once put into the possession of the Zamindari, superseding the existing chief. A sister of his also followed suit. We find that this estate at last served the purpose of a bait for swelling the ranks of contemporary Muslims. Zorawar Singh and Shayam Singh were made joint chiefs of Choki Garh after their conversion to Islam on 15 Ramadan of the sixteenth year of the reign.

On January 14, 1671, two Hindu converts to Islam were presented to the emperor who honoured them by bestowing robes of honour on them.

One Ganga Ram who had recently accepted Islam was similarly honoured on August 31, 1674.

Devi Chand, Zamindar of Manohar Pur had been dispossessed of his chieftainship and dismissed from his Mansib. On July 12, 1681, he accepted Islam, whereupon he was restored to his rank of a commander of 250 and also given back his estate.

On September 26, 1681, an order was issued that all prisoners who would accept Islam be set at liberty.

On October, 19, 1681, Tola Ram, a Qanungo of Bengal was restored to his office and given robes of honour on his conversion to Islam.

The other converts were Jairam (November 3, 1689); Gaj Singh (October 10, 1692); Muhammad Hayat (October 23, 1692); Sheikh Abdulla (December 8, 1692); Chand Bhan (January 10, 1693); Nurullah (January 11, 1693); Sarvan Sing (April 16, 1693).

On April 17, 1693, a Hindu convict was let off on his being converted to Islam.

Nanhu was given a dress of Honour on October 23, 1693, Achna on November 6, Ganga Ram on November 21, Jiwan, a blacksmith, Sahib Rai, and Bhag Ram on December 3.

In the news-letters of the year 1694, many converts have been mentioned—Sulaiman, Jairam, Suratsingh, Chatar Singh, Shankerji and Hem Raj, Jadun, Ramji, Baliaji, Muttaji, Harilaji, Udairao, Bhikam, Ganga Ram, Ram Rai, Hira, and Man Singh.

Dayant Rai, an erstwhile Qanungo of Sialkot, who had been dismissed sometime earlier, joined the ranks of the true believers and was therefore reinstated to his former position on June 7, 1695.

The following conversions are mentioned in the news-letters of dates given against each name:

Gujar Mal and Ram Singh June 5, 1695.

Ghasi Ram and Bhikam Dass (May 23, 1695).

Monsha Ram (March 13, 1696).

Khandai Rao and Jagan Nath were made prisoners during the course of an imperial expedition in the Deccan. They were converted on May 27, 1700. Several converts are mentioned in the news-letters for the year 1702. On 28th February, one Ghulam Muhammed; on March 9, Ballu; on June 12, Nar Narayan; on November 17, a Maratha Desmukh and a Hindu Chaudhri and on November 18, one Din Dar.

The news-letters for the province of Gujrat speak of the conversion of several Hindus there in the years 46 and 47 of the reign.

The year 1703 yields many cases of conversions, Jodh Chand's conversion is assigned to March 22, 1703. Nam Dev another convert from Hinduism was appointed to the command of 400 on May 2, 1703; Daulatmand Khan, on May 7. On May 10, 1703, an unsuccessful attempt was made to convert Raja Sahu, Shivaji's grandson, on whose refusal Aurangzeb gave orders to Hamid-ud-din to watch for a favourable opportunity. On May 14, however, Kesari Singh was converted. The office of Qanungo seems to have provided another convert on June 26, when Bhim Raj, a former Qanungo of Sialkot, was converted. On September 4, Jawala Nath was admitted to the fold, two days later Jal Nath and others were converted. On the 15th one Muhammad Rashid a new convert is reported to have made his appearance in the imperial court. In the month of November,

several such cases were reported. Shiv Singh, a grandson of Raja Kihhan Dass of Amroha, was converted and reappointed as the Musharaf of Imtiaz Garh on September 10. Sheikh Ghulam Muhammad, a new convert, figures in the news-letter of November 9. Shambhu Nath, a Desmukh who was in prison got its doors opened by conversion to Islam and was restored to his former office on November 22. Sheikh Husain figures in the news-letter of November 30. In the month of December many more cases were brought before the emperor. On December 9 Muhammad Wajih, who had once been Karam Singh, paid his respects to the emperor in the open court. On December 25, Saadat Mand, son of Rai Baikunth, an official in the revenue department, was honoured by an imperial audience Maluk Chand was admitted to the court on December 29.

Lajpat, Amin and Fojdar of Ram Garh owed the State some money. He could not make arrangements for its payment and was therefore imprisoned. While in prison the light of the true faith dawned on him and he submitted that if he be released, he would accept Islam. Orders were at once given for his release. He was brought to the imperial court and on January 15, 1704, the emperor personally initiated him into the true faith. His delinquencies were forgotten and his Mansib was increased from a commander of 250 to 400.

Maratha prisoners provided two more converts this year. After the death of Raja Ram, some members of his family had fallen into the hands of the Mughals. On January 24, 1704, a daughter of his was married to Shamshair Beg. On March, 5, a daughter of Sambhaji, who had probably been converted earlier to Islam after her father's execution was married to Faqir Muhammad.

Several Mansibdars of high ranks figure as converts from Hinduism. Nek Nam who rose to acquire the title of a Raja is mentioned in the news-letters of January 25, 1704. Dalawar, another convert is spoken of as a commander of one thousand in the news-letter of June 17. Shankarji, Zamindar of Patuda, figures in the news-letter of an earlier date, June 13.

As usual the ranks of the Qanungoes provide some more converts. Devi Chand, Qanungo of Sadhora, is mentioned as a convert on February 3, 1704, whereas Mayya Ram, Qanungo of Shamsabad, makes his ap-

pearance as a convert towards the end of the year, on December 10, 1704.

Aurangzeb himself initiated into Islam Sahib Ram and several others on November 4, 1704. On September 4, 1704, Dina Nath, Kotwal of musketeers, was converted and given the Muslim name of Islam Yar.

Several other converts are mentioned in the news-letter of this year. Gajpat was converted on February 7. He was given an elephant on May 11. His sons seem to have soon followed his example and on July 4, they figured as new converts in the court news. Shambhu Nath's conversion is assigned to February 14. In March, Bhupat Rai was converted to become Muhammad Ali. In May, Miraji became Islam Ghalib and Khushal Chand was also converted. In the Court news-letter of June 18, Yudhraj's conversion is mentioned, whereas Bal Kishan and Vir Singh were converted on October 16. Fateh-Ullah figures as a convert in the news-letter of December 14. Yash Karn and a companion of his were converted on March 26, 1705.

On November 26, 1706, when operations against the Jats were brought to a successful termination, Fateh Singh, son of Raja Ram, was converted.

Original authorities other than the news-letters, however, mention several other cases as well which may well be now detailed.

Lun Karn was converted in the year 1705-1706 and given the name of Abdul Latif.[221]

A letter of Aurangzeb recalls a very interesting case. Raja Islam Khan was a convert from Hinduism. He had, so Aurangzeb declared, promised to bring his mother, sister and several others into the true faith before his conversion. Nothing probably was heard of in this connection later on. Aurangzeb therefore caused it to be known that if his sister was willing to accept Islam, she would be married to a grandson of the emperor.[222]

Rao Gopal Singh of Ratanpur was an imperial Mansibdar. He was accompanying Aurangzeb's army in the Deccan and had left his son, Ratan Singh, in the state. The son created trouble in the adminis-

221 *Kārmāma-i-Jethmal*, 168. 222 Kalimat, Letter No. 109.

tration and became a source of grave anxiety to his father. Gopal Singh, thereupon, complained to the emperor and submitted that his son be recalled to the Deccan. Aurangzeb remained silent. To avoid the consequences of his conduct, Ratan Singh had become a convert through the governor of Malwa, who put him in possession of the state. When the father reached his state at last, he found it in the occupation of his Muslim son. Gopal Singh then sought refuge with the Rana. Naturally this preferment of Ratan Singh at his conversion produced a very strong effect. Many members of the younger generation among the Rajputs saw therein an easy way of acquiring territory.[223]

A correspondent of Aurangzeb, to prove his zeal, reported that he had persuaded a Hindu to accept the true faith and probably sought imperial permission for the purpose of bringing him to the court. Aurangzeb wrote to him replying that the best thing was to convert him where he was. But if that was difficult, he might take him to the court of the provincial governor and convert him there. In any case Aurangzeb counselled expedition.[224]

Inder Singh, Qanungo of Rasulpur, petitioned to the emperor that he was willing to be converted. The emperor, thereupon, ordered that he be granted a larger share in the proceeds of the rights of a Qanungo.[225]

The Raja of Palamun was offered better terms if he would accept Islam.[226]

Sobha Shankar Bhadorya became a convert and was given a suitable gift.[227] A Deccanee was converted in 1660 and given Rs. 100.[228] A Chaudhuri of Ahmedabad was converted to Islam and was given Rs. 2000/-.[229] A daughter of Raja Anup Singh Rathor was married to Muazzam. She was first brought to the palace and there converted.[230] Bishen Narain, son of Raja Shiv Narayan of Kuch Bihar, was admitted into the true faith while Aurangzeb's armies were busy in an expedition against his father.

223 *Nuskha-i-Dilkusha*, 130a, 145b.
224 Kalimat, Letter No. 381
225 *Ahkām-i-Alamgīrī*, Rampur.
226 *Alamgīr Nāmā*, 655.
227 *Ibid.*, 567.
228 *Ibid.*, 567.
229 *Ibid.*, 595.
230 *Ibid.*, 648.

Probably the most sensational case of the reign was that of Netoji. He was Shivaji's commander-in-chief. When the Maratha Raja submitted along with Sambhaji, Netoji was given a command of 5000. When Shivaji escaped from Agra, Aurangzeb sent orders to Raja Jai Singh to capture Netoji and to send him to the Imperial Court as a prisoner. Raja Jai Singh carried out his orders and Netoji was sent to Agra. There he seems to have been kept a close prisoner. At last in the words of Abul Fazal Mamuri, he sought release by embracing Islam, though the official annalist would have us believe that he was a willing convert. He was thereupon liberated and given a mansib of 3500.[232] Later on he left the Mughal service and went back to Shivaji. There not only was he taken back into the Hindu fold, Shivaji exalted him by giving him his own daughter in marriage.[233]

In the tenth year of Aurangzeb's reign Kondaji, uncle of Netoji, was also converted.[234]

A son of Gokala Jat was converted to Islam after his father's death and he became one of the most famous reciter of the *Quran* of his days.[235]

On the North-Western Frontier some forty miles from Jalalabad, the inhabitants were converted on the point of the bayonet.[236]

A daughter of Amar Singh, chief of Manoharpur, was, after being initiated into the Muslim faith, married to prince Kam Bakhsh on July 28, 1682.[237]

A daughter of the Raja of Apsas was married to Muhammad Azam in the eleventh year. She also had been converted first.[238]

A Hindu clerk killed the Muslim seducer of his sister. He was compelled to become a Muslim.[239]

'Under the cover of the fact that the rulers are Muslims, they persecute these poor idolators to the utmost and if any of the latter become Muslim, it is in order not to work any more.'[240]

231 *Ālamgīr Nāmā*, 688.
232 Khāfi Khān, II, 207; Cf. *Ālamgīr Nāmā*, 971, 972, & 987.
233 *Marathi Riyasat*, 490, Khāfi Khān, II, 207. 234 *Ālamgīr Nāmā*, 1062.
235 *Maasir-i-Ālamgīrī*, 94. 236 *Adāb-i-Ālamgīrī*, 107b.
237 *Maasir-i-Ālamgīrī*, 211. 239 *Maasir-i-Ālamgīrī*, 73.
239 Bernier, 131. 240 Tavernier, I, 391.

Raja Kishan Singh and his son quarrelled. The son promised to become a Muslim if upheld against his father. He became a Muslim and later on cut the throats of all Muslims.[241]

A letter, written by the President and the Council of Surat on January 22, 1668, suggests a rather ingenius method of making converts. The factors state that trade had been largely obstructed by the fierce bigotry of Aurangzeb and his persecution of the Hindus. "If a Muhammadan had no desire to discharge his debt to the Bania and if the Bania demanded the payment of the same, the Muhammadan would lodge a complaint to the Kazi that he had called the prophet names or spoken contumaciously of their religion, produce a false witness or two, and the poor man was forced to circumcision and made to embrace Islam. Several persons had been thus served to the great terror of all............... This king not at all minding anything of his kingdom gives himself wholly upon the converting or rather perverting the Banias."[242] Forcible conversion of the Hindus at Surat at last drove them to plans of migrating from Surat to Bombay. The English, however, turned down their request. They closed their business at Surat and eight thousand of them marched on to Broach to the emperor who was supposed to be there.[243] What became of their appeal we do not know. The Rajazada of Rajauri became a muslim and was named Luīmaff Allah (*Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, 143). Udai Raj, a clerk of Raja Jai Singh, was converted to Islam and nicknamed as Talih Yar (*Hafi Anjaman*, MS. f. 1a).

A study of these cases brings to light the several methods used by Aurangzeb for the purpose of making converts. Whenever two claimants to a property quarrelled, the most approved method of proving one's title was to become a convert. This provided the most conclusive argument which nothing could upset. Of course the recorded cases only refer to such important disputes as were brought before the emperor. It is unlikely, however, that this 'case made law' of the emperor was not followed by the lower courts who had to deal with minor disputes. Thus worldly advancement was placed as a bait before

241 Manucci, III, 194.

242 *English Factories*, vol. XII, 284. 243 *Ibid.*, vol. XIII, 191.

likely candidates for conversion and it would not be unreasonable to attribute a large number of conversion to this factor. Another method was to make terms with the convicts or suspects. Whatever might be a man's crime, he could expatiate for it by becoming a Muslim. Rebels thus could wash off their rebellions, felons their felonies, whereas the minor crimes of embezzlement and defalcation could be easily compounded for by entry into the charmed circle of the faithful. Economic pressure was also used frankly for the purpose of making converts. The Jizya hit the poorest classes hardest and the Hindu traders paid higher taxes. War was used as a convenient weapon for the purpose of extending the faith and prisoners of war often swelled the ranks of the faithful. The converts, whatever their earlier failings, were always sure of a place at the court, in the imperial secretariat, and in the revenue or the accounts department. In certain cases 'forcible conversions' were also effected.

Popular Hindu and Sikh tradition ascribes mass conversions by force to Aurangzeb's reign. Of course it has heightened the colours in the picture. But the examples quoted above prove that the emperor made it a part of his imperial duty to encourage conversion, personally admit converts to Islam, and grant favours to the initiated. Of the converts it must be said that very few, if any, seem to have changed their faith for religious reasons. Desire to escape civic disabilities or worse, and acquire material benefits formed the motive force in most cases. It may be argued that the religion which these converts shook off so easily must have been sitting very lightly on them. But the history of the world contains a few martyrs and a host of trimmers. Hindu India of Aurangzeb's reign was no exception. The wonder is not that so many were converted but that the vast majority of the Hindus kept their faith amidst so many temptations and such persecution.

9 *Aurangzeb and the Sikhs*

Aurangzeb's relations with the Sikhs raise some controversial questions. When Aurangzeb entered upon the war of succession, Guru Har Rai was the leader of the Sikhs. After the battle of Samugarh, Dara left for the Punjab and is said to have waited upon the Guru whose admirer he had been.[244] The Guru promised him aid and actually

244 *Sikh Religion*, 301.

brought together a body of Sikh soldiers for his help. But when desertions began to take place among the alleged supporters of the unfortunate prince, the Guru also deserted him.[245]

After his accession to the throne, Aurangzeb summoned the Guru to answer for his conduct.[246] The Guru, however, refused to wait upon the emperor in person but thought it politic to conciliate him by sending his son Ram Rai to the court.[247] He was accompanied by two elders of the Sikh community so that he may not deviate from the true path. Ram Rai so deported himself at the capital that the emperor was very much pleased with him. Whether this involved performing miracles as Bakht Mal suggests[248] or interpreting a text from the Adi Granth to Aurangzeb's satisfaction,[249] or both[250] is doubtful. Rather than be pleased at his son's diplomatic conduct, Har Rai marked his disapproval thereof by disinheriting him and appointing his minor son Har Kishan as his successor. Har Rai died on Kārttika 9, Kṛṣṇapakṣa, 1718 A.V.[251] (November, 1661).

Har Kishan succeeded his father. He was yet a minor. Ram Rai preferred his claim before the emperor and had the Guru summoned to the court. Rather unwillingly the boy Guru was taken to the capital by his followers. There he put up at the house of a faithful adherent. But small pox claimed him as its victim and he died on Friday, Chet 4 bright fortnight, 1721 A.V. (9 April, 1665.)[252]

Aurangzeb had meanwhile given in Jagir the present site of Dehra Dun to Ram Rai.[253] Here he built his temple and became the leader of such Sikhs as were prepared to accept his authority. Har Kishan had however left his disciples in a fix as to his successor. He had told them that the Baba of Bakala would be his successor. But there were many Babas (descendants of the Gurus) in Bakala and each claimed to be the successor designated. Tegh Bahadur, a younger son of Guru Har Gobind and the grandfather of Har Kishan was at last accepted

245 *Khulāsat-ul-Tawārīkh*, 13. 246 *Sikh Religion*, 305, Ighalnama.

247 Bakht Mal tells us that the emperor called the Guru to the court because he heard of his miracles 14b. 248 *Tārīkh-i-Sikhān*, 146.

249 *Sikh Religion*, 309. 250 Sohan Lal.

251 Bakht Mal, 15b. 252 *Ibid.*, 16a. 253 *Ibid.*

as the ninth Guru.[254] After a life spent in journeying in various parts of India, Guru Tegh Bahadur had settled at Kiratpur in the present district of Hoshiarpur in the Punjab. Here he seems to have been arrested by imperial officials and brought to the capital. Aurangzeb ordered his execution[255] on Maghar 5, bright half, 1732 (11 December, 1675).[257] This judicial execution has been attributed to various causes by different historians. A Muslim writer attributes it to Tegh Bahadur's refusal to become a Muslim.[257] Bakht Mal ascribes it to the Guru's refusal to perform a miracle[258] and is borne out by the account given in the biographies of the Gurus written by the tenth Guru Gobind Singh.[259] It seems likely that the Guru was arrested as a man who claimed to possess miraculous powers.

The execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur proved a baptism of fire. It helped his son and successor Guru Gobind Singh in transforming the Sikhs into fiery warriors as they proved themselves in the eighteenth century. But for several years after Guru Tegh Bahadur's execution, the emperor, who had left for the south in 1680, left the Sikhs alone. Then towards the end of the year 1693 Aurangzeb heard that Guru Gobind Singh was claiming to be an incarnation of Guru Nanak. He issued an order on November 20, 1693 that the Guru be admonished.[260] This does not seem to have produced much effect. It was soon reported to the emperor that the Sikhs had caused a good deal of disturbance round Lahore and a general order for their massacre was issued.[261]

A Sikh at Agra threw a stone at the emperor while he was returning from his Friday prayers in the public mosque. The Sikh was arrested[262] and must have been subsequently punished.

In the Sarkar of Sirhind a temple of the Sikhs was demolished to give place to a mosque. The Sikhs in their own turn pulled down

254 *Khulāsat-ul-Tawārīkh*, 70. 255 *Ibid.*
256 Bakht Mal, 17a.
257 Quoted in the *Later Mughals*, p. 74n.
258 Bakht Mal, 17a. 259 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, Ch. V. Cf. Trump, 708.
260 News Letter dated November 20, 1693. 261 *Aḥkām-i-Ālamgīrī*.
262 *Maasir-i-Ālamgīrī*, 153.

the mosque and killed the Imam who had been appointed to lead the faithful in their prayers.[263]

Further trouble from the infidel 'worshippers of Nanak' was apprehended and orders were sent by Lutaf Khan, son of Asad Khan, to Khudayar Khan to send his contingent under his son to help Khwaja Husain Khan who had been appointed to put an end to the Sikh disturbances.[264]

The battle of Chamkaur is also spoken of in one of Aurangzeb's letters when artillery from Sirhind was ordered to be mobilised for the imperial attack thereon.[265]

When prince Muazzam was appointed the governor of Multan in 1696, some understanding seems to have been arrived at between the prince and the Sikh Guru. The prince arranged that the Guru be left alone, and the Guru also made up his quarrel with the Mughal Government, advising his followers to pay unto Caeser what was his due.[266]

When the Guru was at last compelled to leave Anandpur two of his sons fell into the hands of the Muslims. They were asked to embrace Islam and on their refusal they were buried alive in a wall of Sirhind. This laid the foundation of another feud between the Sikhs and the Mughals which was later on made use of by Banda so successfully against Aurangzeb's successors.

Some time after this 20,000 Sikhs were killed while they were going to the country of Barkzai Afghans. Their Muslim escort fell on them in co-operation with other Muslim fanatics. We do not know the circumstances which compelled the Sikhs to leave the Punjab and go to the rugged districts on the frontier. It might have been due to the persecution by their Muslim rulers in the Punjab.

Aurangzeb issued orders to prince Shah Alam to imprison the Sikhs and expel them from the districts under his commands.[267]

Thus, though later on the Guru made peace with Aurangzeb, his reign bequeathed a relation of hostility between the Sikhs and the Mughal Government. The Sikhs handed down the bitter memory of

263 *Ahkām-i-Ālamgīrī.*

264 *Inshā-i-Mādhorām*, 83.

265 *Ahkām-i-Ālamgīrī.*

266 *Vicitra Nāṭak*, Ch. XII, last part.

267 Kalimat, 2a.

the execution of the ninth Guru and the burying alive of the tenth Guru's two sons.†

† After some time the Muslims arrested Guru Arjun as a Kafir. His head and feet were put into a press and he was then entrusted to the river. He disappeared into the jaws of the river. He remained the Guru for twenty-four years and nine months. He died on 4th Jaith, bright half, Friday.

After Guru Arjun his son Har Gobind became his successor. In order to avenge himself for his father's execution he began girdling two swords. On his Guruship his followers became very piously inclined towards him. Whosoever became his disciple brought horses and arms as an offering. His followers also began wearing arms.

The dust of quarrel arose between the Udāsis and the Muslims. It is said that they took the meat that was forbidden. Some say this is wrong. Someone asked the Guru, "Why do you wear two swords?" He answered "One is for revenging my father's death on the Muslim, the other for continuing the miracle working power of the saints and prophets." His wife was named Nanaki. Baba Gurditta, Tegh Bahadur, Ani Rai, Atul Rai and Surat Singh were his sons. Ani Rai and Atul Rai died childless. Surat Singh and Tegh Bahadur took refuge in the northern mountains during the life time of their father, being driven thereto by their enemies. Baba Gurditta left two children, Dhiraj Mal and Har Rai. Har Govind remained the Guru for thirtyone years, six months and two days. He died on 10th Chait, bright-half, 1695 A.V.

After Har Gobind, his grandson Har Rai sat on the throne of Khilafat. He lived independently. He had a wife from a gentle family Tarbeni by name. She gave birth to a son who was called Har Kishan. Another son was called Ram Rai. When Aurangzeb heard of the Guru's miracles, he summoned him to his presence. It is said that the Guru excused himself and sent Ram Rai. He told him to keep the secret (of his power). When Ram Rai came before Aurangzeb, he seated him on a well which had been covered on but looked like floor. There was water underneath. He was not however injured. Aurangzeb was taken aback by this and gave a decent place for his stay. It is said that in order to test him, the Sultan sent a sheep for him to eat. He took it and sent a quarter to the spiritual guide of the Sultan. Another day the Sultan asked for the sheep. Ram Rai had not thrown away the skin and the bones of the sheep. He prayed for its life. The sheep rose on its three legs. The Sultan asked him "where is the fourth?" He answered "In the stomach of your spiritual guide." When the Sultan saw his power to work miracles, he sent him away and gave him a jagir in the plateau of the Srinagar (Garhwal) mountains. Though the Guru withdrew his blessing from this group, his seat has become today the place of worship of all. As he had opened his shop of miracles before the Sultan and disregarded the advice of his father, Bhai Kalyana and Bhai Gurasal, who had accompanied him by his father's order to see that he did not leave the

(10) *Suppression of Heresy*

Aurangzeb undertook to act as the guardian of the true faith and naturally strained every nerve to put down whatever he thought was unlawful.

straight path, found that they had no weight with him and were not respected. Both of them left him and came to the Guru. They told him their history. He honoured both of them. Having placed his younger son, Har Kishan, on the honoured seat he died on Saturday, 9th Kartık, dark-half, 1710 A.V.

In Makhowal Guru Har Rai's son Har Kishan who was only six became his successor. It is said that he also was called to his court by Aurangzeb. The Guru said, "I will not see the face of a Muslım." His disciple seated him in a palanquin and brought him to Delhi, so that he may live there. When the rumour of his arrival in Delhi spread, some persons brought it to a Khatri who was closely allied to the family of the Guru. He said that the Guru was yet a minor and therefore had no reason to come to Delhi. It was exaggerated. He said that if it was true, the Guru would himself come to his house. While this discussion was going on, the Guru's cavalcade reached his house with all honours, he was taken into the house and served well. On Friday, 4th Chait, bright-half 1712, he died of small pox. He did not see the face of a Muslim. While he lay dying, his disciples asked him whom they should declare as his successor as he left no one of his own race. He said, "Take the Babà of Bakala." Bakala is a village near the Bari Doab. He remained Guru for 2 years, 5 months, and 19 days.

His disciples who had been set a riddle by the Guru about his successor began to search for him. The village of Bakala included many sons of the race of the Guru. They began to ask each other: "The Guru appointed the Baba as his successor. There are many Babas here. Whom shall we elect as our Guru?" One of them said, "I have vowed Rs. 500 to the Guru. Whomsoever among these descendents of the Guru would demand this sum of me would be the person fitted to adorn the seat of the Guru." All agreeing, a day was fixed. All the descendents of the Guru were summoned and presents were offered to them. When the turn of the man who had made the vow came, Guru Tegh Bahadur who was present among those receiving the offerings, caught hold of his hand and demanded to know why after promising a larger amount he was paying less. The disciple thereupon called all of them together and told them he had discovered the man for whom they had been looking. Here was the Baba of Bakala. He paid Guru Tegh Bahadur the promised amount and with the consent of all seated him on the seat of the Guru.

When the turn of Guru Tegh Bahadur came, his faithful disciples came to his help and increased his influence. He used to live a hard life. He was however very independently inclined. Whatever his disciples brought to him, he spent and kept nothing for himself. His wife's name was Gujari and his dear

The Bohras were divided between the Sunnis and the Shias. From time to time the Sunnis had sought the help of the state in order to bring the erring Shias to the true faith. Aurangzeb issued an order for the appointment of Sunni Amams and Muazzans in their mosques. Most of them seem to have conformed[268] to the order but the rest kept their faith secret.[269]

The Khojas received his attention next. Their leader Sayyid Shahji was ordered to the court. Rather than face the irate emperor he poisoned himself while on the way. His minor son, who was only twelve, was taken to the court. His followers however accused the governor of the province of Gujerat of having poisoned their leader and marched on to Ahmedabad for seeking redress against the governor. The Fojdar of Bharoch did not allow the use of the boats across the Narbada. They took possession of the boats by force and made themselves masters of the fort of Bharoch. The local Fojdar sought help from his neighbours but they did not succeed in expelling the sectarian rebels. The emperor therefore ordered the provincial governor to take the fort by assault. Even his efforts were unavailing

son was called Gobind Singh. In a short time he acquired mastery over all subjects. When Aurangzeb heard about the Guru, he summoned him to Delhi from Lahore. He was brought to Delhi. He did not mind the troubles in the way and travelled with an easy mind. When he reached Delhi, his disciples came and gave valuable offerings. The Guru did not accept anything. When the Sultan heard of his open-handedness, he was upset and requested him to perform a miracle. The Guru said, "Miracle is the head of the lovers. Place the sword on my neck." The emperor was angry at these words and ordered his execution. The Sikhs say that the executioner felt himself incapable of touching the head of the Guru. By Guru's order a Sikh who was in attendance, carried away his head.

A liberty loving *faqir* happened to pass where the corpse of the Guru lay and said, "The Sultan has not done well. Such things would lead to great rebellion, and Delhi would become entirely desolated." The Sikhs brought his head to Anandpur and kept it. The body was cremated at Rikab Gunj. The places of execution, of cremation and the burial of the head have become places of pilgrimages for the Sikhs. This happened in 1732, in the month of Maghar, the fifth day of the bright-half.

(*Translated from Bakht Mal's History of the Sikhs*)

268 *Mirāt*, I, 263.

269 *Mirāt*, supplement, 110.

till he succeeded in surprising the besieged. However the imperialists had to pay dearly for their success. This probably happened in 1101 A.H.[270]

Manucci mentions that one Qumir was beheaded by Auranzeb's orders on account of his writing a work with Christian tendencies which none of his Muslim divines could refute. Another youngman is said to have been similarly beheaded.[271] A Faqir who claimed to be the God was executed in 1694.[272]

Shafi, a Muslim, would not acknowledge Muhammad as the prophet of God in the usual orthodox way. He was therefore beheaded.

Husain Malik was beheaded for disrespectful languages towards the prophet's companions.[273]

In 1669 he stopped the celebration of the Muharram as well.[274]

Heretic Practices

A Portuguese who had at first been converted to Islam and then reverted to his own Christian faith was beheaded as an apostate. Diwan Mohammed Tahir was executed for using un-becoming language towards the first three Khalifs. Mir Hasan came to Kashmir in 1094 A.H. During the Muharram he held an assembly and on account of clouds became guilty of breaking the fast before the sun had actually set. Mir Hasan was thereupon expelled to Kashmir.[275] Ali Sirhindi used to drink. When remonstrated against, he declared that he was guilty equally with the angels.

His invasion of Bijapur and Golkonda was also partly ascribed to his hatred of the Shia kingdoms. Of course this he had inherited from his father who had made demands upon the Deccanese princes to promulgate Sunnism in their territories. Matters were complicated partly on account of the ascendancy which the Hindus had acquired here in the administration.[277]

When Sarmad, a famous Sufi, had reached Delhi from Hyderabad towards the end of Shahjahan's reign, Dara Shikoh had sought his

270 *Mirāt*, I, 323, 324
271 Manucci, IV, 118, 119, 120, 121.
272 News Letter, dated July 7, 1694.
273 *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, 165.
274 Khāfi Khān, II, 213, 214.
275 *Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, 165.
276 *Ibid.*, *Kharāna-i-'Āmra*, 328.
277 Manucci, III, 132.

company and paid him many marks of respect. But when Aurangzeb came to the throne, the things took a different turn. Sarmad cried out "whoever gained the knowledge of His secret became able to annihilate distance. The Mulla says that the prophet ascended the heavens, Sarmad declares that the heavens came unto the prophet." The Mullah now found its opportunity.[278] Sarmad had not denied the ascension of the prophet as Prof. Hashmi seems to imply in his article on Sarmad.[279] He wrote verses in praise of the prophet. Aurangzeb sent the chief Qazi to Sarmad to question him about his nudity. Sarmad explained it by declaring that the devil had the upper hand. His answer was so worded as to offend the theologian by a pun on his name. But this in itself was not enough. Sarmad was summoned to the royal court and asked to repeat the whole of the Muslim creed. Sarmad went so far as to declare that there is no God When asked to repeat the rest he said his realization went no further. So now he was condemned to be executed. When the executioner brought forth his axe for his hateful task, Sarmad welcomed it crying "I know you in whatever form you care to come" and embraced death like a martyr. His contemporaries associated many miracles with his death and his tomb is still venerated as that of a great saint.[280]

Another scholar who felt the wrath of the emperor was Mulla Shah Badakhshi. He was a disciple of Mian Mir. He rose to acquire great reputation as a teacher and mystic. Shah Jahan and Dara respected him very much. Shah Jahan used to exclaim, 'There are two emperors in India, Mulla Shah and myself.' He was however too independent to give in to wordly considerations. He always met Shah Jahan while standing in order not to have to pay him any honours. When Aurangzeb came to the throne he sent for him on the instigation of some of the courtiers who were opposed to Dara.[281] Mullah Shah was in Kashmir and refused to leave his pleasant abode at the Royal Spring in Srinagar. The emperor however wrote to the governor who at last prevailed upon him to answer the royal summons. From Lahore he

278 *Mīrāt-ul-Khayyāl*, p. 191; *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib*, 242, 243.

279 *Islamic Culture*, Vol. VII, 670.

280 *Aurangzeb Nāmā*, 45b; *Mīrāt-ul-Khayyāl*, 191, 192; *Riāz-us-Shu'rā*; *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr*, 172; Bernier, 317.

281 *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr*, 161, 162.

sent a chronogram of an emperor's accession. The emperor was very much pleased thereat and allowed him to live at Lahore. The verses however bore two meanings. He died in Lahore in 1672 and was buried near the grave of his guide Mian Mir. Mullah Shah was a great writer and wrote a commentary on the Quran as well.[282]

Sayyid Ni'mat Allah was also summoned from Bengal. He had been on good relations with Shah Shujah. He refused to obey the royal command. Fearing worse, his son placed him in a boat which was about to leave when another order came cancelling the previous summons.[283]

Shaikh Muhib-Allah of Allahabad also incurred royal displeasure for one of his works. Fortunately he had passed beyond the royal reach. His disciples were called upon to explain their teacher's heretic opinions. One of them thought it best to disavow his master. Another, Shaikh Muhammad acknowledged that he was a disciple of his master but he regretted that he had not attained to the position of his master and could not therefore either fully expound his master's work or prove it as orthodox.[284]

The emperor's orthodoxy could not stand even a good poet. Shadman wrote some verses which pleased the emperor. But in order to save the soul of the poet he made him renounce the muse.[285]

So great was the emperor's hatred of this 'useless calling' that Qazi 'Abdul Aziz very nearly secured the dismissal of another theologian by suggesting that the seal of his office was a foot of a verse. The accused had to convince the emperor that he had nothing whatever to do with such an objectionable art as poetry.[286] On account of this disrespectful language, he was ordered to be beheaded.

But even Aurangzeb could not remain safe from the targets of the theological lawyers. The chief Qazi refused to read the Khutba in Aurangzeb's name as long as Shah Jahan was alive and lost his job. A time server from Gujrat was brought forward who claimed to convince the already convinced emperor that the course he had adopted was 'lawful'.[287] Earlier still, one of these had refused to bless his

282 *Mīrāt-ul-Khayyāl*, 175 to 178.

283 *Ibid.*, 195, 196.

284 *Ibid.*, 226, 227.

285 *Ibid.*, 209.

286 *Ibid.*, 238, 239.

287 Tavernier, I, 356; *Mīrāt-i-Ahamdī*, I, 248.

banners when he started on the war of succession.[288] When he went to war against Bijapur and Golconda some of them again protested and resigned.[289]

A quarrel between the Qazi of Lahore and the governor of the Punjab made the former lose his life and the latter his office.[290] One of the governors was so much upset by the privileged position occupied by the clergy that on hearing the report of the Mughal difficulties in the south, he suggested that the clergy be requested to use their spiritual powers.[291]

Aurangzeb thus tried to accomplish the impossible task of serving Mammon and God alike. He continued ruling over a vast empire and tried to serve his God as well. Unfortunately for him, the Muslim tradition of government had never had to deal with a vast majority of non-Muslim subjects who could not be easily converted. Still more unfortunately he refused to take notice of Akbar's practices because he regarded them as innovations. The result was that the comprehensive state of Akbar's reign gave place to the Muslim state of pre-Akbar days. With this change in its structure it is not surprising that it shared the same fate. The pre-Akbar Muslim state in India had no hold on the vast majority of its subjects whose active loyalty it had never been able to secure. Naturally three centuries of Indian history (1194 to 1526) had seen the rise and the fall of several Muslim dynasties in Delhi——the Ghoris, the Slaves, the Khiljis, the Tughlaqs, the Sayyids and the Lodis. Their average life had not been more than sixty years. Aurangzeb could hope to fare no better. His religious policy lost him the active loyalty of his Hindu subjects. As under the Sultanate they were not concerned what particular label the ruling dynasty bore. They ceased to be interested in the fate of their rulers as they knew that it would make no difference to them. Aurangzeb thus destroyed the *raison d'etre* of the Mughal dynasty.

288 *Tārīkh-i-Kashmīr*, 159.

289 Khāfi Khān, II, 343.

290 *Ibid.*, II, 257, 258.

291 *Ibid.*, II, 216, 217. For the privileged position of the theologians at the court of Aurangzeb, cf. *Kazim*, 1075-76, J. R. Records, VI, 260, 261. News Letters (Provincial Series, Gujerat) year 46, 22; Khāfi Khān, II, 444, 445.

But all this happened in the seventeenth century. Aurangzeb was no worse than the cavalier parliament in England which passed the Clarendon Code. His legislation lagged far behind that manifestation of the collective wisdom of the English at that time. He did not interfere with the celebration of private religious worship of his Hindu subjects. He did not forbid their priests teaching Hindus. He did not exclude them from the public services.

Aurangzeb erred in common with the most of the contemporary rulers of the world. If his church was that of a minority, so was the Protestant church in Ireland. If he levied the Jizya on the majority of his subjects, the preponderant majority of the Roman Catholics in Ireland went on paying the tithes for the support of the alien Protestant Church legally till the thirties of the nineteenth century but virtually till 1867. For almost everything that he did, he could find an excuse in the state policy of his times.

But he had less of an excuse for departing from the path shown by Akbar. Elsewhere the state had not outgrown its thraldom of the church and treated the aliens in the state church as aliens in the state as well. This of course was the result of the fact that the state had been nursed in its early stages by the church and there had been a close alliance between the two. As Froude said, at that time when men quarrelled about religion they quarrelled about everything else. Toleration was supposed to be dangerous to the safety of the country. But Akbar had shown here in India that a policy of religious toleration was far from being dangerous to the state. It had really consolidated the Mughal state in India. With that demonstration before him, when Aurangzeb embarked upon a policy of religious persecution in India, he allowed the religious fanatic to get the upper hand of the king. He resembled therein Charles X of France who tried to make the state priest-ridden with the same disastrous effects on his own fortunes. Aurangzeb had not the English Puritan's excuse for his religious policy. If Cromwell persecuted the Anglicans it was partly because they were dangerous to the state. Aurangzeb had no such suspicions, let alone fears.

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I am very much thankful to Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar for his kindness in allowing me to reexamine most of the materials that he used for his monumental history of Aurangzeb.

Kingship and Nobility in the Fourteenth Century

II

In an article published in the *Indian Historical Quarterly* (October, 1935) I traced the relations between the Sultans of Delhi and their nobles down to the year 1320 A.D., when Khusray Khān was defeated and killed by Ghāzī Malik. The throne of Delhi was left vacant, and there was no claimant whose title was based on hereditary right. It was only natural to expect that Ghāzī Malik, the victorious general, would step into the place of the man whom he had overthrown. His conduct[1] at this crisis, however, was rather unexpected. He did not assert his claim; he declared that it was for the 'nobles of the State' to decide the question of succession. Whether he felt assured that the decision would naturally be in his favour we do not know; but he appears to have been far more magnanimous than his predecessors.[2] He requested the nobles to bring 'any son of our patron's blood', and, if 'no scion of the royal stock' had survived, to raise to the throne 'some worthy and proper person' to whom he himself would gladly pay his allegiance. The nobles "unanimously replied that the usurpers had left no scion of the royal stock in existence', and declared that there was no one besides Ghāzī Malik (the man who had been 'a barrier to the Mughal's and had "delivered the Musalmāns from the yoke of Hindus and Parwārīs") who was "worthy of royalty and fit to rule." It is not incorrect, therefore, to say that Ghāzī Malik owed his throne to the election by the nobles. The rôle of the nobles as king-makers was in very few instances brought to so clear a relief. Both parties acted properly, and that is the reason why Ghāzī Malik's elevation excited "no jealousy among the nobles who had formerly been his equals."[3]

1 Baranī, Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, pp. 228-229.

2 Sir Wolseley Haig (*Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, p. 126) says that Ghāzī Malik was proclaimed king after 'a decent profession of reluctance', but he does not account for this 'decent profession of reluctance' on the part of a man who had no rival.

3 *op. cit.*, p. 127.

The man who owes his throne to the nobles must necessarily devote the resources of the State to satisfy them. We are told that all nobles and officers of his predecessors were confirmed in their possessions and appointments.[4] He rewarded "all those whom he had known and been connected with, and all those who in former days had showed him kindness or rendered him a service."[5] A policy of conciliation was undoubtedly called for, but this system of dividing the spoils of victory weakned the monarchy and strengthened and emboldened the nobility.

It is unnecessary for our present purpose to discuss the vexed question whether Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq Shāh's death was due to an accident or to a deliberate conspiracy engineered by his son and successor. It is enough to note that his eldest son, Muhammad, on whom he had already bestowed a royal canopy and whom he had declared his heir-apparent,[6] succeeded him.

The strange history of the reign of Muhammad Tughluq[8] is generally well-known. We may note one interesting point in connection with his attitude towards the nobility. The numerous revolts which broke out during his reign were mostly due, so he thought, to the readiness of 'the foreign amīrs' to "join any one for the sake of disturbance and plunder." He decided to entrust the delicate task of suppressing them, not to the members of the old nobility who enjoyed an independent political and social position, but to men of obscure origin whose career depended upon the favour of the Sultan.[9] One 'Azīz Himār, on whom Baranī bestows such uncomplimentary epithets as 'base-born' and 'vile whore-son', was placed in charge of Dhār and

4 Baranī, Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p. 229.

5 *Op. it.*, p. 230.

6 *Op. cit.*, p. 230.

7 For his attempt to have his title confirmed by the Khalifah, see the present writer's article on 'The Islamic Kingship in India' in *Presidency College Magazine*, April, 1935.

8 I follow Sir Wolseley Haig (*Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, p. 127) in regarding 'Tughluq' as a *tribal* name.

9 Baranī (Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p. 253) says, "………I have often heard him (*i.e.*, the Sultān) speak with contempt of low-born, mean men………Now when I see him promoting and honouring low and unworthy persons, I am lost in amazement."

Mālwa.[10] There he beheaded "about eighty of the foreign amīrs and chiefs of the soldiery", and for this achievement he was rewarded by the Sultan with "a robe of honour and a complimentary letter." Baranī remarks, "This slaughter of the foreign amīrs of Dhār, on the mere ground of their being foreigners, caused those of Deogir, and Gujarāt, and every other place to unite and to break out into insurrection."[11]

We have two contemporary authorities for the history of the reign of Fīrūz Shāh. Baranī relates the story of the first few years of the reign. Shams-i-Sirāj 'Āfif continues the story for the entire reign, but his account of the last years of the Sultan's life is far from complete. Yahiyā bin Ahmad Sirhindi, the author of *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, "supplements the meagre information of Āfif from about 1380 onwards."[12] His story includes facts which "were evidently remembered in his time, but were forgotten when, a century and a half later, the historians of Akbar's time wrote their accounts of the so-called Pathan period.[13]

In an article published in *Indian Culture* (July, 1935) I have dealt with the disputed question of Fīrūz Shāh's succession,[14] and I have shown reasons to believe that Fīrūz Shāh was nominated by Muhammad Tughluq as his successor[15] and pressed by the nobles to ascend the throne.[16]

It is interesting to note that Fīrūz Shāh tried to create a hereditary military class. The contemporary observer, 'Āfif, says that he promulgated an order to the following effect: "When a soldier grows old and incapable, his son shall succeed him as his deputy; if he has no son, his son-in-law and failing any son-in-law, his slave shall

10 Baranī, Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p. 252.

11 *Op. cit.*

12 Sir Jadu Nath Sarkar, Foreward to K. K. Basu's translation of *Tārīkh-i-Mubarāk Shāhī.*

13 *Op. cit.*

14 Sir Wolseley Haig (*JRAS*, July 1922, pp. 365-72, and *Cambridge History of India*, vol. III, pp. 173-4) has tried to show that Fīrūz Shāh had an extremely doubtful title to the throne. I have examined his arguments in my article referred to above.

15 The story of nomination is given by Baranī, Nizām-ud-dīn, Badāonī and Firishta.

16 Sir Wolseley Haig accepts this point.

represent him."[17] Such a system might create a tradition and secure efficiency, but its inevitable effect was to strengthen the great nobles to whom the loyalty of the soldiers was then primarily due.

Towards the close of his reign Fīrūz Shāh, broken down by grief[18] as well as by 'age and infirmity', seems to have left his Wazīr, Khān-i-Jahān,[19] in 'absolute' authority over all affairs of State.[20] Unfortunately, however, "enmity[21] broke out between the minister and Prince Muhammad Khān, afterwards Sultān Muhammad Shāh. Their dissensions were the cause of great trouble and disaster to the country."[22] Once again a powerful minister took advantage of the weakness of the Crown and tried to usurp a position to which no minister can legitimately lay any claim. He 'falsely' accused the heir-apparent of a 'design against his father's life', included some other prominent nobles[23]—apparently his personal enemies—in this alleged conspiracy, and induced the old Sultān to give 'credit to the accusation.' But the Prince succeeded in regaining his father's confidence and in removing his enemy from the exalted position which he had been enjoying.

These events led to the abdication of Fīrūz Shāh and the accession to the throne of the Prince, who assumed the name of Nāsir-ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh and "caused the Khootba to be read both in his own name as well as in that of his father."[24] This instance is really

17 Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p. 349.

18 Owing to the death of his eldest son, 'Futteh Khan'. Briggs, *Rise of Muhammadan Power*, vol. I, pp. 455, 461.

19 Briggs, vol. I, pp. 457-8. Baranī (Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, pp. 367-71) points out that his father, bearing the same title, had served Fīrūz Shāh as Wazīr during the earlier part of his reign. He was originally a Hindu.

20 This 'absolute' authority was maintained by crushing the opposition of the recalcitrant nobles "by all possible means." (K. K. Basu, *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, p. 143). Baranī (Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p. 371) says that "the Sultān committed all the affairs of the kingdom to his charge."

21 Briggs, vol. I, pp. 458-9. K. K. Basu, *op. cit.*, pp. 143-4.

22 Baranī, Elliot and Dowson, vol. III, p. 371. Compare the enmity between Malik Kāfūr and Prince Khizr Khān.

23 One of them was Zafar Khān, the late governor of Gujarāt.

24 Briggs, vol. I, p. 459. K. K. Basu, *op. cit.*, pp. 144-5.

25 Except Kaiqubād, whose father was governor of Bengal when he became Sultān.

unique, for no other Muhammadan Prince of Delhi[25] assumed royal dignity during the life-time of his father. But the young monarch soon "gave himself up entirely to pleasure," and the nobles, the customary guardians of the State, sought to transfer the responsibility of sovereignty to abler hands. The course of events during this crisis cannot be exactly determined,[26] but the conflict ended as a result of the intervention of the people of the capital, who "brought out the old king in his palankeen, and placed him down in the street, between the combatants." Fīrūz Shāh again resumed his full authority. He, however, felt himself unequal to the task on account of his age; and, "at the instance of the household troops,"[27] he placed his grandson, Prince Ghiyās-ud-dīn, a son of his eldest son, Fateh Khān,[28] upon the throne.[29]

The reign of Ghiyās-ud-dīn was very brief, for the nobles, "together with the household troops," put him to death for his addiction to luxury and neglect of the affairs of State.[30] The weakness of the Crown again installed the nobles on the seat of power,[31] and they utilised the

26 Yahiyā *bin* Sirhindi (K. K. Basu, p. 146), whose version is preferable, says that the nobles were "stirred up by the opposition shown by Malik Samā'-ud-dīn and Malik Kamāl-ud-dīn, set themselves up in opposition to the prince, and joined themselves to Fīrūz Shāh." Badāonī (vol. I, Ranking, p. 338) says that Nāsir-ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh's soldiers, "by reason of their enmity and jealousy against Samā'-ud-Dīn and Kamāl-ud-Dīn who were the *protégés* of Muhammad Shāh, set themselves in opposition to them." Firishta (Briggs, vol. I, p. 460) says that the displeased nobles espoused the cause of Princes Baha-ud-dīn and Kamāl-ud-dīn. Two things seem to be clear: In the first place, there was a movement against Nāsir-ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh; secondly, the nobles, supported by the army, were responsible for it.

27 Another instance of the intervention of the army in succession disputes.

28 He died a few years ago.

29 Briggs, vol. I, p. 461. Had the Sultāns and nobles of Delhi obeyed the law of primogeniture, Ghiyās-ud-dīn (and not Nāsir-ud-dīn Muhammad) would have succeeded to the throne when Fīrūz Shāh abdicated for the first time. According to *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak-shāhī* (K. K. Basu, pp. 147, 149), Fīrūz Shāh appointed Tughluq Shāh, entitled Ghiyās-ud-dīn, as his "heir-apparent, and consigned to him the affairs of government." The latter is said to have succeeded the former on his death, "by the consent of the Amīrs, Maliks and the Fīroz Shāhī slaves."

30 K. K. Basu, pp. 150-51.

31 Yahiyā-*bin*-Sirhindi (K. K. Basu, p. 150) says: "The entire business of the government was neglected, and the Fīroz Shāhī slaves asserted their power so fearlessly that the Sultān lost all control over the State."

assistance of "the household troops" in making and un-making kings. Ghiyās-ud-dīn was succeeded by Abu Bakr, third son of the third son of Fīrūz Shāh. His Wazīr tried "to usurp the throne," but he (along with "many of the household troops, who were concerned in the conspiracy,") was put to death. In the meanwhile Nāsir-ud-dīn Muhammad Shāh, who had so long been compelled to wait for his chance, came to Delhi, imprisoned Abu Bakr, and again ascended the throne.[32] One of his first acts was to put to death the household troops who were "his worst enemies."[33] The disloyalty of the Wazīrs had almost become a tradition. One Islām Khān, who was the commander of the household troops under Abu Bakr, and to whom Nāsir-ud-dīn "owed his restoration," was favoured with the highest office in the state; but within a short time he formulated "treasonable designs" and suffered death.[34] Nāsir-ud-dīn reigned for a little more than six years and died a natural death. His son and successor was Humāyūn, who assumed the name of Sikandar and died after a short reign of 45 or 46 days.[35]

These events were followed, not unnaturally, by "violent disputes ....among the nobles regarding the succesion." Finally the nobles chose Mahmūd Tughluq, a brother of the late Sultān, and placed him on the throne.[36] But the Crown had become too weak to control the nobles, who fought among themselves, and sometimes fought even

32 Briggs, vol. I, pp. 468-73. It is interesting to note that "the very cultivators, disgusted with the government of Aboo Bukr, withheld their rents, and enlisted under the banners of his rival."

33 Briggs, vol. I, pp. 471, 474.

34 Briggs, vol. I, pp. 473, 475-6. He was probably a converted Hindu. Yahiyā (K. K. Basu, p. 161) says that "he was unjustly put to death" on the "false evidence" of "a bad fellow who had a spite against him."

35 Briggs, vol. I, p. 477; K. K. Basu, p. 163.

36 Briggs, vol. I, p. 478. Yahiyā (K. K. Basu, pp. 163-4) does not explicitly refer to these "violent disputes" and says that Mahmūd Tughluq "ascended the throne.........with the unanimous consent of the Amirs, Maliks, grandees, priests, chiefs and holy persons." He adds, however, that "most of the Amīrs and Maliks, who were in possession of feudal lands on the west," were at first unwilling to pay homage to the new Sultān.

against the young king.[37] Then came the invasion of Tīmūr. Mahmūd Tughluq, after some unsuccessful efforts to oppose the invader, fled to Gujarāt,[38] leaving his defenceless subjects to their fate.[39] Tīmūr left India, after having appointed Khizr Khān as "viceroy of Mooltan, Lahore, and Depalpoor." The city of Delhi remained in a "state of anarchy,"[40] and the provincial governors "no longer acknowledged allegiance to the throne, having established their independence during the civil war."[41] Mahmūd Tughluq returned to Delhi, "where he was content to receive a pension, fearing that any interference on his part in the affairs of the government might prove fatal to him."[42] Soon, however, he was compelled to go to Kanouj. He is said to have been "deficient both in sense and courage,"[43] and his conduct is described as 'imbecile'.[44] His "disastrous and inglorious reign"[45] ended with death in 1413 A.D. "With him," says Ferishta, "fell the kingdom of Dehly from the race of Toorks."[46] The nobles nominated Daulat Khān Lodī as his successor; he even struck the currency in his own name.[47] But he was defeated and imprisoned by Khizr Khān,[48] who thereupon occupied the vacant throne of Delhi.[49]

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37 Briggs, vol. I, pp. 478-84. A grandson of Fīrūz Shāh, Nusrat Khān by name, was placed on the throne by a powerful noble named Sa'dat Khān, who "wielded the authority" in the name of his "puppet" master. K. K. Basu, p. 167.

38 We read in *Mirāt-i-Sikandarī* (Bayley, *History of Gujarāt*, pp. 79-80) that he was received "with all honour" by Zafar Khān, the then governor of Gujarāt. "Sultān Mahmūd's object was to obtain Zafar Khān's alliance and to march upon Delhi. The Khān did not think the enterprise advisable, so the Sultān felt aggrieved and departed" to Malwa. That the Sultān did not submit to Timūr and tried to organise an alliance to defeat him seems to show that he was not quite so worthless as Ferishta would make him appear.

39 Briggs, vol. I, p. 492; K. K. Basu, p. 172.

40 Briggs, vol. I, p. 497; K. K. Basu, p. 173.

41 Briggs, vol. I, p. 498. 42 *Ibid.*, p. 499.

43 *Ibid.*, p. 503. Yahiyā (K. K. Basu, p. 184) says that he "paid no attention to the affairs of the state and threw himself into amusement and merry-making." 44 Briggs, vol. I, p. 502.

45 *Ibid.*, p. 504. 46 *Ibid.*, p. 504.

47 Briggs, vol. I, pp. 504-5; K. K. Basu, p. 185.

48 Briggs, vol. I, p. 505; K. K. Basu, p. 186.

49 See my article on 'Kingship and Nobility in the 15th century' in *Indian Culture*, January, 1936.

The East India Company and its trade monopoly

Pitt's India Act of 1784 is the first Parliamentary enactment which brought the political affairs of the East India Company under the effective control of British ministers. Under that Act a body known as the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India was created, the President of which was usually a well-known British politician who joined and resigned office along with other members of the British Government. To the Board were given the powers of superintendence, direction, and control over the civil and military government of India but they were precluded from exercising any control over the Company's commercial operations.[1] The Company's trade monopoly was for the moment left untouched, but when in subsequent years its charter came to be revised, gradual but nonetheless serious inroads were made upon it. A study of the negotiations between the Directors of the Company and the India Board which preceded such renewals is full of absorbing interest and throws a flood of light in unexpected places. It shows how Parliamentary legislation relating to India at this time really embodied a compromise between the Directors and the Board—the first representing the narrow and selfish interests of their chiefs, the Court of Proprietors, and resisting any encroachment on the privileges of the Company, and the second advocating the claims ot rival groups in the country and desiring a modification of the Company's monopoly in the interest of the nation at iarge. It shows, secondly, as if under a powerful lens how determined and implacable were the efforts which the British merchants made to strangle Indian industry and commerce. And finally the record by referring to the large illicit trade which had come to thrive offers a striking illustration of the way in which a system of monopoly is almost invariably productive of unforeseen abuses.

As the time for the charter of 1793 approached, various associations of merchants and manufacturers of the United Kingdom adopted

1 For a general discussion of the position of the Board see my article in the *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, London, Nov. 1933.

resolutions demanding a total or partial abolition of the Company's monopoly. This was the tenor of proceedings of Liverpool and Manchester, of Glasgow and Paisley. They founded this demand on a series of arguments of great validity. They suggested that howsoever extensive the trade of the Company had been, Indian trade was bound to increase enormously if free trade between Great Britain and India was to be allowed. The time for such a growth, they contended, had arrived in view of the industrial development that was taking place in the country and the credit which the British merchants enjoyed in the world of commerce. Finally, they appealed to the recently discovered and fashionable economic principle that special privileges though they might be necessary or useful in the infancy of commercial or industrial enterprises proved fatal if persisted to the end. They declared free trade to be ordained by nature. In the words of the preamble to the resolutions of Lancashire: "The Creator of the universe having endowed the different portions of the earth with different products has laid the foundations of commerce, the object of which is to supply the mutual wants of man."[2] In this statement the influence of Adam Smith, whose classic book, *The Wealth of Nations*, appeared in 1776, is clearly noticeable.[3] At the same time it must be remembered that revolutionary changes in industry were occurring at the moment, too recent indeed to produce any appreciable results but sufficient to infuse new hopes among the industrial classes. Hargreave's 'Spinning Jenny,' Arkwright's 'Water-Frame,' Crompton's 'Mule,' and Cartwright's 'Power loom'—all these inventions in the cloth industry followed each other in such quick succession that they could not fail to rouse the merchants to a challenge of the existing order.

The grievances of the mercantile classes against the Company may be more minutely examined. It was asserted by Lancashire that the Company had neglected to develop certain markets like the East Coast of Africa and the Arabian and Persian Gulfs; that they had dealt a blow at the indigenous industries by the importation of porcelain

2 John Bruce, *Report on the Negotiation between The East India Company and the Public respecting the Charter of 1793* (1811), p. 2.

3 The book embodies a powerful attack on the Company, Ward Lock and Co's, ed., vol. I, p. 507.

and cotton goods, and that the use of large ships at heavy freights had injured the British shipping generally. It was also stated and with considerable reason that more capital could be successfully invested in the Indian trade than had been done by the Company.

While Manchester occupied itself mainly in pointing out the disadvantages of the Company's monopoly, Glasgow came forth with certain specific demands. It demanded that the Company's charter should not be renewed for the long period of twenty years, and that meanwhile the British merchants should be allowed to trade within the limits of the Company's charter in their own ships. A desire to foster its own industries at the expense of India found expression in a demand for a continuance of the duties on cotton piece goods imported by the Company, and for a prohibition of the importation of the higher class of piece goods as also of the export of cotton machinery to that country.[4]

These representations made it plain to Dundas, the President of the Board,[5] that some modificaiton of the Act of 1784 was essential. Even though monopoly might be yet continued to the Company, some concession to the private traders was imperative. What precisely that concession was going to be, he proposed to settle in consultation with the Directors. Accordingly in January, 1793 he informed them of his intention to bring the renewal of the charter for consideration before the House of Commons, but, "before doing so, it is, of course, my desire to have the most full and candid discussion with the East India Company on all the different points which must naturally suggest themselves for consideration on this important and extensive subject."[6]

It would be tedious to trace in detail the discussions which took place between the Board and the Court in this connection and here the briefest outline must suffice. The merchants of Great Britain asked for a total abolition of the Company's monopoly. On the other hand the Company was not willing to make any concession in their favour.

4 John Bruce, *op. cit.*

5 Though Dundas formally became President only after the passing of the Act of 1793, he had in reality held this position since the inception of the Board, cf. Foster, *John Company*, p. 253.

6 *India Office MSS.*, The Home Miscellaneous Series, vol. 401, p. 245.

A *via media* was suggested by Dundas. He expressed himself in favour of a *regulated monopoly* by which he meant that while the Company was to continue to enjoy its exclusive privileges, it was to recognise the right of the private traders to carry on trade with India to a limited extent. The merchants would have preferred to use ships of their own choice but in deference to the wishes of the Directors it was decided that only the Company's ships were to be employed although the freight charges were fixed. The reason why the Company was allowed to retain its monopoly lay in the fear widely prevalent at the time that if free trade with India was established swarms of irresponsible British emigrants would enter that country and become a menace to the mother-country. "The genius of this system without any formed plan," said a special committee of the Court of Directors drawing their inspiration from the recent War of American Indepedence, "would gradually and insensibly antiquate the present one, and become impatient for all the rights of British Colonists; to give or to refuse which would then be a most momentous question."[7]

I have remarked above about the demand of the British merchants for a prohibition of the Indian manufactures in the British market. In view of the suspicion entertained in India today that the interests of India have been all along treated as subservient to the British interests, this demand assumes an added and a graver significance. They demanded (i) that all manner of calicoes, muslins, dimities, and other cotton piece goods, manufactured in India, China, or Persia, or other parts of Asia, or in any other foreign parts beyond the Cape of Good Hope, which are or shall be imported into this Kingdom, shall be prohibited from being worn or used within the realm of Great Britain (ii) that all calicoes, muslins, dimities, and other cotton piece goods which will be prohibited to be worn in Great Britain should, after entry thereof, be forthwith carried and put into such warehouses as shall for that purpose be appointed by the Commissioners of Customs for the time being, and there kept until the exportation thereof; and that the several laws and statutes made and now in force, for or concerning the sale and exportation of wrought silks, Bengal stuffs, and

7 Home Miscellaneous, vol. 406, p. 19.

painted, dyed, printed, or stained calicoes, prohibited to be worn in England, should be extended to calicoes, muslins, dimities and other cotton piece goods manufactured in Persia, China, East India, or other sovereign parts and (iii) that for securing to this Kingdom the benefits of the traffic in, and carrying trade of, calicoes, muslins, dimities, and other cotton piece goods manufactured in Persia, China, India, or other parts within the limits of the Company's trade, in order to the re-exportation of the said articles, it is fit and proper that the whole of the duties now payable on the importation thereof should for such long time as the same shall be prohibited from being worn or used in this kingdom cease and be discontinued.[8]

It may be emphasized that the Indian piece goods were even at this date severely penalised in Great Britain.[9] The proposals of Manchester, therefore, which went even further amounted to nothing short of a call for their total extinction. It is to be deeply regretted that neither the India Board nor the Directors who resisted this demand did so out of sympathy with Indian industries. Not a thought for the well-being of the Indian artizans whom destiny had placed at the mercy of a foreign government entered their minds.[10] The objection of the Directors was based on the view that the above-mentioned provisions would deprive the Company of some of their lucrative trade while Dundas thought that an utter lack of competition would strike a blow at the home industries which it was the avowed purpose of these provisions to safeguard.

The Act of 1793 registered a triumph for the Court of Directors. The Company were allowed to import and sell in the United Kingdom cotton and silken goods so far as they were not prohibited to be worn

8 Home Miscellaneous, vol. 401, pp. 349-50.

9 Cf. the following extract from a Memorial from a Committee of Several Mercantile Houses, Home Miscellaneous, vol. 401, p. 324:—"The high duties on Indian fabrics imported will completely secure to the British manufacturers the home market. Muslins pay 18% on the gross sales, which is in fact £18 on £82. The duties on coarser articles are still higher, many others are entirely prohibited............"

10 Cf. Auber, *Rise and Progress of the British Power in India*, II, p. 136; Mill and Wilson, *History of British India*, VII, p. 385.

or used under existing statutes. The monopoly of the China trade was continued to the Company. For the use of the private traders the Company was to set apart on their ships a tonnage of 3000 either way but the rate at which this was to be done, namely, £20 per ton was too heavy.

This became apparent soon after the Act came into operation. Very little of the allotted tonnage was utilised for the purpose of the exports to India.[11] On the other hand there was from the start an insistent demand for its extension so as to enable it to cope with the growing imports from that country.[12] This demand, however, did not imply that the existing terms were so satisfactory. It was only indicative of the vast increase in trade that was certain to take place under more suitable conditions. For at the time, it must be noticed, there were various factors which impeded its development. For one thing the freight was so heavy that many cheap articles like sugar, saltpetre, or the gruff goods in which the private traders usually speculated could not bear it. Secondly, the Company's ships, which on account of reasons of state were liable to be unpunctual in their times of arrival and departure and also to sudden deviations of route, were not suited. The time at which the private goods were required to be ready for conveyance was also inconvenient. The result was that the clandestine trade against which the private traders had all along clamoured did not show any signs of diminution, the foreigners being able to transport goods at a much cheaper rate and at more convenient times.[13]

11 Lauderdale, in his *Enquiry into the Practical Merits of the System for the Government of India* (1809), gives the following figures:—

1793-94—919 tons.
1794-95— 40 tons.
1795-96— 31 tons.

12 In 1795-96 the Bengal demand alone amounted to 5,346 tons, vide Udny to Wellesley, Sept. 15, 1800.

13 Cf. Bainsbridge who stated before the House of Commons Committee of 1813 that a very large portion of this trade was in the hands of Americans who sent ships to India at a much less freight than the Company (from 40 to 60 dollars per ton) and imported goods at a much easier term than Englishmen could in England, their expenses of equipment, victualling, and insurance being very reasonable.

The clandestine trade owed its origin to peculiar circumstances. On account of the monopoly of the East India Company, other British merchants were forbidden to trade with India but, curiously enough, this prohibition did not extend to the nationals of other states at peace with Great Britain. Consequently the Americans, the Portuguese, and others freely traded with India and were helped by the Company's European servants who were anxious to transmit home the fortunes which they rapidly made in India. No doubt the Company's servants could make use of the Company's bills of exchange but there were two difficulties. In the first place, any such purchases on a large scale would have excited the suspicion of their superiors; in the second, such bills were not always available, as the Governments in India knowing the temper of the Directors who were unwilling to meet them at home were reluctant to issue them.[14]

The foreign trader came to the rescue of the Company's servant. He would receive the bullion and make his purchases with it, while in return he would draw a bill of exchange on his agent in Europe, and hand it over to the Company's servant. But although, as explained above, this traffic originated with a view to the transmission of fortunes, it had now extended to adventurers from England whose sole objective was trade, and thus a regular system of clandestine commerce from foreign ports and under foreign colours had grown up.[15]

If this trade was to be stopped or at any rate diminished, the only course was to employ Indian ships. The private traders instead of being compelled as they were under the Act of 1793 to employ only the Company's ships should have been given the option to use Indian shipping to the extent of their needs. That would have meant cheaper freight. Besides, other advantages would have flowed from it. Under the existing system the merchant in India was not certain whether he would be able to obtain any portion of the allotted tonnage (which in practice was enlarged from year to year by the Local Governments but to what extent it was impossible to predetermine) and so could not

14 W. Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, Mercantile System (1921), p. 468.

15 Home Miscellaneous, vol. 401, pp. 309-28.

embark upon his purchases with confidence. Moreover, even supposing that he proved fortunate in securing the tonnage, the freight which fluctuated from time to time might deprive him of any profits which he expected to make. On the other hand, if Indian ships were admitted, he could settle the terms himself with the owners; could procure as much tonnage as he needed; and regulate his purchases according to the prevailing freights. The difference in short was all the difference between having the means of transport at hand and depending on ships which came from a considerable distance and under unanticipated conditions.[16]

Dundas appears to have realised this for as early as 1797 he addressed an appeal to the ship-builders of London who wielded considerable influence over the Company to allow the Indian ships a share in the trade. He stated that the idea of prohibiting them from coming to Great Britain was "not only an act of great injustice, but would in its tendency have an effect on the interest of the ship-builders in the river Thames directly the reverse of what they seemed to apprehend."[17] It was an act of injustice because while under the Navigation Laws Canada or the West Indies were allowed to send their produce home in their own ships, India though under the British Sovereignty did not enjoy this privilege. It was injurious to themselves because their belief that the prohibition of Indian shipping made a proportionate room for the Company's shipping was profoundly mistaken, and the only effect of such a proceeding had been to throw the trade into the hands of foreigners. If this course was persisted in, Dundas continued, the ship-owners were bound to lose the profits of refitting the ships. In fact in 1796 twenty-five Indian ships had come to London and the expense of refitting seventeen of them had amounted to the handsome figure of £117,000.

But Dundas's letter made no impression on the shipping magnates. It is rare that businessmen stop to think whether any activity which brings them profits is founded on injustice to another community nor

16 Cf. the opinions of Innes, Bazett, and Fawcett on private trade, Appendix to the Fourth Report (1812).

17 Martin, *Wellesley's Despatches*, V, p. 117.

do they care how their interests are going to be affected in the future if only for the time being they are sufficiently safeguarded to bring in immediate gain. Accordingly, the policy of the Company where in the Court of Proprietors the ship-owners had acquired ascendancy remained unchanged. So rigorous indeed was their hold that any motions which had been brought in before the Court for a reduction of the freights or other economies by disinterested proprietors had been defeated. There were in that body from one hundred and fifty to two hundred ship-owners with their supporters and whenever there was notice of such a motion, letters would be sent round by the leaders asking their followers not to leave their seats till the independent proprietors had fatigued themselves with speeches and retired; to vote solidly; and in short to take care that no motion calculated to result in a reduction of the freights or the like should have a chance of passing.[18] That being so, in 1795 a motion had been introduced in the Court of Proprietors cutting at the root of the evil by declaring that no proprietor should exercise his right of vote on any question relating to a contract in which he was interested but it was never carried.

In 1800, however, the question was raised in an acute form by a vigorous despatch which Lord Wellesley, the Governor-General of India, addressed on the subject to the Court of Directors. He pointed out the disadvantages under which the private traders laboured and insisted that Indian shipping of the requisite quality was available. An extract from his letter may indeed be given as showing the level at which the Indian shipping then stood in spite of all discouragement and lack of lucrative occupation: "The Port of Calcutta contains about 10,000 tons of shipping built in India, of a description calculated for the conveyance of cargoes. From the quantity of private tonnage now at command in the Port of Calcutta, from the state of perfection which the art of ship-building has already attained in Bengal (promising a still more rapid progress and supported by abundant and increasing supply of timbers) it is certain that this Port will always be able to furnish tonnage to whatever extent may be required for conveying

18 Cf. the speeches at a debate at the East India House held on May 13, 1795. Also cf. Auber, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 234-5.

to the Port of London the trade of the private British merchants of Bengal."[19] Equally flattering is the testimony of Mr. Udny, Member of the Governor-General's Council, who wrote: "At this moment there are above 10,000 tons of shipping tendered and at command in Bengal after two ships have been recently provided with cargoes to the amount of 1,500 tons; timber proper for ship-building here and in the vicinity abounds; the art has arrived in Bengal at a high pitch; a great number of artificers are constantly employed, and no sooner is a ship launched than the foundation of another is laid in her room. Spacious and convenient docks for repairing ships are also erected."[20]

Indeed it appears that ship-building was just one of those industries in which India and Great Britain could co-operate to their mutual advantage. The former was very rich in timber, turpentine, vegetable tar, and hemp, the raw material for cordage and canvas,[21] while metals like iron and copper could be plentifully and cheaply supplied by the latter.

Dundas supported Lord Wellesley and urged on the Directors the necessity of employing Indian ships. This was long resisted by the Directors who entered into an interesting constitutional battle with the Board over the issue.[22] At length it was decided that the Company should engage extra ships for the use of the private traders which might be British or Indian and then re-let them without profit.

This concession had, however, been extorted from the Directors who had been threatened Parliamentary intervention if they did not yield. Consequently, the sight of Indian ships in London did not please them. "The arrival in the Port of London of Indian produce

19 Wellesley to Directors, Sept. 30, 1800.

20 Udny to Wellesley, Sept. 15, 1800.

21 *Letters on the E. I. Co's monopoly*, Glasgow (1813), pp. 28-29.

22 This interesting controversy is contained in volume 402 of the Home Miscellaneous Series, cf. also Bosanquet, Dy. Chairman of the Company, to Lord Dartmouth, President of the Board, reproduced in Auber, vol. II, p. 252: "For more than a year we have been disputing about our trade, the Board disclaiming the most distant intention of interfering with it. But somehow or other during this period our rights and powers of acting have been completely suspended. From day to day we have patiently submitted to contumely and attack........"

in Indian-built-ships," says Taylor, the historian, "created a sensation among the monopolists which could not be exceeded if a hostile fleet had appeared on the Thames. The ship-builders of the Port of London took the lead in raising the cry of alarm. They declared that their business was in danger and that the families of all the ship-wrights in England were certain to be reduced to starvation"[23]

It seems, however, that the regulations of 1802 did not really mark any serious change.[24] The Company by its policy prevented the private traders from enjoying any of the anticipated advantages. The demand for allowing other than the Company's ships had been based on the assumption that they would be free from the delays to which the Company's shipping was subject. But events proved that once these ships had been engaged by the Company, they too suffered from the same evil. They were liable to be detained both in London and in India at the discretion of the Government, or be sent with troops or stores from one presidency to another. The consequence was that the cheapness of freight which had been the strongest argument for their admission failed to be realised. It could happen, for instance, that if the owner of the extra ship agreed to charge only, say, £14 per ton on the supposition that within a certain time his ship would perform three voyages, but owing to delays it performed only two, he suffered a loss of £14 per ton. This would lead him to demand a rate of £21 per ton next time which did not compare favourably with the rate charged on the Company's regular ships.

Furthermore, the insurance charges continued to be higher than what they might have been, had the merchants been allowed to engage their shipping directly, for then they could *name* the ships by which their goods were to be conveyed, whereas under the present system the

23 *History of India* (171). Cf. also Lauderdale, *op. cit.*, p. 162. From Dundas's letter to Wellesley, March 18, 1799, it appears that an earlier attempt to admit Indian ships had led to similar conduct on the part of the ship-owners.

24 They proved, however, of some benefits to the Indian shipping industry. "From 1801 to 1821 there were built on the Hugli 237 ships, of 105,693 tons, and amounting to the enormous sum of two crores of rupees and upwards, a considerable part of which was absorbed in the payment of wages to native artificers and labourers, to the great benefit of the country—R. Mukerjee, *A History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity* (1922), pp. 247-48.

assortment of cargo remained at the discretion of the Governments of the Company. Thirdly, the merchants continued to be unable to get the requisite tonnage at the time required, so that if some perishable goods had been bought under a belief of the tonnage being available which proved to be mistaken they were subjected to considerable loss. Lastly, the exports from India continued by a very wide margin to exceed the imports, and yet curiously enough the tonnage continued to be allotted in London.[25]

It is thus clear that the position remained very much what it was before 1802, or, in other words, so long as the monopoly of the Company was preserved, any regulations which might be made for the benefit of the private traders were liable to be defeated by the Company. When, therefore, the time for another renewal of the charter arrived there was a clamorous demand for the abolition of the Company's monopoly.[26] To the usual theoretical arguments there was added now the bitterness of actual suffering occasioned by the Napoleonic wars. The Directors proved powerless and the Act of 1813 abolished the Company's monopoly with the exception of the trade in tea and the China trade, to which it was stated special considerations applied.[27] In 1833 even these exclusive privileges were swept away and the East India Company while retaining the government of India lost its commercial character altogether.

PRAKASH CHANDRA

25 Fourth Report, *op. cit.*, pp. 173-94.

26 See the shoals of petitions of the merchants and manufacturers of the United Kingdom presented to Parliament in 1812.

27 The interesting negotiations on which the Act of 1813 is based are contained in the Parliamentary Collection, No. 57, of the India Office Records.

Crime and Punishment in the Jātakas

Ideal of Justice

The Jātakas abound in thoughtful instructions about the importance and necessity of a conscientious discharge of legal duties. Repeated emphasis is laid on impartial judgment. Judgment and punishment must not be hasty. Calm consideration must be given to the different sides of the case. The king, who was the fountain of justice, was repeatedly warned to have no regard whatsoever to his own will or whim in administering justice.[1] It is wrong for one who bears rule to act without trying the case.[2]

The following verses testify to the high standard of justice:

नादट्ठा परतो दोसं अनुंथूलानि सब्बसो
इस्सरो पनये दण्डं सामं अप्पटिवेक्खिय ।६१।
यो च अप्पटिवेक्खित्वा दण्डं कुब्बति खत्तियो
सकन्टकं सो गिलति जच्चन्धो व समक्खिकं ।६२।
अदन्डियं दन्डियति दन्डियञ्च अदन्डियं,
अन्धो व विसमं मग्गं न जानाति समासमं ।६३।
यो च एतानि ठानानि अनुंथूलानि सब्बसो
सुदिट्टं अनुसासेय्य स वे वोहातुम् अरहति ।६४।
नेकन्तमुदुना सक्का एकन्ततिखिणेन वा
अत्तं महन्ते ठापेतुं, तस्मा उभयं आचरे ।६५।
परिभूतो मुदु होति अतितिक्खो च वेरवा
एतञ्च उभयं ञत्वा अनुमज्झं समाचरे ।६६।
वहुम्पि रत्तो भासेय्य दुट्ठो पि वहु भासति,
न इत्थिकारणा राज पुत्तं घातेतुम् अरहसीति ।६७।[3]

The beam of a balance (*tulā*) was even then, as it is to-day, regarded as a symbol of equal and unbiassed justice.[4] Among others,

1 *Jātaka*, II, p. 2.

2 *J.*, III, p. 105, '*tasmā avinicchitvā kātuṃ na yuttaṃ rajjaṃ kārentena.*'

3 *J.*, IV, p. 192, *gāthās* 61-67; cf. Aśoka's instructions to his Governors: Separate Kaliṅga Edict I in Mookerji, *Aśoka*, pp. 218-20.

4 *J.*, I, p. 176: *rañño nāma kāraṇagavesakena tulāsadisena bhavituṃ vattati.*

circumspection is an essential quality demanded of a judge (*nisammakāriṇā bhavitabbam*).[5] Punishment should be awarded with 'careful measure' (*nisamma*), proportionate to the nature and degree of the offence committed.[6]

All these are no doubt sound maxims and wise instructions imparted to the kings. These are ideals recommended for translation into practice.[7] But the general impression that one gets from the various stories is that in the days of which the Jātakas speak, the administration of justice was not all that was desirable.

The king as the head of justice

The king was regarded as the head of justice. In fact, the stories would let us understand that, all the cases were heard and decided by king in person, as it is always to the king or the *Khattiya* that the sound maxims quoted above are addressed. As a rule the king used to hear cases, and we may assume that, the king 'actually went each morning to the court house as described in the Epics,[8] and heard cases. In his absence some of his ministers decided the cases, e.g. the *purohita*, the *senāpati* and sometimes the princes also acted as judges,[9] in addition to their normal duties in their respective spheres of action. A judge was called *vinicchayāmacca*,[10] and there were more than one judges as can be assumed from the term '*vinicchayamahāmattā*' as sometimes used in the stories.[11] In one *Jātaka* the number is given as five.[12]

The Hall of Judgment is frequently mentioned,[13] where the judges appointed by the king[14] sat and attended to their daily duties. There is

5 *J.*, III, p. 105 IV, p. 30; cf. *J.*, IV, p. 451, *gāthā* 208.

6 *J.*, III, p. 105, *gāthā* 128; p. 154, *gāthā* 5; IV, p. 451, *gāthā* 210; also *ibid.*, *gāthā* 211-12.

7 Aśoka tried his best to establish equal and impartial justice within his Empire: See Pillar Edict IV—*viyohālasamatā, daṇḍasamatā;* Mookerji, *Aśoka*, p. 238.

8 Hopkins, *JAOS.*, 13, p. 132.

9 *J.*, II, p. 2—*amaccāpi dhammen'eva vohāraṃ vinicchiniṃsu;* pp. 186-7; V, p 1; VI, p. 131.

10 *J.*, II, p. 181; III, p. 105.

11 *J.*, II, p. 380, VI, p. 45.

12 *J.*, V, p. 228, '*tassa pana rañño pañca amaccā... .. ..vinicchaye·niyuttā*'.

13 *J.*, I, p. 176; II, pp. 2, 186, 297; III, p. 505; IV, p. 120.

14 *J.*, V, p. 228; VI, pp. 131-32.

no reference to a definite code of Law by which the judges were guided in deciding the cases, but we do come across such passages as these: "he said: 'execute justice in this way' and "he had righteous judgment inscribed on a golden plate";[15] or "then he caused a book of judgments to be written" and said: 'by observing this book ye should settle suits.'"[16] The question of the authorship of such books is 'immaterial here, and there is no reason why the existence of such useful works should be doubted, when one of the foremost duties of a government was to administer justice in the strictest sense of the term.'[17] It is also possible that, a body of precedents had grown up by that time.[18] Still with all this, the question of deciding cases depended largely upon the personal characteristics of a judge, his nature, whim, temperament and even prejudices. For in the stories, judgment is often associated with bribery.[19] It is rather strange to see that there was no orderly or systematic procedure in which the cases were decided and to find the frequent mention of the upsetting of a bad judgment of one by others the *senāpati*, the *uparājan*, the *purohita* and even an ascetic—who happend to come upon the scene and to whom the party who had lost his cause appealed for redress.[20] The one who judged rightly was applauded by the people and then he would be formally appointed by the king as a judge. In one of such instances, the king while appointing the man to judgeship gives the following directions as to the time and the way in which he should frame his daily routine: 'It will be to the advantage of the people if you decide cases: henceforth you are to sit in judgment.........You need not try cases the whole day, but.........go to the place of judgment at early dawn and try four

15 *J.*, V, p. 125—*evam vinicchayam pavatteyyāthā ti vinicchayadhammaṃ ṣuvaṇṇapaṭṭe likhāpetvā.........*

16 *J.*, III, p. 292—*vinicchaye potthakaṃ likhāpetvā imaṃ potthakam olokentā aṭṭaṃ tīreyyātha.*

17 See *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Cal. Univ., 193(?), pp. 128-29.

18 Subba Rao, *Economic and Political conditions as described in the Jātakas*, p 37; cf. Hopkins, *JAOS.*, 13, p. 132.

19 *J.*, II, p. 186; V, pp. 188-92; VI, p. 131.

20 *J.*, II, p. 187; V, p. 229; VI, p. 131.

cases: then return,.........and, after partaking of food try four more cases.' In this way he was required to try only eight cases per day. This arrangement was apparently made for the convenience of an officer whose time was mostly occupied in spiritual work and we have reason to believe here and elsewhere[21] that, the court sat the whole day, from morning to sunset after which all business was to stop.

Cases

Let us now proceed to have a glimpse of the nature of cases which came before the king or his court of justice and the procedure followed in the decision of these.

The term used for a law-suit is *aṭṭa* and the suitors are called the *aṭṭakārakas*. Ordinarily there was a great bustle (*uparavo*) among the waiting suitors in the precincts of the royal palace where generally the Court of Law was situated.[22]

Theft and robbery seem to have been the most ordinary cases that came before the Court for adjudication.[23] Very often an innocent man was arrested on a charge of theft, and brought before the Court. Inflictions of tortures with a view to elicit confession of a crime were prevalent.[24] A simple rustic (*jānapado*), perfectly innocent man, is arrested by the king's men (*purisā*) on a charge of theft of the queen's pearl necklace, and is forced to plead guilty of the charge only to avoid the crushing and ruthless blows administered to him: 'If I deny the charge, I shall die with the beating I shall get from these ruffians. I'd better say I took it.''[25] Thus the man had to confess. And when brought before the king he naïvely implicated the Treasurer (*seṭṭhi*), the latter, in the same manner, implicating the Chaplain (*purohita*), he the chief musician and then a courtezan who utterly denied ever having received the necklace.[26] All the five prisoners were, however,

21 *J.*, I, p. 384; II, p. 2; V, p. 229.

22 *J.*, II, p. 2.

23 Cf. Hopkins. 'and trial for theft seems the earliest kind of judicial inquiry in India'—*JAOS.*, 13, p. 134; also *CHI.*, I, p. 282.

24 *J.*, I, p. 384.

25 *Ibid.*

26 *Ibid.*, pp. 385-86.

found innocent and released. Another very interesting case[27] is that in which Gāmaṇicaṇḍa, a retired government servant, 'the most innocent man that ever was born in the world', stood charged of four offences, viz., (1) non-return of oxen taken on loan,[28] (2) miscarriage, (3) murder, and (4) injury to a horse.

He is brought before the king together with the plaintiffs. In a perfectly judicial manner, the proceedings are related in the story. The plaintiff, in each case, sets forth his complaint. The king questions Gāmaṇi the accused, about its correctness. The latter, on every occasion replies in the affirmative, but he also places his own story by way of justification of the case, without making any secret of it. The king cross-examines the complainants and finds them guilty of 'wilful suppression or denial of truth.' Hence both the parties are found guilty and deserve to be punished. 'The decisions contained such conditions as ever took the breath of a Shylock away'.[29] The judgment on the first charge runs thus: 'You failed to return the oxen and therefore you are his debtor for them. But this man, in saying that he had not seen them, told a direct lie. Therefore you with your own hands shall pluck his eyes out, and you shall yourself pay him 24 pieces of money as the price of the oxen.' On the second charge the judgment was: 'Caṇḍa, you take the man's wife to your house: and when a son shall be born to you, hand him over to the husband.' On the third: 'Caṇḍa, this man must have a father. But you cannot bring him back from the dead. Then take his mother to your house and do you be a father to him.' And on the fourth: 'This man has told a direct lie in saying that he did not tell you to hand back the horse. You may tear out his tongue, and then pay him a thousand pieces for the horse's price.' All the complainants were, however, dumb-founded at this and departed.

As to the judgment and punishment awarded in these cases, prejudiced as they are, we may safely pass them off as not reliable, but there is absolutely no reason of doubting the existence of such charges

27 *J.*, II, pp. 300-7.

28 Cf. *ṛṇadānam* of the *Arthaśāstra* list of cases, III, 11: N. N. Law, *Studies in Ancient Hindu Polity*, p. 119.

29 Sen, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

brought before the Court for decision. From an untoward, yet natural utterance of Gāmaṇicaṇḍa, we learn that one was to pay a fine for causing abortion or give compensation for any loss for which one might be liable.[30]

In the trials[31] we notice that, there is nothing like cross-examination as we may understand to have been prevalent at that time. Only the judge himself questions the parties and decides suits.

Among other cases, those of disputed ownership seem to have been of common occurrence, in almost all of which justice is thrown to the winds and bribery succeeds. Several rightful owners are found deprived of their property.[32]

Once a courtezan came to the Court to take advice as to whether, in the eye of the Law, she was still bound by the terms of a contract entered three years before with a man who had since then not made his appearance.[33] The judges advised her to return to her former profession. This makes us feel that, such suits involving contractual rights and obligations were tried in the law courts.

Much more valuable is the reference to a case where a father, who does not wish his 'wicked' son to succeed to his property, goes to the Court and disinherits his son.[34] This must imply the existence of the necessary written records in possession of the family and also of the Court.

There is a vague reference to fire-ordeal for the sake of proving the chastity of women,[35] but it does not appear that, it was a prevalent system employed and supported by the government as even Kauṭilya, though conversant with that institution as recommended by the Law-

30 *J.*, II, p. 302—*ime mam rañño dassessanti ahaṃ goṇamūlam pi dātuṃ na sakkomi, pag 'eva gabbhapāṭanadaṇḍaṃ, ussamūlam pana' kuto lacchāmi?*

31 Cf. also *J.*, II, pp. 51-52 (here one of the litigant parties is a vulture).

32 *J.*, II, p. 186—*assāmike sāmike karoti;* V, pp. 1, 229; VI, p. 131; cf. also *J.*, II, p. 75—*aṭṭe sahassam parājito;* cf. *Arthaśāstra*, III, 16—*svasvāmi-sambandha*).

33 *J.*, II, p. 380.

34 *J.*, V. p. 468—*atha naṃ vinicchayaṃ netvā aputtabhāvaṃ katvā niharāpesī.*

35 *J.*, I, p. 294.

books,[36] does not mention it, evidently because he regarded such ordeals as questionable expedients.[37]

Legal Procedure

In the instances of cases that we noticed before we nowhere see lawyers defending their clients and cross-examining the opposite party. There are some references to *vohāra* which if consistent and correct in their application would mean some sort of legal practice. Once,[38] we are told, a certain Brāhmaṇa earned his livelihood by following a *vohāra*. In one place,[39] *vohāra* applies to 'trade', whereas in another[40] to the administration of justice. That it went with the latter is also clear from the expression: *so dhammena rajjaṃ kāresi, vinichayam anusāsi.........amaccā pi dhammen' eva vohāraṃ vinicchiniṃsu*, occurring elsewhere.[41] Thus the association of *vohāra* with *vinicchya* enables us to state that *vohāra* or *vyavahāra* as meant by the Law-books and the *Arthaśāstra*,[42] was prevalent in the *Jātaka* times, though not as strictly as it was in latter days.[43] Though we have no details regarding the hearing of cases, the instances already cited, at least show that the complainant stated his case and the accused made his statement in return, probably on oath. Witnesses (*sakkhī*) may be produced,[44] though we have no clear indication for this. Perhaps on the evidence of a witness, cases were reconsidered as the term *nijjhāpanam*, occurring also in the Aśokan Edicts, seems to show.[45]

36 See *CHI.*, I, pp. 282 ff.; P. N. Banerji, *Public Administration in Ancient India*, pp. 163-64.

37 See Dikshitar, *Hindu Adm. Inst.*, pp. 236 ff.; *Mauryan Polity*, p. 166.

38 *J.*, II, p. 15—*tassa pitā vohāraṃ katvā jīvikaṃ kappeti.*

39 *J.*, VI, p. 34—*vohāraṃ katvā dhanam uppādetvā.... ......Suvaṇṇabhūmim gantvā.*

40 *J.*, IV, p. 192, *gāthā* 65—*suditthaṃ anusāseyya sa ve vohātum arahati.*

41 *J.*, II, p. 2.

42 See Dikshitar, *Hindu Adm. Inst.*, pp. 255 ff.; cf. *viyohālasamatā* in Aśoka's Pillar Edict IV.

43 This is doubted by Fick, *op. cit.*, pp. 147 ff.

44 *J.*, VI, p. 108, v. 463.

45 *J.*, IV, p. 495, v. 334; Pillar Edict IV; Barua, *IHQ.*, II, p. 125.

On the whole, it seems that the court was a distinct place by itself, with something of legal atmosphere pervading it.[46] With the growth of various trades and professions, special judgeships were instituted.[47]

Crime and Punishment

We have noted above the nature of some of the cases and offences that came up for trial and punishments awarded therein. Drinking is sometimes punished with heavy fines.[48] Some wine-merchants, once accused of poison-making, are ordered to be executed by the king.[49] Slander was punished with a fine of 8 *kahāpanas*.[50] Adultery in woman (but that in man is never referred to as something punishable) was punishable with 'death, imprisonment, mutilation or even cleaving asunder.'[51]

Punishments were of various kinds: fines, imprisonment, mutilation, banishment and death-penalty (*vadha-bandhana-chejja-bhejja*).[52] Of the four robbers brought before a king, one is sentenced to receive a thousand stripes by barbed whips, another to be imprisoned in chains,

46 It would be interesting, and also, I think, instructive in this connection to observe the life-like and realistic court-scene of those days represented on a medallion at Barhut. The scene is taken from one of the Jātakas, no. 546. I reproduce here the description of the scene as given by A. Foucher in his *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, pp. 50-51: Amarā, the virtuous wife, whose husband is absent, has four suitors to whom she assigns an interview for each of the watches of the same night, and it is also in great esparto baskets that she causes her tricked lovers to be packed by her servants. At the moment chosen by the sculptor, we are in the midst of the court: the king is seated on his throne, surrounded by his ministers, and at his right side, one of the women of the harem is waving a fly-flapper. Amarā is standing on the other side, her left hand on the shoulder of her attendant, and at her order, the covers of three of the baskets have already been raised and the heads of three of the delinquents uncovered, whilst two coolies bring the fourth.' See *Ibid.*, pl. V, fig. 5, Cunningham, *Stūpa of Bharhut*, pl. xxv, fig. 3.

47 *J.*, IV, p. 43—*sabbaseṇīnaṃ vicāraṇārahaṃ Bhaṇḍāgārikaṭṭhānaṃ*. See Mrs. Rhys Davids, *JRAS.*, 1901, p. 865.

48 *J.*, I, p. 199.

49 *J.*, V, p. 14.

50 *J.*, I, p. 483.

51 *J.*, V, p. 444; also *J.*, II, p. 309.

52 *J.*, V, pp. 245-6, 444; cf. *Arthaśāstra*, IV, 2; RE. V; PE. IV.

the third to be smitten with a spear, and the fourth to be impaled.[53] Confiscation of property was not uncommon.[54] Trampling the criminals to death under the feet of elephants may have been in vogue.[55] But such cruel and harsh punishments were resorted to in the case of tried thieves and robbers. Some offenders were sometimes banished from their country in great humiliation, with all their property confiscated to the state or were ordered to live in the Caṇḍāla settlement.[56] Shaving the heads of criminals was regarded as a severe punishment.[57]

Thefts and highway-robberies were not uncommon in those days. And it is not at all unnatural that the kings of those days very often deal very harshly with these criminals. It seems that, no legal procedure, even of the kind of which we have spoken before, was gone through in such cases. Summary justice by the king seems to have been the ordinary course. Whenever a thief was found out,[58] he was first of all belaboured by the people themselves and then dragged before the king for punishment.[59] Sometimes, thorough investigation is made to find out the criminal, such as by shutting all the city-gates, and searching the suspected places.[60] Fetters for a thief were in use.[61] Though such statements in the summary justice by the king as 'off with him, impale him on the stake,'[62] are parts of the fanciful stories, it is nevertheless certain that, such inhuman punishments as impaling

53 *J.*, VI, p. 3—*tasmiṃ khaṇe cattāro corā ānītā, tesu ekassa sukaṇṭakāni kasāhi pahārasahassam āṇāpesi, ekassa saṃkhalikabandhanāgārassa pavesanaṃ, ekassa sarīre sattipahārudānaṃ, ekassa sūlāropanaṃ.*

54 *J.*, V, p. 357—*gharavilopanam.*

55 *J.*, I, p. 200.

56 *J.*, VI, p. 156.

57 *Ibid.*, p. 135, v. 588. These and such other punishments to disgrace the man in the eye of the public have been resorted to throughout the history. Megasthenes mentions cropping of the hair as a punishment: *Fragment*, xxvii. They are still practised. On these methods of punishment and disgrace, see Kalipada Mitra, *JBORS.*, XX, pp. 80-86, who treats the subject from a folklorist's point of view. That such practices persist even today is proved by some incidents witnessed by the above writer.

58 *Corā dhanassa patthenti*—thieves ever watch to steal our wealth—seems to have been a common cry of the people. *J.*, VI, p. 28, v. 120.

59 *J.*, II, p. 122.

60 *J.*, II, pp. 122-23; III, pp. 436, 461.

61 *J.*, I, pp. 370, 500.

62 *J.*, I, p. 371; IV, p. 29.

the criminal on a wooden stake,[63] and the execution by axe,[64] were not uncommon: This whole system of execution and the office of the executioner (*coraghātaka*)[65] seem to present a realistic picture through the description of the stories which we should note.

Execution

When a person was to be announced as to be executed, special execution-drum (*vajjabherī*) was beaten.[66] The condemned man was tightly bound, his hands behind his back, and a garland of red flowers (*kaṇṇavera vajjamālā*) was placed around his neck, He was sprinkled with brick dust on his head and then, scourged with whips on every square (*catukkha*) and was led away through the south gates to the place of execution (*āghātaṃ*), to the music of harsh-sounding drum.[67]

The figure of the Coraghātaka is as distinct as it is cruel. A hatchet (*pharasu*) on his shoulder, and a thorny rope (*kaṇṭakakasaṃ*) in his hand, dressed in a yellow robe (*kāsāyanivāsano*) and adorned with a red garland (*rattamālādharo*), he accompanies the horrible procession and prepares himself for his cruel task.[68] There in the place of execution (*āghātaṃ*), the condemned person was placed within the 'fatal circle' (*dhammagaṇḍikaṃ*), and the axe did its deed.[69]

Imprisonment

Let us now turn to the jail administration of those days. Regular prisons—*bandhanāgārāṇi*—did exist.[70] But we do not know

63 *J.*, III, p. 34; IV, p. 29; VI, p. 3; cf. *Manu*, VIII, p. 320.

64 *J.*, II, p. 124; III, pp. 41, 178-9; V, p. 303.

65 The executioners are also known as *Kāsāviyā* from the yellow robe they wore: *J.*, III, p. 41; IV, p. 447, vv. 193, 197.

66 *J.*, I, p. 500; III, p. 59.

67 *J.*, I, p. 500; II, p. 123; III, pp. 59, 436; IV, p. 191; cf. the figure of the condemned man in the *Mṛcchakaṭikam*.

68 *J.*, III, pp. 41, 178-9; V, p. 303.

69 *J.*, III, p. 41; IV, p. 176. A curious idea is embodied in a *gāthā*, no. 1381—repeated in no. 1407. See *J.*, VI, p. 315, wherein it is said that 'the victim should not address the executioner, nor should the latter ask the victim to address him'.

70 *J.*, I, p. 385; III, pp. 326, 392; V, p. 459; VI, pp. 3, 387, 388, 427.

what kind of offenders were imprisoned or how the period of imprisonment was apportioned in accordance with the seriousness of the offence. Learned and trusted ministers are once thrown into prison for plotting against the life of an innocent man,[71] for what term we are not told. As to the life of the prisoners, it was very hard indeed. They were bound in chains of iron (*saṅkhalikā-bandhanam*).[72] The sad and miserable plight of a released prisoner (*nikkhamaṇakālo viya*) is taken as a standard of comparison for a person who has not bathed for days together, nor rinsed his mouth nor performed any bodily ablutions.[73] The stories seem to suggest that the prisoners were wholly at the mercy of the king, their life and death were in his hands. A king, in order to save his own life from a *yakkha*, promised to send to him one man daily as his food. His ministers encouraged him by saying: "Be not troubled, there are many men in the jail. The king at once began to send one prisoner daily and after a time the jails became empty."[74] In the same way in another place,[75] the prisoners are murdered.

In case of emergency even the prisons were thrown open and the released theives and robbers were employed as warriors and fighting-men against an enemy.[76]

On certain special occasions also like the return of a prince from Takkasilā[77] or his marriage and coronation,[78] or on festivals,[79] general release of prisoners was declared by beat of drum (*bandhanamokkho ghosito*).[80]

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71 *J.*, VI, pp. 387-88.

72 *J.*, VI, p. 427.

73 *J.*, VI, p. 8, cf. *Manu*, IX, p. 288.

74 *J.*, III, p. 326—*mā cintayithā, bahū bandhanāgāre manussā ti............ aparabhāge bandhanāgārāni nimmanussāni jātāni.*

75 *J.*, V, p. 459.

76 *J.*, VI, p. 427.

77 *J.*, IV, p. 176.

78 *J.*, V, p. 285; VI, p. 156, v. 746.

79 *J.*, VI, p. 327, v. 1444—*ye keci baddhā mama atthi raṭṭhe, sabbe va te bandhanā mocayantu;* also *J.*, VI, p. 592, v. 2467.

80 Cf. *Arthaśāstra*, II, 36; Aśoka's Pillar Edict V.

Taxation of Vijayanagara

It may be stated at the outset, that one of the most important factors that crowned the efforts of the Hindus of Vijayanagara with success in mediæval times, was the immense revenue which that kingdom could command even from the very earliest stages of her political importance. Tradition has kept this fact in the mystic story of Vidyāraṇya and the shower of gold for 3¾ *ghaṭis*.

The system of taxation was very productive and efficient. Three features determined its nature; firstly, the ancient Hindu theory; secondly, the usage of the Cola and the Hoysala kingdoms, and lastly, the Muhammadan practice.

The conception of a tax was the same in Vijayanagara, as it is now. The modern view of the essence of a tax is stated by Prof. Taussig to be the absence of a direct '*quid pro quo*' between the tax-payer and the public authority. The definition of Kauṭilya and Śukra are consistent to this, and also to its compulsory nature.

In Vijayanagara the use of different terms like *gutta*, *guttige*, *suṅka*, *suṅkamu* etc. shows that they understood the essential features of a tax as distinguished from other financial obligations to the state. I do not mean to suggest that there was any clear cut distinction between Taxes and Receipts. Such an absolute distinction is almost impossible, ever, because in many cases both the elements are intertwined. Again the definition of a tax cannot be pressed too far because of the duties that the State owes to the people.

Apart from the term Receipts that I use to signify non-tax revenue, Dr. Dalton uses another term "public revenue" to differentiate certain other features of a tax system non-existent in Vijayanagara, such as paper money freshly put into circulation, or the receipts from public borrowings, or the sale of assets.

Śukra's term *Śulka* is narrower in its meaning than the term "public receipts," that I have used, though I believe that it means more than mere customs duties and the excise duties of the modern times.

In Vijayanagara public receipts were quite important. They were receipts from public property passively held, such as the royalty on mines and forests that were leased out, fisheries and probably pearl-fisheries, trees like the areca palms, etc., and rent from land as distinguished from land revenue etc. But it is incorrect to include any enterprise that the state carried on under this head, because there was an element of a tax even in the famous Kṛṣṇadeva-rāya's sale of horses.

Developing this distinction on broad lines we have 'Taxes ordinarily so-called'. This includes (1) Land Revenue as distinguished from Land rent, (2) Customs and Excise, (3) Taxes on Gardens and plantations, (4) Taxes on Houses, (5) General tax on certain persons like Jiyars, Jangamas, Mādigas, mendicants etc., (6) Taxes on professional classes like the artisans, carpenters, temple-priests, and even shepherds, (7) Taxes on Transactions like the sale of sheep, (8) and lastly, on commodities like the implements of work, viz., looms, furnaces, ploughs, salt-pans, sugarcane and oil-mills etc. Articles of consumption like food, eggs, corn, grain, betel-leaves etc., inanimate possessions like gold etc., and animate possessions including tortoises, goats, and trees were also taxed.

We then have tributes and indemnities, which often formed a very considerable amount. This forms the second of our divisions.

Thirdly, there are the forced loans. There is no direct inscriptional evidence to prove the levy of these, though there are several inscriptions about the remissions of forced labour. If we can distinguish this from the labour exacted as a tax on artisans and workers, we may get an instance of a forced loan of services, which, in terms of economics, is very little different from a forced loan of commodities like gold.

Fourthly, we have penalties and fines, judicial or administrative.

To these must be added a few other items in which the tax element predominates, though they are not taxes in the strict sense of the term.

Firstly, we have the receipts from enterprises carried on by the State with the use of monopoly power to raise its prices above the competitive level. Kṛṣṇadeva-rāya's sale of horses comes under this head; because it was a state monopoly, and the prices were

raised so much more above a possible competitive level as to be able to cover the cost of the total number of horses that he bought, though he retained the best of them for his own use.

Secondly, we have the voluntary gifts. A comparatively large number of inscriptions dealing with this subject leads us to conclude that this was quite a regular and substantial factor in the state's income. The idea of the maintenance of Dharma was so dominant in that state which stood expressly as a champion of Dharma, that any help rendered to the king in performing his Dharma was in itself a pious act and conducive to merit. These gifts took several forms. There were conventional presents at the birth of a son and a daughter (kaṭnālu); New Year presents, presents of a religious nature, and other unconventional presents given occasionally to acquire merit.

Thirdly, there are the Special Assessments.[1] I do not think that there were any special assessments even though the people of Vijayanagara might have understood the increase in the value of property by special circumstances, like the building of a new temple or the construction of a new lake or a canal.

This classification is different from the orthodox classification of the Hindu law-givers. The classification of Manu is based on the rate of the tax and the form of its levy, e.g.,

1/50 on cattle and gold.

1/8 or 1/6 or 1/12 of the crops etc.

Kauṭilya's classification is based on administrative convenience, as he includes game, timber, and elephants under the head of the forests; tolls, fines, sugar, ghee, goldsmiths, prostitutes and gambling under the head of the forts and so on. Sukra's classification is much better, and I have tried to follow him as far as possible. But even Sukra is confused when he tries to differentiate *akṛṣṭapacya* and *āraṇya*. Dr. Ghoshal translates the former as "what is received without cultivation or effort," that is nature's contribution. The latter is interpreted as the forest produce. Whatever be the etymological grounds for this translation, I do not see the point in this. Again, in what sense does

1 By special assessment I mean what Prof. Seligman defines as 'a compulsory contribution, levied in proportion to the special benefits derived, to defray the cost of a specific improvement to property, undertaken in the public interest.'

Sukra think of *nidhi* as State income? Does *nidhi* mean that which is deposited with the state as one scholar interprets. It is to avoid these difficulties that I have adopted my present classification.

We can go a little further and examine all these in the light of the popular divisions of taxes, as direct and indirect, temporary and permanent, on income and on capital, on property and commodities and on persons and on things. I will not go into the details, however, partly because it is largely a matter of theoretical interest and partly because such differentiation is more apparent than real in many cases.

It is obvious from the innumerable number of taxes that the Vijayanagara rulers were not believers in the single tax system. Even if we widen the notion of a single tax so as to include all taxes assessed on income or on the capital value of property, it does not include all the taxes in Vijayanagara particularly the taxes on Jangamas, Jiyars, on marriages etc. A Multiple Tax system was preferred firstly because the Hindu canonists allowed a wide margin in the levying of taxes, especially in extraordinary times, and secondly because of the special factors which brought about the rise of Vijayanagara. A third reason, I believe, is equally, if not more, important. That is the sense of equity of the rulers and the ruled of Vijayanagara—the idea that it would lead to very bad distribution of taxation in allowing certain people with great taxable capacity to escape.

The existence of a Multiple Tax system in Vijayanagara warded off two of the worst evils of a tax system based on a single tax. Anomalies as between persons were easily corrected by one tax if not the other, and evasions were less easy, perhaps non-existent.

A special feature of this multiple system seems to be the fact that the rulers thought that it must be felt as much as possible. The question of its justification or otherwise will be discussed later on. But it is a noticeable fact that opinion is divided even among the modern economists as regards its justification. The rulers of Vijayanagara as well as the people seem to have been aware of the fact that 'taxation was not for revenue only.' 'Everybody was aware of the *raison de'etre* of the emergence and existence of Vijayanagara, and believed that they were doing their Dharma in paying their taxes to their king. We have a statement in *Mahābhārata*, Sānti Parva:

"Without wealth a king may acquire religious merit. Life however is much more important than religious merit."

"From the treasury springs his religious merit, O Son of Kunti, and it is in consequence of the treasury that the roots of the kingdom extend."

Manu says,

"Let him not cut up his own root by levying no taxes nor the root of men by excessive greed; by cutting up his own root (or theirs) he makes himself or them wretched."

Sukra also writes on the same lines.

In extraordinary times these philosophers go much farther and say that not only can the rates be increased but the ruler can encroach upon forbidden fields.

If we link these ideas together with the conception of the duties of a king in those times, we see how the people must have realized their participation in the maintenance of Dharma. To this we have to add the opinions of private people expressed in their inscriptions recording voluntary contributions of various sorts.

There were other reasons for the existence of a Multiple Tax system. The spirit of the ancient and mediæval laws of taxation seems to be something akin to that of Arthur Young, quoted by Bastable as follows: "if I were to define a good system of taxation, it should be that of bearing lightly on an infinite number of points, heavily on none." The very fact that they wanted the community at large to feel the taxes, made them take resort to this multiplicity of taxes so that this direct burden may not all be felt by any one section. Besides the fear of revolt or more commonly of strikes of non-payment of taxes as numerous inscriptions show, made the monarch refrain from straining any one particular section.

A third cause is the historical one. Dr. Dalton stresses the importance of this cause when he says: "Almost everywhere, and even in Great Britain, whose tax system is simpler than that of any other important modern community, the so-called historical causes have led to a needless multiplicity of taxes and to needless complexity in methods of assessment." In India, this group of causes had much greater importance, especially in Vijayanagara times. The Vijaya-

nagara monarchs were essentially heirs to the Hoysala and the other pre-Vijayanagara dynastic traditions. One needs only to look into the lists of taxes in the Vijayanagara and the Hoysala, Tamil and Telugu kingdoms, to see that this is true.

But the rulers of Vijayanagara suffered from the same defects as all advocates of Multiple Tax system are bound to suffer, if they carry their argument to its logical limits. Firstly, the total money burden of the tax on the community as a whole was by no means less because it was wide-spread. I will refer to it presently when dealing with the question of incidence. Apart from this it was not good from the point of view of the collection of the taxes.

Now we come to the question of incidence. There is another word that is misunderstood so much as this one, I mean the word tax. Prof. Cannan proposes to discard this term altogether, but it is surviving and is daily becoming more popular. This has to be carefully distinguished from the indirect money burden, and also from the direct and indirect real burden of the tax or the system of taxation. Even a recent writer on this subject, Dr. B. A. Saletore, was not clear about incidence, when he says that the incidence must have varied from province to province to which he attributes the migration of peoples from one province to another. On close examination we find that, actually incidence may be the least important cause of their migration. Though the incidence of the tax be the same in two provinces, migration may take place if the total direct and indirect real burden of the tax or the tax system, and the indirect money burden of the tax or tax system be lesser in one province than another due to other factors.

Again, as we have already seen, the system of taxation must be examined as a whole in judging the incidence. For, even if the incidence of one tax is very light on one particular person or commodity it may be counteracted by the greater incidence of another tax on him, or on that commodity. Again, as Prof. Bastable points out the existence of varying standards of comfort even amongst the lowest classes at different times and places must be recognised in order to arrive at a satisfactory account of the incidence. Besides and above the physical minimum, there is what Mill calls "Moral Minimum." When that

minimum is exceeded, there is something on which taxation may fall. In other words, to estimate the incidence of a tax we must know its effect on the standard of life. This is the obvious mistake that most persons make when they read the list of rates of taxes prevalent in Vijayanagara or any ancient empire, and compare them with the present rates, completely ignoring the varying standards of comfort and the effects on the standards of life. This is, in fact, the most important factor in our historical study of any Taxation system.

Some economists have tried to prove that the doctrine of capitalisation of taxes is fallacious, but they have erred in taking the opposite extreme. The advocates of the doctrine of capitalisation of taxes assert that taxes on more or less permanent sources of revenue like the land taxes and many other taxes of Vijayanagara depress the selling value of the object taxed when they are first imposed, but that no burden is transmitted to subsequent purchasers of this object, since they buy knowing that the tax is payable and hence their prices are reduced accordingly. The opponents of this theory contend that even the subsequent purchasers of the taxed object gain if the tax is repealed, and so the incidence (measured by the relief they get from the repeal) just falls on the first person who paid the tax. But this objection seems to play with the word incidence and hide behind a group of words the real fact that incidence has two aspects, and that the incidence of a tax may become lesser or greater by the change of other conditions, even if the amount of the tax be the same. The argument that the incidence of a specified amount of tax on an acre of land near the modern ruins of Vijayanagara has been the same during the 11th, 15th and 20th centuries, hardly needs any refutation. Besides, these critics seem to forget that incidence is but one of the many problems connected with a tax, and except in relation to them it has not got so much significance by itself.

One particular feature of Vijayanagara must not be missed in studying the subject of incidence. Dr. Saletore writes, "The threat of a general strike or of deserting their homes, brought forth a revenue enquiry, the results of which were generally accepted as satisfactory." There are many inscriptions both royal and otherwise which show that the king gave special orders to special officers to look into the matter,

and in some cases investigated the matter himself. Sometimes there was actual reduction of taxes in general. At other times a compromise was arrived at by ordering a consolidated amount to be paid by the people.

Corporate bodies exercised a great influence in the matter of voting the taxes or getting remission or modification of them. The importance and power of corporate bodies in the political life of South India is great, and needs to be thoroughly studied. I can only add here that we have definite inscriptional and other evidences to show the organised activities of prosperous groups of commercial classes, which voted for their overlords the dues of the country.

If we now look at the problem of distribution, we must remember that even here we take account of only the direct and not of the indirect burden of taxation. Again we must remember that individual taxes in themselves should not be condemned as inequitable. In Dr. Dalton's words, "there may be inequity in parts but equity in the whole."

A sense of equity must have dominated the minds of the Vijayanagara rulers in the levy of taxes, as seen from the elaborate rules and the differentiation made in the nature of the commodity and the nature of the person affected by the tax. We have a critical appreciation and enforcement of the *via media* between *ad valorem* and specific taxes. In the case of land taxes and taxes on more or less permanent property the process of estimation, or survey and assessment at certain definite and fixed rates was followed carefully. Even in their collection certain definite methods or principles were adhered to.

Without much discussion we can eliminate the principle of cost of service and benefit of service, because in my opinion the principle on which the equitable distribution of taxation in the Vijayanagara empire was based was the principle of individual ability to pay. Actually in one form or another this is the principle on which the taxation of any country devolves on, even if we do not agree that the other two principles of cost of service and benefit of service are impracticable.

What was the Vijayanagara conception of ability to pay? Most of the taxes conform to two principles, namely equal sacrifice, wherein the direct money burden of taxation should be so distributed that the

direct real burden on all tax-payers is equal; and minimum sacrifice, wherein the total burden of the tax-payers as a whole is as little as possible. That is to say, there were proportional taxes, like most of the *ad valorem* taxes (such as taxes on *nava-ratna*, carpets, and some cases of certain taxes on land), and regressive taxes, like the specific taxes assessed per load or per certain weight (where the larger the tax-payer's income the smaller is the proportion that he contributes). The principle of proportional sacrifice and progressive taxation does not seem to be at all understood, though in actual fact the taxes tended to be progressive in many cases where the taxes were levied per unit of value, according to equal sacrifice. Whether this ignorance of the progressive idea was due to the fact that the marginal utility of income diminished slowly in those days, I cannot venture to say at this stage; because it still remains to be discussed whether the marginal utility of income diminished as rapidly then as it does nowadays.

The system of taxation as a whole, I think, tends to be slightly progressive, based on the principle of proportional sacrifice. The principle of minimum sacrifice is ignored and no limit of exemption is allowed. Even the *mādigas* and the shepherds were taxed, though it is very unlikely that they had even all the amenities of life in abundance. But we must remember that equity is a term with a subjective meaning, and that opinions and ideas about equity are always changing. Probably to the minds of the Vijayanagara rulers and the people, there was nothing very much that was inequitable in this system, or else it would not have lasted so long. If private bodies and corporations voted sums to their king basing on these principles, we should be rash in saying that they were acting against their ideas of equity.

Let us examine the tax system from the point of view of the State. The first point is economy. Sir Josiah Stamp points out that taxes in countries like Ancient Persia, or Turkey and China, had very little margin over and above the expenses of current collection, and hence were highly uneconomical. To consider this in the case of Vijayanagara, we will have to go into the huge problem of the administrative machinery of this empire and into the problem of farming. But in a general survey like this, I may quote Dr. Saletore who has gone into

this question deeply though from a different angle. He states that Sukra enjoins two ways of collecting land revenue, (and this applies to other sources of revenue also): (1) Farming out to the rich men in the village. (2) Collecting by officers of the Central Government, with salaries of 1/16, 1/12, 1/8, or 1/6 of the revenue in the area. "Vijayanagara followed this principle and had both." This was so because the revenue administration of Vijayanagara seems to have been thoroughly centralised like that of the Tamil governments, which had detailed surveys with accurate measurements, elaborate registers, an elaborate system of civil service and so on.

As regards customs and excise we know that the State fixed definite centres where they ought to be collected very much on the lines of Sukra, who says, "Sulka ought to be collected at the market place, street and mines." "It is to be realised only once either from the buyer or the seller." But all told, it is exceedingly difficult to judge, from the woeful lack of statistics, as to what proportion of the amount collected was spent in the actual collection, and what proportion of the money paid by the tax-payer reached the state. Speaking broadly, I can only say that there was no special factor like the worst influence of farming or too much of red-tape to make it particularly bad from the point of view of economy. The fact that the taxes from the very poor were exempted or excused in some cases shows that considerations of economy prevailed in spite of the then prevalent opinion that everybody should contribute something in order that a sense of political responsibility should be widely diffused.

The last point shows that there were no impracticable ideas. Practicability was at the root of the system, and theory stepped in only to justify what already existed in practice. The competency of the administrative machinery in collecting any of the taxes imposed, and the probabilities of evasion and fraud must have actuated the rulers in many of the remissions that they actually granted, of which we have inscriptional evidence. Yet one wonders how the *ad valorem* excise duties were collected without either too much difficulty and inconvenience to the populace or a great amount of loss to the state.

There is one principle that the rulers of Vijayanagara must have greatly considered, and that is the probability of drying up the source

of tax. In an agricultural community where convention largely rules the standard of life, and where the ability of the state to bring to book a peasant for example, was limited by so many factors (including the intervention of corporate bodies and the threat of desertion and strike), the principle of "what the traffic will bear" must have been the ultimate and in many cases the obvious factor that determined the demands of the state. Every land-holder knows that even today in an area of peasant proprietors, the contract that the owner of the land holds with the actual cultivator is practically nominal, and that the actual return that the owner gets is determined solely by what the peasant can pay after the harvest. The government in the days of Vijayanagara must have been in a similar position in this respect.

From the point of view of the individual, the chief canon of criticism is the ability to pay. This is generally interpreted to mean ability with reference to monetary resources, but Sir Josiah Stamp points out that even personal pride is not without its influence on one's tax-paying ability.

Various tests of ability have been given by economists. In the measurement of ability the unit of time adopted by Vijayanagara rulers, was helpful, unlike the system in many modern countries, where people generally think of income by the year, though the vast majority of people think only in terms of the week, and make the week their unit of time. A case like the Munitions Levy could not happen in Vijayanagara, for if this country depended on such a system she could have got no land revenue or excise duties from the notoriously thriftless agricultural classes and petty industrialists. There was not much difficulty about the conception of the Pure Income. This was because, at least in the case of land revenue and revenue from petty industrialists there was no great likelihood of wastage of capital. Again, there could be no discrimination between earned and unearned income, since the continuance of the income depended entirely on the activity of the worker, the co-operation of nature being granted. In the majority of cases domestic circumstances and the factor of economic surplus distinction must have reacted on the total direct and indirect real burden of the tax-payer who manifested his attitude in his usual customary method of either a threat or an actual strike.

There are many other problems connected with taxation in Vijayanagara, like the effects of taxation on the ability and incentive of the people to work and save, its effects on the distribution of wealth, its economic effects on the community as a whole, its psychological effects and a host of others. These cannot be dealt with here in detail, but before concluding we may note three important points regarding the system in general.

Firstly, there is no country in the world in which the system of taxation has been established, systematically and deliberately. Everywhere the accidents of political and commercial considerations in past history have been perpetuated, and condition the present system. So was it in the case of Vijayanagara, and to examine its statistical aspect is to miss probably the most integral element in it, that is, the dynamical element which is more in conformity with practical life. Unfortunately the administrative and other problems relating to the kingdoms which preceded Vijayanagara, have not been examined thoroughly.

Secondly, our ideas of justice and equity in taxation change with the alterations in the social conditions. As Seligman says, "Finance and economics are inextricably intertwined and like all the facts of social life, taxation itself is only an historical category."

Thirdly, though the Taxation Enquiry Committee of 1924-25 decided that Land Revenue is essentially a tax on things and not on persons, and though Land Revenue formed a large part of the taxation of Vijayanagara, I cannot help thinking that the system of taxation under Vijayanagara was more personal and subjective than what Prof. Seligman has referred to as 'real or scientific taxation.' A personal tax in order to be successful must be national; and this was natural and inevitable in Vijayanagara, because of the peculiar factors which brought it into existence, and maintained it for more than two and half centuries against immense odds. To study the system of taxation in the Vijayanagara empire without understanding these factors is like trying to understand the modern post-war economic problems without much reference to the factors that gave rise to them.

At the root of all systems of finance we have the idea of maximum social advantage. Opinion may differ as to what constitutes maximum social advantage. A tyrant justifies lavish expenditure on pomp and

splendour as conducive to maximum social advantage. But the problem of taxation loses its infinite importance in respect of maximum social advantage, unless it is viewed in its proper relation to expenditure. Wealth is a means to an end and its relative distribution is bound up with the question of how best that end could be reached. If, argue the Socialists, that end could be reached by the action of the community as a whole in its capacity as the state, why not take a lot from the community in the form of taxes? In essence the argument of an autocrat differs little from this. So it is necessary to emphasise the importance of the relative position of taxation in the system of finance in any country or kingdom, which again is an aspect of the wider sphere of the factors governing the rise and the existence of the state.

I have suggested a method for the study of the taxation problems of not only Vijayanagara but of every kingdom and empire for which we have any considerable amount of detail. Mere lists of rates of taxes added to the statements of individual observations of laymen can never be a sure test of the soundness or otherwise of any system of taxation, of any country, at any time. So the present method may be adopted at least in a spirit of a bold experiment on lines different from the customary. All systems need to be examined even as all taxes.

P. SREENIVASACHAR

Śaśāṅka

Śaśāṅka was one of the great political figures in India in the first half of the seventh century A.D. The history of this king has been discussed by Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda,[1] Mr. R. D. Banerjee,[2] Dr. R. C. Majumdar,[3] and Dr. R. G. Basak.[4] All of them have not noticed many important points in the subject as they concentrated their attention mainly to the discussion of the clash between that monarch and the king Rājyavardhana of the Puṣpabhūti dynasty. An attempt has been made here to reconstruct the detailed history of Śaśāṅka with the help of the available evidences.

The earliest reference to Śaśāṅka is found in an inscription[5] which is engraved in the rock of the hill-fort of Rohtasgarh, 24 miles south-west of Sasseram, in the Shahabad District of the Province of Bihar. The inscription records only the name "*Śrī-Mahāsāmanta-Śaśāṅkadevasya*" (Of the Mahāsāmanta Śrī Śaśāṅka). As the inscription, from the palæographical point of view, is to be placed in the early part of the seventh century A.D., there cannot be any doubt that Śaśāṅka, referred to therein, is identical with Śaśāṅka, the adversary of Rājyavardhana. It therefore follows from the above inscription that Śaśāṅka began his political career as a vassal under some king. But no suggestion has yet been made by the scholars about the identity of the king who was the overlord of Śaśāṅka. It is not, however, very difficult to arrive at a fairly definite conclusion on the matter.

The Maukhari Īśānavarman, who was ruling in 554 A.D.,[6] was followed on the Maukhari throne by Sarvavarman, Anantivarman, and Grahavarman in succession. Grahavarman lost his life in the early part of his reign about 605 A.D. If the date 554 A.D. is assumed as

1 *Gauḍarājamālā*, pp. 7 ff.
2 *Bāṅglār Itihāsa*, pp. 100 ff.; *History of Orissa*, pp. 126 ff.
3 *Early History of Bengal*, pp. 16 ff.
4 *History of North-Eastern India*, pp. 132 ff.
5 *CII.*, p. 284.
6 *EI.*, vol. XIV, p. 119.

the last year of Īśāṇavarman's reign, and if a reign of twentyfive years is allotted to each of Sarvavarman and Avantivarman, the year of Grahavarman's accession falls in 604 A.D. In any case Śaśāṅka, who was a contemporary of Grahavarman, was very likely a contemporary of the latter's father Avantivarman. It is known from the Deva-Baranark or Deo-Baranark inscription of Jīvitagupta II[7] that Sarvavarman and Avantivarman granted the village of Vāruṇikā, situated in the Vālavī Viṣaya of the Nagara-Bhukti. Vāruṇikā is Deva-Baranark, about 25 miles south-west of Arrah, the chief town of the Shahabad District in the Province of Bihar, where the inscription was discovered. Vālavī Viṣaya roughly corresponds to the Shahabad District. This definitely settles that Śaśāṅka was a feudatory of Avantivarman, and, probably for a short period of his son Grahavarman.

Dr. Basak remarks that[8] Śaśāṅka "had his first administrative centre established in Karṇasuvarṇa; he gradually extended his power by occupation of Puṇḍravardhana in the north and some places in south Bihar i.e. Gaya, Rohitāśvagiri (or Rhotas hill) even up to Benares in the west, and the whole country, in the south, up to Koṅgada Province, situated in the modern Ganjam district, south of Orissa." It seems quite unlikely that Śaśāṅka held sway over such a vast territory of Magadha, Rāḍhā and Gauḍa as a feudatory of the Maukharis. In that case the territory of the feudatory is to be taken to have been larger than that of the over-lord. Moreover there is no evidence to prove that the kingdom of Śaśāṅka, so long as he was a feudatory, extended beyond the Shahabad District. In ancient time Rohitagiri, modern Rohtasgarh, was an important political centre. It was the capital of the ancestors of the Candras of East Bengal.[9] As the Rohtasgarh inscription associates Śaśāṅka with that place, the conclusion becomes irresistible that it was his early capital. This diminishes the value of Dr. Majumdar's remark that Śaśāṅka "was the first great national hero of Bengal of whom history has preserved

7 *CII.*, p. 218.

8 *History of North-Eastern India*, p. 140.

9 *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. III, p. 6.

any record."[10] Śaśāṅka had as much claim to be called a national hero of Bengal as any successful invader of that country.

Śaśāṅka, before he launched his western campaigns, must have brought Magadha, Gauḍa and Rāḍhā under his sway, and transferred his capital to Karṇasuvarṇa, modern Raṅgamati, in the Murshidabad District of Bengal. The king from whom Śaśāṅka wrested those two provinces of Gauḍa and Rāḍhā cannot be determined with any amount of certainty. The Bappaghoṣa inscription[11] informs that Karṇasuvarṇa was under the sway of the King Jayanāga in the latter part of the sixth century A.D. The Nidhanpur plates[12] report that Bhāṣkaravarman, king of Kāmarūpa, occupied Karṇasuvarṇa for some time. Seals of Bhāṣkaravarman and his elder brother Supratiṣṭhitavarman were found in the ruins of Nalanda.[13] There is no agreement among the scholars regarding the period when Karṇasuvarṇa passed into the hands of Bhāṣkaravarman. Dr. Majumdar[14] suggests that Bhāṣkaravarman conquered Karṇasuvarṇa after the death of Harṣa in 647 A.D. Mr. R. D. Banerji[15] is of opinion that Harṣa and Bhāṣkaravarman took possession of Karṇasuvarṇa by defeating Śaśāṅka before 619 A.D., after which the vanquished king retired to Ganjam. Dr. Basak[16] states that Harṣa with the help of his ally Bhāṣkaravarman conquered Karṇasuvarṇa by defeating Śaśāṅka or his successor, and handed it over to the king of Kāmarūpa.

It is known from the *Harṣacarita* that Bhāṣkaravarman sent his messenger Haṃsavega for concluding an alliance with Harṣa. The object of this political move was that "from childhood upwards it was this Kumāra's (Bhāṣkaravarman's) first resolution never to do homage to anybody except the lotus-feet of Śiva. Such an ambition, so difficult of attainment in the three worlds, may be reached by one of three means, by a conquest of the whole earth, by death, or by a friend like Harṣa."[17] Bhāṣkaravarman had no other alternative but

10 *Early History of Bengal*, p. 16.
11 *EI.*, vol. XVIII, p. 60.
12 *EI.*, vol. XII, p. 76.
13 *Ibid.*, vol. XXI, p. 77.
14 *Early History of Bengal*, p. 20.
15 *History of Orissa*, p. 129; vol. I: Prehistoric, p. 198.
16 *Hist. North-Eastern India*, pp. 153, 227.
17 Cowell, *Harṣa-carita*, p. 217.

to take recourse to the last one. Here, the indication is quite clear that some external force was threatening to deprive Bhāṣkaravarman of his royal position, and it was not possible for him to maintain his sovereign power without an alliance with Harṣa. It is unanimously agreed that the enemy, whom Bhāṣkaravarman was afraid of, was none other than Śaśāṅka. Mr. R. D. Banerji rightly thinks that[18] "Bhāṣkaravarman of Assam may have felt the weight of Śaśāṅka's arms before he sent an ambassador to Harṣa to seek his alliance." It is equally possible that Bhāṣkaravarman wrested the throne of Karṇasuvarṇa from Jayanāga, and was forced to surrender it to Śaśāṅka. Śaśāṅka also conquered Gauḍa from him. Śaśāṅka's decisive victory made Bhāṣkaravarman realise that his sovereignty of Kāmarūpa was in danger. Whether Śaśāṅka actually invaded Kāmarūpa is not known.

Śaśāṅka probably made his southern conquests before he proceeded to the west. The Ganjam plates[19] record that when Mahārājādhirāja Śaśāṅka was ruling, Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta Mādhavarāja II, from his camp of Koṅgoda, near the bank of the Śāmila river, granted the village of Chavalakhaye, which belonged to the Kṛṣṇagiri Viṣaya, to a Brāhmaṇa. It is dated Guptābda 300 = A.D. 619. Koṅgoda, which was the chief town of Koṅgoda-Maṇḍala, seems to be identical with Koṅgoda, situated in the Ramgiri Agency of the Ganjam District, Madras Presidency. Koṅgoda-Maṇḍala is identified with the Ganjam District. The inscription refers to Mahārāja Ayaśobhita as the father, and the Mahārāja Mahāsāmanta Mādhavarāja I as the grandfather, of Mādhavarāja II.

Mādhavarāja II belonged to the Śailodbhava dynasty, which first rose into importance in Kaliṅga.[20] It appears from the Ganjam plate that Mādhavarāja I was a feudatory under some king. It may be suggested that Śambhuya of the Patiakella grant,[21] dated G.E. 283 = A.D. 602, was his overlord. His son Ayaśobhita was not a Mahāsāmanta. This suggests that Ayaśobhita raised the political status of his family to that of an independent king. His son Mādhavarāja

18 *History of Orissa*, vol. I, p. 129.
19 *EI.*, vol. VI, p. 143.
20 *Ibid.*, vol. III, p. 42.
21 *Ibid.*, vol. IX, p. 285.

II was, however, reduced to the rank of Mahāsāmanta evidently by the Mahārājādhirāja Śaśāṅka.

A copperplate,[22] found in Khurda, in Orissa, was issued by Mādhavarāja Sainyabhīta. Mādhavarāja was the son of Ayaśobhīta, and grandson of Sainyabhīta. Scholars agree that Mādhavarāja of the above grant is identical with Mādhavarāja II of the Ganjam plate. The Khurda plate records that Mādhavarāja, from his camp of Koṅgoda, granted some lands, in the village of Arahaṇṇa, in the Thoraṇa Viṣaya. It is further stated that Mādhavarāja Sainyabhīta got the sovereignty of the whole of Kaliṅga.[23] There are indications in the same record that Mādhavarāja did not obtain independent status at the time of issuing this grant. This implies that Śaśāṅka, having conquered Mādhavarāja II, not only annexed the Koṅgoda-Maṇḍala into his dominion but the whole of Kaliṅga. The country of Kaliṅga comprised the modern Ganjam and Vizagapatam Districts and the part of the Godavari District to the east of the Godavari river. According to Hiuen Tsang[24] Kaliṅga was situated between Koṅgoda, South Kosala, and Andhra, thus comprising the Vizagapatam District, and the Godavari District to the east of the Godavari. This adds to our knowledge that the kingdom of Śaśāṅka extended up to the Godavari river in the south-west.

The Aihole inscription[25] reports that the Cālukya Pulikeśi II conquered Kaliṅga and Andhra country. He entrusted the government of Kaliṅga and Andhra to his younger brother Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana in the year A.D. 616-617. Two insciptions[26] of Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana prove that his kingdom extended up to the Vizagapatam District. This shows that the whole of Kaliṅga as described by Hiuen Tsang passed into the hands of the Cālukyas shortly before 616 A.D. Pulikeśi II evidently conquered Kaliṅga from Śaśāṅka and his feudatory Mādhavarāja II. Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana and his successors held sway over Kaliṅga for several centuries without interruption.

22 *JASB.*, vol. LXXIII, pt. I, p. 284.
23 *Ibid.*, p. 285, *sakala Kaliṅgādhipatya sakala kalāvāpta* etc.
24 Watters, vol. II, pp. 196 ff.
25 *EI.*, vol. VI, p. 6.
26 Author's 'Eastern Cālukya's in *IHQ.*, vol. VIII, pp. 442 ff.

Annexation of Kaliṅga by Śaśāṅka implies his annexation of Orissa. The adversary, by defeating whom Śaśāṅka became the master of Orissa, seems to have been Śambhūya, who was ruling in 602 A.D.[27]

Śaśāṅka, having consolidated his power in the east, seems to have made a bid for the conquest of northern India. The anarchy that broke out there after the fall of Kanauj at the hands of the Kalacuri Buddharāja,[28] facilitated his task. Buddharāja killed the Maukhari Grahavarman, and confined the latter's queen Rājyaśrī in the fort of Kānyakubja. He then marched against Thaneswar.[29] In the mean time Śaśāṅka also advanced towards Kanauj, and within a very short time took possession of the city. The statement that Śaśāṅka conquered Kanauj is supported by circumstantial evidence. Rājyavardhana, king of Thaneswar, having defeated the Mālava king, met Śaśāṅka on his way to Kanauj. Had he been able to reach Kanauj before he confronted Śaśāṅka, he would have forthwith released Rājyaśrī.

Scholars think that Śaśāṅka made an alliance with the Mālava king against the Maukharis and the Puṣpabhūtis. But there is no evidence in support of this assertion. Bāṇa does not hold Śaśāṅka responsible for the assassination of Grahavarman, and for putting Rājyaśrī into the prison. The same authority reports that the Mālava king alone marched against Thaneswar. The measures, that were undertaken by Rājyavardhana after his victory over the king of Mālava, indicate that he did not even think of the possibility of another struggle with any other enemy on his way to Kanauj. Had he been aware of the fact that the vanquished Mālava king had an ally in the neighbourhood ready to fight with him, he would not have despatched his veteran general Bhaṇḍi back to Thaneswar. In this circumstance, the actions of Śaśāṅka and the Mālava king cannot but be taken to have been independent.

Śaśāṅka, as has already been noticed above, confronted Rājyavardhana somewhere on his way to Kanauj. The result of the encounter that followed was disastrous to Rājyavardhana. Bāṇa reports that[30] Harṣavardhana, the younger brother of Rājyavardhana, was informed

27 *EI.*, vol. IX, p. 285.
28 *JBORS.*, vol. XIX, pp. 405 ff.
29 Cowell, *Harṣa-carita*, p. 173.
30 Cowell, p. 178.

by a messenger that "his brother though he had routed the Mālava army with ridiculous ease, had been allured to confidence by false civilities on the part of the king of Gauḍa, and then weaponless confiding, and alone, despatched in his own quarters." The same authority remarks that[31] the death of Rājyavardhana took place due to carelessness on his part, and gives a number of illustrations, which have been gathered from ancient works, such as the *Arthaśāstra*, *Kāmandakiyanītisāra*, *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* etc., in order to show that similar incidents resulting from the same cause, were not unusual in history. More emphasis has, however, been laid on the carelessness committed by the ancient kings in their dealings with women. In this connection Harṣa was told that[32] "the blunders of heedless men arising from women had been brought sufficiently to his lord's hearing."

A commentary on *Harṣa-carita*, written by Śaṅkara in the fourteenth century A.D., relates that Śaśāṅka through his ambassador made a false proposal to Rājyavardhana of giving his daughter in marriage to him. Rājyavardhana along with his attendants went to Śaśāṅka's camp, and while enjoying a feast there was murdered by Śaśāṅka in disguise. Śaṅkara's source of information in this matter is not known. Hence much value should not be attached to this. Hiuen Tsang reports that[33] Rājyavardhana came to the throne after Prabhākaravardhana. "At this time the king of Karṇasuvarṇa—a king of Eastern India, whose name was Sasangka frequently addressed his ministers in these words: 'If a frontier country has a virtuous ruler, this is the unhappiness of the (mother) kingdom.' On this they asked the king to a conference and murdered him." It is further stated that the chief ministers and the magistrates told Harṣavardhana that "owing to the fault of his ministers, he (Rājyavardhana) was led to subject his person to the hand of the enemy" etc. The inscriptions of Harṣavardhana state that[34] Rājyavardhana "after uprooting his

31 Cowell, p. 192. 32 *Ibid.*, p. 194.

33 Beal's, *Buddhist Records*, pp. 210-211; Watters, vol. I, p. 343; *Life*, p. 83.

34 *EI.*, vol. IV, p. 210: राजानो युधि दुष्टवाजिन इव श्रीदेवगुप्तादयकृत्वा येन कशाप्रहारविमुखास्सर्वे समं संयताः। उत्खीय द्विषतो विजित्य वसुधाङ्कृत्वा प्रजानां प्रियं प्राणानुज्झितवानरातिभवने सत्यानुरोधेन यः।

enemies, after conquering his enemies, after conquering the earth, and doing what was agreeable to his subjects, in consequence of his adherence to his promise, gave up his life in the mansion of his foe."

According to Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda and Dr. Majumdar[35] no reliance should be placed on the reports of Bāṇa and Hiuen Tsang, who were prejudiced against the enemy of their patron Harṣavardhana. Harṣa's inscription "does not allude to treachery having played any part in it." Śaśāṅka defeated Rājyavardhana in a fair fight. Rājyavardhana had six or seven thousand soldiers after his fight with the Mālava king. Hence there was no necessity for Śaśāṅka, who must have been equipped with a large army, to take recourse to unfair means.

It is surprising that the Rai Bahadur has been able to fix up the number of soldiers, belonging to Rājyavardhana, that survived the battle with the Mālava king. There is no warrant for thinking that Bāṇa and Hiuen Tsang blackened the character of Śaśāṅka with accusations knowing them to be false. Harṣa's inscriptions do not exonerate Śaśāṅka of his guilt. It makes it clear that Rājyavardhana went to the enemy's camp on the call of justice and not under the pressure of physical force. It is therefore obvious that Rājyavardhana did not go to the camp of his adversary with a view to fight his enemy. The suggestion that Rājyavardhana was invited to a duel by Śaśāṅka, and the former accepted that and lost his life in that fair fight, is ridiculous. The very fact that Rājyavardhana lost his life in his enemy's camp where he went under moral obligation, suggests itself that there was unfair play on the part of his assailant. The Indologists are well aware of the fact that in ancient times the practice of recording one's defeat or the discomfiture of his ancestors at the hands of the enemy, in his own document, was not in vogue without any special reason. If there was no moral justification on the side of Rājyavardhana, and perfidy on the part of Śaśāṅka, Harṣa would not in any case have cared to record that deplorable incident in his inscriptions. The Apsad inscription[36] records the death of Dāmodaragupta in a battle with the Maukharis. Here the object of recording this fact is to glorify the

35 *Gauḍalekhamālā*, pp. 8-10; *Early Hist. of Bengal*, pp. 17-18.
36 *CII.*, p. 206.

victory of the later Guptas over the Maukharis, which was won by the bravery of Dāmodaragupta, though he lost his life in the battle-field. Bāṇa's report, as a matter of fact, is supplementary to that of the inscriptions of Harṣa. The motive which prompted Śaśāṅka to take recourse to this unfair method is not very far to seek. Rājyavardhana's victory over such a powerful king as Buddharāja proved his high military skill. This was, no doubt, discouraging to Śaśāṅka. After his capture of Kanauj, he had no other alternative but to fight with Rājyavardhana, who was anxious to take possession of that city. Śaśāṅka's hope of victory over Rājyavardhana entirely vanished when a new trouble threatened him from behind. A noble named Gupta, whom I am inclined to identify with Devagupta, and who previously suffered a defeat at the hands of Rājyavardhana, besieged Kanauj. This placed Śaśāṅka in between the two enemies. He got out of this critical situation by adopting unfair means, as has been described above.

Bāṇa relates that Harṣavardhana, as soon as he heard the news of Rājyavardhana's death, promised that[37] "unless in a limited number of days he clears this earth of Gauḍas, and makes it resound with fetters on the feet of all kings who are excited to insolence by the elasticity of their bows, then will I hurl my sinful self, like a moth, into an oil-fed flame." Harṣa set out with a large army against Śaśāṅka. He met Bhaṇḍi on his way, and came to learn from him the news of Rājyaśrī's flight to the Vindhya forest. Bhaṇḍi reported to him that he[38] "learnt from common talk that after his majesty Rājyavardhana was taken to paradise and Kānyakubja was seized by the man named Gupta, queen Rājyaśrī burst from her imprisonment, and with her train entered the Vindhya forest." The same authority mentions elsewhere that Harṣa was told by the attendants of Rājyaśrī that[39] "she was sent away from Kānyakubja, from the imprisonment there during the Gauḍa trouble through the action of a noble named Gupta." The Gauḍa trouble, mentioned above, evidently refers to the unhappy incident that culminated in the death of Rājyavardhana. The above reports make it clear that Śaśāṅka had no hand in the matter of the release of Rājyaśrī. The fact that Gupta seized Kanauj after the death of

37 Cowell, p. 187. 38 *Ibid.*, p. 224. 39 *Ibid.*, pp. 250-251.

Rājyavardhana, which was already in the possession of Śaśāṅka, indicates that his relation with the Bengal king was not friendly.

Harṣa, following the information supplied by Bhaṇḍi, ordered him to advance with the army, and himself went to the Vindhya forest. He rescued Rājyaśrī with the help of a Buddhist monk. The Buddhist monk requested both the brother and the sister to take up the yellow robe of the Buddhists. But Harṣa expressed his unwillingness to do that till he fulfilled the vow of destroying Śaśāṅka. He then after a few stages' march met Bhaṇḍi on the bank of the Ganges.[40]

Bāṇa closes his narrative abruptly with some vague references to Harṣa's achievements. He does not tell us whether Harṣa ever came into actual conflict with Śaśāṅka.

Bāṇa met Harṣa on the bank of the Ajirāvatī river, which is identified with the Rapti.[41] Previous to that Harṣa finished his conquest of Sindh and the Himalayan countries.[42] These two expeditions of Harṣa were certainly undertaken some time after his military campaign against Śaśāṅka, which was conducted immediately after the death of Rājyavardhana. It is thus evident that the result of Harṣa's expedition against the Bengal king was known to Bāṇa.

Bāṇa, on his return to Prītikūṭa, his native village, after his short association with Harṣa, was requested by his cousins to relate to them the adventures (*carita*) of his patron king. Bāṇa replied: "What man could possibly even in a hundred of men's lives depict his (Harṣa's) story in full? If however you care for a part, I am ready."[43] This proves beyond doubt that Bāṇa stopped in the middle of his work while narrating the adventures of Harṣa in pursuance of the scheme, he had made, before he proceeded with it. It follows from this that Bāṇa's silence on the result of Harṣa's expedition against Śaśāṅka is deliberate. If this is studied with the report of the Ganjam plate, the conclusion becomes irresistible that Harṣa's campaign against the Bengal king met with signal failure. As against this inference it may reasonably be argued that if the result of Harṣa's expedition on that

40 Cowell, p. 224. 41 *Ibid.*, p. 46. 42 *Ibid.*, p. 76.

43 *Ibid.* p. 77: कः खलु पुरुषायुषशतेनापि शक्नुयादविकतमस्य चरितं वर्णयितुम। एकदेशे तु यदि कुतूहलं वा सज्जा वयम्।

occasion was not favourable to him, why should Bāṇa be putting that word of promise to the mouth of his patron. Harṣa,[44] as has already been noticed above, is said to have promised, immediately after the receipt of the news of Rājyavardhana's death, that he would burn himself to death if he could not make the earth free from Gauḍa in a limited number of days. The argument, made above, would have carried great weight had not there been an evidence from an independent source to prove the contrary assertion. The fact remains that Saśāṅka maintained his imperial power at least up to 619 A.D., and Harṣa could not fulfill his promise at least within fourteen years after its announcement.[45]

The measure that Saśāṅka undertook against Rājyavardhana, indicates that he had not sufficient military strength at his command, which the situation demanded. The death of Rājyavardhana only saved him from the impending danger. At present there is no means of knowing whether he made any attempt to measure his strength with Gupta. He seems to have retired to Bengal leaving Gupta master of the kingdom of Kanauj. Harṣa, having defeated Gupta, extended his sway up to Allahabad before 618 A.D. in which year he celebrated the first quinquennial festival there.[46]

Saśāṅka's political power began to decline after 615-616 A.D., in which year Pulikeśi II wrested from him the Vizagapatam and Godavari Districts. Hiuen Tsang visited Magadha for the first time in 637 A.D. He remarks that[47] "in recent times Saśāṅka, the enemy and oppressor of Buddhism, cut down the Bodhi Tree, destroyed its roots down to the water, and burned what remained. A few months afterwards Pūrṇavarman, the last descendant of Aśoka on the throne of Magadha, by pious efforts brought the Tree back to life" etc. The same authority reports elsewhere that[48] "to the south (of Bālāditya's

44 शपाम्यार्यस्यैव पादपांशुस्पर्शेन यदि परिगणितैरेव वासरैः सकलचापचापलदुर्ललिततर-पतिचरणरणरणायमाननिगडां निर्गौडां न करोमि मेदिनीं ततस्तनुनपाति पीतसर्पिषि पतङ्ग इव पातकी पातयाम्यात्मानम् । P. V. Kane, p. 47; Cowell, p. 187.

45 *EI.*, voi. VI, p. 143.

46 *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, p. 184.

47 Watters, vol. II, p. 115.

48 *Ibid.*, p. 171.

temple in the neighbourhood of Nalanda) was a bronze temple in course of construction by king Śilāditya. To the east of this above 200 paces and outside the wall of the establishment was king Pūrṇavarman's copper image of Buddha more than 80 feet high in a six storeyed building." It follows from the above reports that Magadha was occupied by Śaśāṅka, Pūrṇavarman and Harṣa in succession. Pūrṇavarman appears to have become the king of Magadha after the death of Śaśāṅka. In any case Harṣa did not conquer Magadha from Śaśāṅka, but became its ruler after defeating Pūrṇavarman or his successor. Hiuen Tsang tells us that Śilāditya held his court at Kajaṅgala (Rajmahal hill) in his progress to 'East India.'[49] The pilgrim does not say anything about the political status of Puṇḍravardhana, Samataṭa, Karṇasuvarṇa and Tāmralipti. He visited these countries in 639 A.D.[50] His silence on this matter does not imply, as has been suggested by some scholars, that Bengal formed a part of Harṣa's kingdom. Hiuen Tsang does not mention anything about the political status of Andhra and Kaliṅga. It is known from other sources that they were at that time ruled by the Eastern Cālukyas.[51]

The *Mañjusrī-mūlakalpa*, the author of which had a very poor knowledge of history, relates that[52] "there was a king Soma of the Brāhmaṇa caste. The king R of the Vaiśya caste was as much powerful as Soma. R was killed by a king of the low caste (*nagna jātī nṛpena*). H, the younger brother of R, went to the city of Puṇḍra in Eastern India to fight with Soma. He defeated Soma. Soma was prohibited to move out of his country, and was asked to remain there. Soma ruled for 17 years, 1 month, 7 or 8 days, and died, and went to hell. His capital was destroyed by unnatural phenomena. Then there was trouble in the Gauḍa country. There was a (king) for a week, and another for a month. Eventually Soma's son Mānava ruled for eight months and five days. Then came Jayanāga on the throne."

Some scholars identify the kings R, H, and Soma with Rājyavardhana. Harṣavardhana, and Śaśāṅka respectively. The *Mañjuśrī-mūla-*

49 Watters, vol. II, p. 183. 50 *Ibid.*, pp. 184 ff.

51 *IHQ.*, vol. VIII, pp. 28-29.

52 Jayaswal, *Imperial History of India*, pp. 50-51; Text, pp. 53-55.

kalpa is full of inaccuracies, and it was written as if to distort the real history. The accuracies of the author's historical knowledge in this particular occasion can be judged from his report that the king R was killed by a king of low caste and not by Soma. Hence little value is to be attached to the above report.

Hiuen Tsang represents Śaśāṅka as a persecutor of Buddhism.[53] Śaśāṅka is said to have uprooted the Bodhi Tree. The Chinese pilgrim acknowledges that Śaśāṅka reduced Buddhism to a very miserable state.[54]

Śaśāṅka was a devotee of Śiva. Some gold coins,[55] issued by him, have been discovered. They bear on the obverse, Śiva riding on a bull; symbol of moon above; the legend *Śrī Śa-* above, and the legend *Jaya* below. On the reverse, Lakṣmī seated on a lotus with elephants sprinkling water over her; the legend above is *Śrī Śaśāṅka.*

The last known date of Śaśāṅka is 619 A.D. According to Hiuen Tsang's report he closed his reign some time before 637 A.D. Nothing is known about his successors. The Rampal copperplate[56] of Śrīcandra reports that a Candra dynasty ruled in Rohitagiri. Trailokyacandra, the great grandfather of Śrīcandra, was born in the family of that Candra. No connection can be established between Śaśāṅka, whose original home was Rohitagiri, and the Candra family of East Bengal.

D. C. GANGULY

53 *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, pp. 115-116.

54 Watters, vol. I, p. 343.

55 Allan's, *Gupta Coins*, pls. xxiii-xxiv.

56 *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. III, p. 4.

Kalicuri Karṇa's Invasion of Bengal and the Origins of the Varmans and the Senas

The political power and prestige of the Kalicuri-Cedi dynasty of Tripuri reached its zenith during the reigns of Gāṅgeyadeva and his famous son Karṇa. Gāṅgeyadeva flourished in the first half of the 11th century A. D. Karṇa performed the first annual Śrāddha ceremony on the second day of the dark half of Phālguna, a Saturday of the Kalacuri year 793 and the grant was given on the 9th day of the same month, corresponding to the 18th January 1042 A. D.[1] This places the death of Gāṅgeyadeva in 1041 A. D., January. The comtemporary Pāla kings of Bengal were Mahīpāla and Nayapāla. It is known from the Khairha plates[2] of Yaśakarṇa that Gāṅgeyadeva became famous under the name of Vikramāditya. The Benares plates[3] of Karṇa supply more definite information about the exploits of Gāṅgeyadeva and it is stated that he had imprisoned the king of the Kīra country, defeated the Kuntalas, conquered as far as the sea of Utkala and vanquished the king of Aṅga. During the reign of Vigrahapāla II Gauḍa was occupied by a Kamboja chief[4] and his son Mahīpāla I had to re-occupy his paternal throne from the usurper[5] and therefore it is not certain whether the Pālas had suzeranity over Aṅga at the time when Gāṅgeyadeva invaded it. The ruler of Aṅga was, in all probability, a local chief, but it can be surmised that the appearance of so powerful a monarch and assertion of his power over Aṅga must have been looked upon with apprehension by the Pālas. Again, a colophon[6] of a Ms. of the *Rāmāyaṇa* was copied in Tirabhukti in Saṃvat 1076 in the reign of "*mahārājādhirāja Puṇyāvaloka Somavaṃśodbhava Gauḍadhvaja Śrīmad-Gāṅgeyadeva.*" Bendall referred the year 1076 to the Vikrama era, equivalent to 1019 A. D. and identified the king with the Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva. Messrs. H. P. Shastri[7], R. D. Banerjee[8] and Jayaswal[9] accepted this identification. M. Sylvan Lévi has ex-

1 *EI.*, vol. II, p. 297.
2 *EI.*, vol. XII, p. 210, v. 12.
3 *EI.*, Vol. II, p. 297.
4 *Bāṅglār Itihāsa*, p. 238.
5 *Ibid.*
6 *JASB.*, 1903, p. 18.
7 Introduction to Rāmacarita, *Memoirs, A.S.B.*, Vol. III, no. I.
8 *Bāṅglār Itihāsa*, p. 257.
9 *JBORS.*, Vol. IX, pp. 300 ff.

pressed his doubts[10] about this identification because the Kalacuris did not use the titles ending in Avaloka and because there is no evidenee to show that Gāṅgeyadeva had ever exercised any political influence in Gauḍa or Tirhut.

Mr. R. P. Chanda pointed out that Magadha being under the Pālas and the territory to the west under the Chandellas, it is difficult to believe that the Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva could rule over Tirhut. The Muslim historians record that in 1018 Sultan Muhmūd after sacking Mathurā invested Kanauj. The Pratihāra king Rājyapāla of Kanauj tendered his submission to the Muslim invader and allowed the city to be plundered. This enraged the other Hindu kings of northern India and they combined under the leadership of Ganḍa, the Cāndella Rājā of Jejākabhukti and Kālañjars, to punish this cowardly act. Under the command of the Cāndella crown prince Vidyādhara they captured Kanauj and killed Rājyapāla. These events must have taken place in the hot weather of 1019 A. D. after the departure of the Sultan.[11] This clearly proves that the Cāndellas were a great power and the extension of suzeranity over Tirhut must have been resented by them. The invasion of Aṅga by Gāṅgeyadeva has already been referred to and it seems that it was in the nature of a raid and no permanent political control was established.

Dr. R. C. Majumder[12] is of opinion that the date 1076 of the colophon is to be referred to the Śaka era and the king is to be identified with Gāṅgeyadeva, the successor of Nānyadeva on the throne of Mithilā. If the palæography of the Ms. supports this view,[13] it must be regarded as a solution of the problems noted above.

If the conflict of Gāṅgeyadeva with the Pālas is somewhat problematical and doubtful, the invasion of Bengal by his son Karṇa rests on the firm basis of contemporary epigraphic and literary evidences. The Bheraghat inscription[14] of queen Alhaṇādevī states that—

"While this king (Karṇa) of unprecedented lustre gave full play to his heroism.................Vaṅga trembled with Kaliṅga......"

10 *Le Nepal*, vo. II, p. 202, fn. I. 11 *JASB.*, 1909, p. 278.

12 *IHQ.*, 1931, p. 681, *Nānyadeva of Mithilā.*

13 No facsimile of the manuscript has been published and we cannot give our final opinion without examining the characters of the Ms.

14 *EI.*, vol. II, pp. 11, 15, v. 12.

In the Karanbel inscription[15] of Jayasiṃha, it is stated that he (Karṇa) was waited upon by the Coḍa, Kuṅga, Hūṇa, Gauḍa, Gurjara and Kīra princes. In an interesting account[16] of Karṇa's war with the king of Gauḍa and Magadha, the following information is finished by the Tibetan biographer of Dīpaṅkara Śrījñāna Atiśa:

"During Atiśa's residence at Vajrāsana a dispute having arisen between Nayapāla, king of Magadha and the Tirthika king Karṇya[17] of the West, the latter made war upon Magadha. Failing to capture the city his troops sacked some of the sacred Buddhist institutions......Atiśa did not show any kind of concern or anger at it............Afterwards when the victory turned towards Nayapāla and the troops of Karṇya were being slaughtered by the armies of Magadha, he took the king Karṇya and his men under his protection and sent them away.........Atiśa caused a treaty to be concluded between the two kings. With the exception of the articles of food that were destroyed at the time of wars, all other things were either restored or compensated for."

There is nothing improbable in this account that after hostilities a treaty of peace was brought about through the mediation of the great Buddhist hierarch and his good offices were utilised on this particular occasion. From the nature of the treaty it seems that no party could gain much success and the trial of strength was not conclusive. This treaty was merely a truce. The evidences of the recently discovered Paikore Image inscription[18] and of the *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākaranandī go to prove that a second campaign against Gauḍa was undertaken by Cedi Karṇa. In this expedition the Cedis advanced as far as Paikore in the modern Birbhum district and set up a column of victory there perhaps as a mark of his victorious advance and an image of a goddess was carved by a certain sculptor at the order of the Cedi king. It is known from the commentary of the 9th verse[19] of the *Rāmacarita* that Vigrahapāla III defeated Karṇa, king of Dhala, in battle, but did not uproot him and that Karṇa's daughter Yauvanasrī was married to the Pāla monarch. It is very difficult to believe that the Cedi emperor who advanced so far as Paikore was so disastrously defeated by Vigrahapāla III and that he

15 *IA.*, vol. XVIII, p. 217.

16 *JBYS.*, vol. I, p. 9, fn. I.

17 The title of king Karṇya seems to be the translation of the Sanskrit word 'Karṇyarāja,' a mistake for Karṇarāja; see *JASB.*, pt. I, p. 100.

18 *ASI.*, 1921-22, pp. 78-80.

19 *Memoirs*, *ASB.*, vol. III, no. I, p. 22. If Sandhyākaranandi is to be believed, Vigrahapāla defeated Kārṇa and gave him protection.

was compelled to give his daughter in marriage with the Pāla king. There might have been some other motive behind this matrimonial alliance. We know that Karṇa in the height of his power had overrun the whole of northern India and during the last part of his reign he suffered many reverses at the hands of the Cāndella Kīrtivarman,[20] Paramāra Udayāditya,[21] Bhīmadeva of Anahilavāda[22] and of Cālukya Someśvara.[23] In the height of his power Karṇa had practically annexed the Cāndella kingdom during the weak rule of Devavarman. The drama *Prabodhacandrodaya* records how Kīrtivarman, brother of Devavarman with the help of his Brāhmaṇa general Gopāla restored the Cāndella kingdom after vanquishing the power of Karṇa. Faced in the south and west by the powerful Cālukyas and Paramāras, the rising power of the Cāndellas was a great threat to the power and prestige of Karṇa. It is pausible, therefore, that Karṇa wanted a contented and pacified Bengal in order to meet the rising tide of his swelling enemies and the motive behind this matrimonial alliance was political. Another dynasty which had matrimonial connection with the Kalacuri Karṇa was the Varmans of East Bengal.

Opinions of scholars are divided as to the origin of the Varmans of Bengal. Mr. R. D. Banerjee remarked[24] that Jātavarman of the Yādava dynasty founded a new kingdom coming in the wake of the invasions of Rājendra Cola or Jayasiṃha II or Gāṅgeyadeva. Discussing the subject, Dr. D. C. Ganguly[25] observed that

> "The military resources of Vajravarman who was only a member of a feudatory royal family, seem to have hardly allowed him to march independently against such a distant country as East Bengal. He must have gained the rulership of that province with the help of some extraneous superior power."

We agree with Dr. Ganguly so far but can hardly accept the conclusion that Vajravarman followed Rājendra Cola, shared his victories and ultimately established himself on the throne of East Bengal after the flight of its ruler Govindacandra. There is no evidence to show that the Varmans followed the Cola emperor. It is clear from the Belāva plate, the most important record of the

20 *EI.*, vol. I, pp. 220, 326, and also *Prabodhacandrodaya.*

21 *EI.*, vol. II, p. 192.

22 Bühler, *Hemacandra.*

23 Bühler, *Vikramāṅkaracarita*, I, 102.

24 *Bāṅglār Itihāsa*, p. 276.

25 *IHQ.*, 1929, p. 225.

Varmans, that the founder of the political fortunes of the family was Jātavarman, son of Vajravarman, whose praises in regard to his warlike activities are very vague and general. It is to be particularly noted that in the 8th verse where the military and political activities of Jātavarman are described, great stress[26] has been laid first on his marriage with Vīraśrī, daughter of Karṇa, and it seems that this marriage had got something to do with his military conquests. Again, though no connected meaning can be made of the recently discovered Vajrayoginī plate[27] of Sāmalavarman because of its damaged condition, the way in which the words Kalacuri and *mātṛvaṃśyā* occur, it can be surmised that this marriage of Jātavarman was a great factor in determining the political fortunes of the Varman family. Both the Cedis and the Varmans claim to have belonged to the lunar dynasty and the same traditional genealogical names are to be found in their epigraphic records. In the Rewa inscription[28] of Malayasiṃha, son of the minister of a later Cedi king, it is stated that

> "The illustrious Jāṭa was the adviser of his predecessors, who had been in this world, in the incantation for increasing their fame...........who was carrying great weight among the religious by gifts to the twice-born; also by valour of whose arms the illustrious Karṇadeva had vanquished his foes." (v. 7-8).

It is to be observed that the name in the Rewa inscription is Jāṭa while in Belava plate the name is Jāta.[29] *Ṭa* could have been misread for *ta*. Even if the reading Jāṭa be correct, the scribe might have through oversight or due to some other reasons incised *ṭa* instead of *ta* because the name Jāṭa does not appear to be a Sanskritised one.

The logic of historical facts connect the Varmans with the Kalacuris rather than with the Colas. According to the testimony

26 Thus begins the description of Jātavarman's political conquests:—"*porinayau -Karṇasya -vīraśriyam -yoṅgaṣu -prathayani -paribhanāni -stāṃ -Kāmarupaśriyaṃ...........*"

27 Dr. K. N. Bhattasali, *Bhāratvarṣa*, 1340 B.S., p. 674.

28 *Memoirs ASI.*, no. 23, p. 133.

29 No facsimile of the Rewa inscription has yet been published, and it cannot be examined. If the identification of Jāṭa with Jātavarman of the Varman family is to be accepted, it is to be conceded that another collateral family of the Varmans continued to serve the Kalacuri kings as ministers. Jāṭa's son Yakṣapāla was the minister of Gayākarṇa and grandson Malayasiṃha and great grandson Padmasimha were also ministers of the latter Kalacuri kings.

of the Belava plate, the Varmans originally belonged to Siṃhapura. Dr. R. G. Basak[30] is inclined to identify this place with Sīhapura in Rāḍhā mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃsa*. It is known from the Komārti and Bṛhatproṣṭha copper-plates that Siṃhapura in Kaliṅga was the capital of a line of kings whose names ended in Varman and this place has been identified with Siṅghpuram between Chicacole and Norasannapeta. It has already been observed that the Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva carried his conquests as far as the seashore of Utkala and Karṇa also won victories over Kaliṅga. It is important to mention in this connection that Karṇa assumed the proud title of *Trikaliṅgādhipati* which indicates his political control over Kaliṅga. It is quite probable that the Cedis secured the active services of the Varmans of Siṃhapura who were given posts of honour. Jātavarman might have accompained Karṇa in his campaign against the Gauḍa king. Jātavarman by his distinction and great service won the confidence of the Cedi king who was pleased to give his daughter in marriage with him. The temptation of identifying Jāta of the Rewa inscription who won victories for Karṇa is irresistible and this perhaps offers a better explanation of the fact that a local dynasty of Siṃhapura could found an independent kingdom in East Bengal.

Another dynasty which followed the Varmans in East Bengal was that of the well-known Senas of Bengal. A pillar with the figure of the Goddess Manasā with the inscribed words[31] *Rājena Śrī-Vijayase*, has been discovered in Paikore, the findspot of the Cedi Karṇa's pillar. This king 'Vijayase' is generally identified with Vijayasena of the Sena dynasty. That the Senas belonged originally to the

30 *EI.*, vol. XII, p. 37; Mr. R. D. Banerjee draws attention to the Lakkhamaṇḍala praśasti which records the dedication of a Śiva temple by Iśvarā, wife of a Jālandhara king of the Punjab, and in that record occurs the list of twelve kings, their names ending in Varman. Isvarā is described as having descended from a line of Yādava kings of Siṅgapura. Bühler was inclined to identify this Siṅgapura with Sang-ho-pulo in the Punjab mentioned by Yuan Chwang. Mr. N. G. Majumdar remarks that there is nothing in the epigraph itself which supports this contention or makes it necessary. The latest view on the location of Siṃhapura has been expressed by Mr. D. C. Sarkar in *IHQ.*, 1934, Dec., pp. 783-4, who thinks that the Varmans might have been ousted from Siṃhapura of Kaliṅga by the eastern Gaṅgas and also that the Yādavas of Siṅgapura of the Punjab might have founded Siṃhapura in Kaliṅga.

31 *ASI.*, 1921-22, p. 80.

Karnāṭa country is too well-known to need repetition. From the statement in the 32nd verse of the Nāgpur Praśasti of the Paramāra Udayāditya that Karṇa "joined by the Karṇāṭas had swept over the earth like a mighty ocean," Mr. Jayaswal[32] concluded that there was an alliance between the Cedi king and the Karṇāṭas and went so far as to assert that Nānyadeva, the founder of the Karṇāṭaka dynasty in Mithilā, came in the wake of Karṇa's invasions. It has been suggested by Dr. R. C. Majumdar[33] that the rise of this Karṇāṭaka power is to be connected with the military expeditions of the Karṇāṭa emperors Someśvara I and his son Vikramāditya VI of the Cālukya dynasty. The argument advanced by Dr. Majumdar that Nānyadeva flourished forty years after Karṇa and therefore he could not possibly take part with Karṇa in his exploits against the Mālāvas and Sauviras does not hold good apparently in the case of the Senas of Bengal, in view of the fact that Sāmantasena and Hemantasena, two immediate predecessors of Vijayasena, lived in Rāḍha.[34] From the existence of an alliance between Karṇa and the Karṇāṭas and from the same find-spots of the epigraphs of Karṇa and Vijayasena it appears that the Senas might have come in the wake of Karṇa's invasion. But a close study of the relations of Karṇa with the Cālukyas and Paramāras makes this important point clear.

It is stated in the 19th verse of the Udaipur Praśasti of the Mālava kings that

"Seeing the Karṇāṭas, the lord of Lāṭa, the king of Gurjaras, the Turaṣkas, chief among whom were the lord of Cedi, Indraratna, Yoggala and Bhīma....... . his (Bhojas) hereditary warriors thought only of the strength of their arms, not of the number of fighters."

This alliance of the kings were against the Paramāra emperor Bhoja. The 32nd verse of the Nagpur Praśasti on which Mr. Jayaswal's conclusion is based refers to an alliance of the Cālukya king Karṇa,[35] son of Bhīma, with the Karṇāṭas against the Paramāra

32 *JBORS.*, vol. IX, pp. 300 ff.

33 *Opt. cit.*, *Nānyadeva of Mithilā.*

34 Deopāra Ins., verses 9 and 10; Naihāṭī plate of Vallālasena verse 3.

35 Dr. D. C. Ganguly, *History of the Paramāras*, p. 130 fn. 2. Dr. Ganguly adduces convincing reasons from the evidence of *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya*, *Sukṛtasaṃkīrtana*, *Surathotsava* and the Pauhera inscription that this Karṇa of the 32nd verse is to identified with the Cālukya king of that name and the alliance was between the Cālukyan king Karṇa and the Karṇāṭas.

Jayasiṃha. The subsequent relation of the Cedi Karṇa with the Karṇāṭas after the destruction of Bhoja's power was far from being friendly. Bilhana says that after the fall of Bhoja the Paramāra Jayasiṃha sought the assistance of the Cālukya king Someśvara I putting aside all family jealousies. Keen and shrewd diplomat as he was, Someśvara I realised that the extension of the Cedi power over Mālava would be in future a threat to his own power. He at once changed sides and defeated the Kalacuri Karṇa and his son Vikramāditya was directed to settle the internal affairs of Mālava. It is thus clear from the testimony of Bilhana that the alliance between the Kalacuri Karṇa and the Karṇāṭas was a temporary one and it broke up as soon as the common object was achieved and the probability of the coming of Karṇāṭas with Karṇa in Bengal is very remote. The victorious campaigns of Vikramāditya VI and his advance up to Gauḍa and Kāmarūpa have been recorded by Bilhana and these must have shattered the power and prestige of the Kalacuris. This perhaps explains why the pillars of Karṇa and Vijayasena happened to be in the same locality. Their proud way of styling themselves as *Karṇāṭa-Kṣatriyas* in their own records and the marriage of Vallālasena with a Cālukyan princess point to connect the establishment of the Senas in Bengal with the exploits of a Karṇāṭa king, most probably Vikramāditya VI, rather than with the Cedi Karṇa.

PRAMODE LAL PAUL

36 *Vikramāṅkadeva-carita*, Sarga III, v. 67.

The Identity of the Indus Valley Race with the Vāhīkas

The recent archæological finds at Mohenjodaro and Harappa have given rise to problems which will keep the antiquarian busy for a long time to come. As the civilisation revealed by those relics is, in the opinion of competent scholars, non-Aryan, it is of the utmost importance to determine, with the evidence we possess, whether it is clearly older than the Aryan, or contemporaneous with any phase of the same. For it was in the Punjab and the Indus Valley, especially in the former, that the Vedic Aryans originally dwelt and composed their hymns, which are justly regarded as the earliest record of the race. If, therefore, this so-called Indus Valley civilisation be older than that of the Vedic Aryans, we must regard the latter as the superseding conquerors of a race that gradually disappeared before their vigorous onslaught. Why not then look for some evidence in the *Ṛgveda* or other works, that will throw some kind of light on the existence of an earlier and not uncivilised people in the Punjab? If, on the other hand, this unknown race was contemporary with the Aryan at any remote period during which the latter was steadily advancing, a search for literary evidence is all the more necessary, and if fruitful, can scarcely be overrated.

In the present article I propose to lay before the reader a piece of evidence from the *Mahābhārata*. It is in the form of a lengthy diatribe against a whole people known as the Vāhīkas who inhabited the Indus Valley region, as well as the greater portion of modern Punjab and Sind in post-Vedic times. That they occupied this extensive region later than the Vedic Aryans is clear from the following facts: That the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, which mentions the various non-Aryan tribes and traces their origin to the degraded sons of Viśvāmitra, does not refer to them;[1] that during the Brāhmaṇic and Upaniṣadic period the country of the five rivers was still Vedic in culture; and that in the

1 *Ait. Br.*, VII, 18.

subsequent or Epic period it fell completely outside the pale of Aryanism. Lastly, the *Mahābhārata* and Pāṇini appear to know them as the settled people of the same region in their own times.

The country of Madra is generally identified with the *Doab* between the Ravi and the Chenab, or between the Chenab and the Beas; and besides, the Mahābhārata expressly states that the region watered by the five rivers, viz., Śatadru, Vipāśā, Irāvatī, Candrabhāgā and Vitastā, as also the country through which flows the mighty Indus that diverges from the Himalayas, is generally know as the Āraṭṭa or Ṭakka country —the land of the notoriously impious Vāhīkas.[2] The sacred stream ot the Sarasvatī is given as the boundary that divides the Aryans from them.

The occasion of the diatribe is the quarrel between Karṇa and Salya, in which the former accuses the latter as being the sinful king of an alien, irreligious and pleasure-seeking people. Cultural difference, as is well-known, engenders cultural animosity. The details of the diatribe are as follows:

The Madraka or Vāhīka women, who are the special object of Karṇa's vituperation, are said to have prominent bones in the forehead (*sthūla-śaṅkhā*) and also a thick gown on their body.[3] Their complexion is white (*gaurī*), and they are remarkable for their stoutness (*bṛhati*). Now what is true of the women folk must be equally true of the men also, and therefore the above qualities must be regarded as the peculiar physiognomical traits of the entire race. We have, indeed, no evidence to judge of the complexion of the Mohenjodaro people at this distant time; but as regards the prominence of the frontal bones, there is a curious agreement between them and the Vāhīkas. Doctors Sewell and Guha, who have examined the skulls at Mohenjodaro, have recorded their opinion as follows: "Many of the

2 पञ्च नद्यो वहन्त्येता यत्र पीलुवनान्युत ।
शतद्रुश्च विपाशा च तृतीयैरावती तथा ॥
चन्द्रभागा वितस्ता च सिन्धुः षष्ठी बहिर्गिरेः ।
आरट्टा नाम ते देशा नष्टधर्मा न तान् व्रजेत्॥ *M. Bh.*, VIII, pp. 31-32, 43.

3 गत्वा स्वदेशं द्रक्ष्यामि स्थूलशंखाः शुभाः स्त्रियः । *Ibid.*, 17

skulls found at Mohenjodaro have a very prominent forehead, and their frontal bones are projecting." (vol. II, p. 608). The Vāhīkas are also said to be the descendants of two evil spirits Vahi and Hika who dwelt in the river Vipāśā.[4] They are not the creatures of Brahman, the Creator of the whole mankind, or of the Aryan race. There is sufficient evidence to show that they were regarded as a race totally different from the Aryans of the plains. Cow-slaughter and beef-eating were among the hateful practices of the people, and slaughter houses (*govardhana*) and distilleries (*catvara*) are said to disfigure mansions in their country.[5] Now it is true that beef-eating was not held in abhorrence in Vedic times, but in the Epic period it had certainly become sacrilegious among the Hindus. Hence the Vāhīkas are again and again condemned as detestable beef-eaters. The Madra women are the most shameless on the earth. They are extremely fond of wine and beef and they are happy wherever they get them. A Madra woman is said to be more willing to part with her husband or son than with the goblet. Like the Sidonian women whom Milton describes in the '*Paradise Lost*', Book I as singing 'amorous ditties' the whole day in summer in honour of Tammuz, the Madra women also sing amorous, indecent songs, and drink and dance and make merry, though not in honour of any particular god. They freely mix among men and are utter strangers to the virtue of chastity. Now there may be, perhaps, some little malicious hyperbole in this, but even making adequate allowance for it, we must say that they enjoyed the greatest liberty imaginable on the earth. They are clad in woollen garments and skins of animals (*kambalājina*).[6] They are again described as musicians, fond of playing upon *mṛdaṅga*, *ānapa*, etc. (musical

4 वहिश्च नाम हीकश्च विपाशायां पिशाचकौ ।
तयोरपत्यं वाहीका नैषा सृष्टिः प्रजापतेः ॥
ते कथं विहितान् धर्मान् ज्ञास्यन्ते हीनयोनयः॥ *M. Bh.*, VIII 44, 41.

5 गोवर्धनो नाम वटः सुभद्रं (सुभाण्डं) नाम चत्वरम् । *Ibid.*, 8
एतद्राजकुलद्वारमाकुमारात्स्मराम्यहम् ॥

6 कम्बलाजिनसंवीताः कुर्वन्त्यः प्रियदर्शनाः ॥ *Ibid.*, 17.

instruments of various kinds). Making water by standing was a hideous practice among the Vāhīkas of both sexes,[7] and it is for this reason that the stock example ('the Vāhīka is a bull') was current in ancient times.

Ovens and bakeries seem to have been prevalent there on a large scale. For the people are said to be *vātyadhānāśinaḥ;* that is, they bought cooked food from the market. Cakes, barley flour mixed with buttermilk, beef and other meats mixed with onions and garlic are said to be their dainty food. Fried grains (*dhānā*) also seem to have been generally consumed among them. Milks of sheep, camels, asses and other animals were freely used in the Āraṭṭa or Vāhīka country. Wooden plates and earthen pots were the vessels in which their food was served to them.[8] This is probably the reason why pottery works were advanced among them and also why pottery is so important among the Mohenjodaro finds.

There was no caste system among the Vāhīkas. A Brāhmaṇa or priest among them could be a soldier, or a trader, or even a barber; and *vice versa.*[9] It would appear from this that there the barber's profession was not considered at all derogatory even for a priest to follow. Mr. Mackay who read a paper on Mohenjodaro civilization before the Royal Asiatic Society of London only a few months ago, expressed his surprise at the large number of razors among the excavated finds. But now we are in a position to understand why it is so. We may now believe that the Vāhīkas who were the authors of that civilisation were particular about getting themselves punctually shaved and hence the barber must have been regarded as a very useful member of society, and his profession not at all undignified.

7 यास्तिष्ठन्त्यः प्रमेहन्ति यथैवोष्ट्रदशेरकाः *M. Bh.*, 39, 35.

8 काष्ठकुण्डेषु वाहीका मृन्मयेषु च भुञ्जते । *Ibid.*, VIII, 44, 35.

9 तत्र वै ब्राह्मणो भूत्वा ततो भवति क्षत्रियः ।
वैश्यः शूद्रश्च वाहीकस्ततो भवति नापितः ।
नापितश्च पुनर्भूत्वा ततो भवति ब्राह्मणः ।
द्विजो भूत्वा तु तत्रैव पुनर्दासोऽभिजायते ॥ *M. Bh.*, III, 45, 5-6.

The theology of this people seems to have been as detestable to the Aryans as the other features of their civilisation. Karṇa denounces the Vāhīkas as a people who are non-sacrificers and whom none of the Aryan Gods, Indra, Varuṇa, etc., patronise. On the other hand, a horrible demoness is said to be worshipped in the populous town of Śākalapura, the capital of Madra.[10] She is described as singing aloud a song of the following purport, on the fourteenth night of the dark half of every lunar month. "Oh: when shall I have the pleasure again of singing (hearing) the songs of these Vāhīkas? When shall I have a sumptuous feast of beef, pork, camel's and ass's flesh, as well as of rams and cocks with *gauḍiya* wine to boot, in the company of the stout and fair Śākala women? Unlucky, indeed, is he who eats no such dainties." Rationally interpreted, all this simply means that on the particular night the citizens of Śākalapur, especially women, worshipped a goddess with the above-mentioned offerings, accompanied by songs of the same purport. But though worshipped as a goddess by them, the neighbouring Aryans looked upon her as a hideous demoness, just as the early bigoted Christians looked upon the heathen gods as the allies of Satan. The figures of the mother Goddess, found at Mohenjodaro and Harappa, may, in the light of the above evidence, be appropriately regarded and interpreted as the figures of the same goddess.

Equally peculiar was the law of inheritance among those people. Property descended there, not from father to son, as it does in all Aryan countries, but from the maternal uncle to the nephew—a custom that still prevails among some races of Southern India.[11] This is, however, the only point of agreement between the Vāhīkas and the Dravidians, the rest of the evidence clearly pointing to their Sumerian origin.

10 तत्र स्म राक्षसी गाति सदा कृष्णाचतुर्दशीम् ।
नगरे शाकले स्फीते आहत्य निशि दुंदुभिम् ॥
कदा वाहेयिका गाथाः पुनर्गास्यामि शाकले ।
गव्यस्य तृप्ता मांसस्य पीत्वा गौडं सुरासवम् ॥ *M. Bh.*, VIII, 44, 25-26.

11 तस्मात्तेषां भागहरा भागिनेया न सूनवः ॥ *M. Bh.*, VIII, 45, 13.

Such is the evidence from the *Mahābhārata.* We further gather from Pāṇini, the great grammarian, that the Vāhīkas were divided into different warlike clans, probably as mercenary tribes who lent their services to any one who paid for them.[12] Now Pāṇini's time is generally believed to be the 8th century B.C. by all Indian scholars though some European scholars place him in the 5th or 6th century B.C. But whichever date we accept, it is clear that from the time of the Mahābhārata war down to the days of Pāṇini, the Vāhīkas lived as a distinct non-Aryan race in the Punjab and the adjoining districts. What became of them later—whether they migrated to other lands or amalgamated with other races—is a matter to be determined.

The whole evidence, again, is of supreme importance in fixing the relative chronology of the Indus Valley civilisation. For in the Vedic period this very region of the Indus and of the five rivers was resounding with Vedic Mantras and consequently, we find in the *Ṛgveda* the same rivers frequently mentioned with filial love and reverence. Thus the great sage Viśvāmitra offers a fervent prayer to the two streams Vipāśā and Satadru (Beas and Sutlej) begging of them an easy ford. (*RV.*, III 33). And, as to the Indus, certainly no other river is more frequently alluded to in the *Ṛgveda* or held in greater veneration. The region of the five rivers must, therefore, be regarded as the centre of Aryan culture in those days. And the culture of Madra in Vedic times, in consequence, must have been different from that of the subsequent epic period. In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* which is undoubtedly one of the earliest of the Upaniṣads, we find that two great scholars and philosophers, viz. Bhuju Lāhyāyani and Uddālaka Āruṇi had resided in the Madra country to study the law of sacrificial ritual, and that they were proud to mention the fact in the assembly of king Janaka before Yājñavalkqa and other worthy Brāhmaṇas, (*Br. Up.*, V. 3; 7). And the tale of Sāvitrī, the Madra princess, clearly refers to this earlier period of the country. It is, again, important to note that the Vāhīkas are not mentioned in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* along with the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Śabaras, Pulindas, and Mūtibas—the non-Aryan tribes known

12 आयुधजीविसंघाञ्ञ्यड् वाहीकेष्वब्राह्मणराजन्यात् । Pāṇini, V. 3, 114.

in the Brāhmaṇic period. Nor is there any mention of them in the *Rāmāyaṇa* or in the *Manu Smṛti,* though alien tribes like Kambojas, Śakas, Barbaras etc. are mentioned in both. And yet the same region which was once the proud seat of Vedic learning and culture is found in the *Mahābhārata* as a country of sinners and barbarians, where no pious man could stay even for a couple of days without pollution.[13] Now such a remarkable change in the cultural history of the ancient land of the Vedic Aryans cannot be accounted for except by supposing that there was some tremendous natural or political upheaval during the course of centuries that marked the close of the Vedic period. And as there is not the slightest allusion to any political upheaval, it is but reasonable to suppose that certain natural change came upon the once devoted land and that these visitations impelled the Aryans to seek better, more fertile and more congenial lands in the east. We are, indeed, unable to imagine at this distance of time, what these natural changes could be, but probably the extremity of the climate, the drying up of the sacred stream of Sarasvatī, the greater scantiness of the rainfall than before, and the dread of constant invasions of foreigners might be some of the causes. Besides, the east was being more and more Aryanised every century and thus also room was made in the Punjab for new-comers to settle in the land deserted by the Aryans. The legend of king Māthava and his priest Gotama Rāhūgaṇa as given in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is generally taken by scholars as indicative of Aryan advance to the east. The original home of Aryan culture thus fell out of the pale of Aryanism altogether. It is for this reason, perhaps, that there are no sacred places of Hindu pilgrimage in the Punjab though its rivers are of Ṛgvedic celebrity, being associated with the names of great Ṛṣis like Viśvāmitra, Vaśiṣṭha and others. For the genesis of holy places began in the Epic and Purāṇic period when the five rivers with the Indus had been contaminated by the inroads of barbarians. Henceforward the centre of Aryan civilisation shifted to the east.

13 तान्धर्मबाह्यानशुचीन् वाहीकान्परिवर्जयेत् । *M. Bh.*, VIII, 44, 7.
वाहीकेषु दुरात्मसु । कृष्ट्वे तयानो निवसेन्मुहूर्तमपि मानवः ॥ *Ibid.*, 22 etc.
आरट्टा नाम वाहीकान्न तेष्वार्यो द्व्यहं वसेत् । *Ibid.*, 40.

A change exactly reverse to that of the Punjab came on Magadha or Bihar. For the same Viśvāmitra who offers such fervent prayers to Vipāśā and Śatadru in the *Ṛgveda* speaks of Kīkaṭa or Bihar in very disparaging terms, and implores Indra to confer their cows—their wealth—on the Āryas.[14] Such was Magadha in Ṛgvedic times. But the *Mahābhārata* extols it as the country of piety and culture along with Kuru Pāñcāla.[15]

This identification of the Vāhīkas with the authors of the Indus Valley civilisation, therefore, establishes the priority of the Aryan or Vedic civilisation, though Sir John Marshall and others who follow him believe in the priority of the former. Again, it confirms the traditional date of the Mahābhārata War, viz. 3,000 B. C. since the earliest strata at Mohenjodaro are believed to be as old as about 2,500 B.C., if not more. This literary evidence is, therefore, valuable if the identification is correct. And such of the archæologists as will deny this and claim a greater antiquity for the Indus Valley civilisation should explain how the Vedic Aryans superseded an almost equally advanced race without leaving any the least trace of the conquest in their literature.

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14 किं ते कृण्वन्ति कीकटेषु गावो नाशीरं दुह्रे न तपन्ति घर्मम् । *R. V.*, III, 33.

15 अथोदीच्याश्चाङ्गका मागधाश्च शिष्टान्धर्मानुपजीवन्ति वृद्धैः । *M. Bh.*, VIII, 4530.

Narasiṃhanātha Stone Inscription of Vaijāladeva

A range of hills about 20 miles south-west of Padmapur in the district of Sambalpur is called Gandhamārdana. In a gorge of this Gandhamārdana range there stands a temple belonging to the Orissan school of Indo-Aryan style. The deity of the temple is known as Viḍāla Narasiṃhanātha implying the feline form of Narasiṃha incarnation of Viṣṇu. The tradition relating to the origin of the deity is recorded in an Oriya palm-leaf manuscript known as *Nṛsiṃha-māhātmya*. It reveals that a demon Muṣika (mouse) by name, being chased by Nṛsiṃha has hidden himself in a hole underneath the image and Narasiṃha assuming the form of a cat has been guarding the mouth of the hole against the emergence of the demon. The enshrined deity is the very same image of Narasiṃha in the form of a cat or Viḍāla and hence it is called Viḍāla Narasiṃhanātha. But we wonder to see that the form of image bears no resemblance to that of a cat. Curiously enough, it is a phallic emblem of Śiva. Only at the Liṅgarājā temple of Bhuvaneśvara, though the deity is in *liṅga* form, it is worshipped as Harihara or the combination of Śiva and Viṣṇu. But we do not know how Śiva is entirely worshipped here as Viṣṇu.

A slab of black stone measuring 31½″ × 2½″ has been attached on the outer side of the western wall of Jagamohana or the audience hall of the temple. The inscription, edited here, is engraved on this slab. It was first noticed by Mr. Beglar[1] and then by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar[2] and Pandit L. P. Pandey.[3] Finding some discrepancies in the published reading I went to the spot to verify the original inscription. On scrutiny I found that Vaijāladeva, son of Vatsarājadeva, the Rājā of Patna, caused the erection of the temple on the hill Gandha-

1 *Report of Archæological Survey of India*, vol. XIII, pp. 140-43.
2 *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India* for 1904-5, pp. 121-125.
3 *IHQ.*, vol. V, p. 745; *Ibid.*, vol. VIII, pp. 618-23.

mārdana and presented a necklace of precious stones along with 100 cows to the god Viḍāla Narasiṃhanātha. He also granted to the priest of the temple for the maintenance of worship some lands situated on the locality known as Ādimeraḍā and Varilonāla and a mango grove known as Rāpaṅga lying in the vicinity of Lohāsiṅgā. The gift was made on Friday, the fullmoon day of Caitra, the moon remaining in the Hastā *nakṣatra* in the year Vikāri. The object of the donor in making the gift was to have a son through propitiation of god. The text was composed by Aghā, and runs as follows:

L.1. नमः श्री नृसिंहाय स्वस्ति स्वस्ति श्री विकारि नाम सम्वत्सरे चैत्रपौर्णिमा शुक्रवारे हस्तानक्षत्रे पाटणा नगरस्थिति वत्सराजदेव राजाङ्कर पुत्र वैजाल

L.2. देव मनोहर पुत्रार्थे गन्धमार्द्दन पर्वते विराल नरसिंहनाथ स्वामिङ्कर देउल तोलाइला । हृदयभूषण रत्नमाल गाइ शतेक लोहासिङ्गा

L.3. ग्राम पाशे आदिमेरडा वरिलोनालोश्वद्दो भूमि रापङ्गपदाम्रश्च अहश्च रात्रिश्च उभय सन्ध्या धर्मे पूजापढ़ि चरुपाक पाणिग्राही पुराणे

L.4, ...देला । प्रशस्तिकार अघा श्री नरसिंहस्य प्रीतये

The traditional history of Patna published in the *Gazetteer of Central Provinces of 1870* and *Orissa in the Making* narrates that the title of Mahārājā was enjoyed by the rulers of Patna State from the very beginning, but this inscription contradicts this assertion by showing the fact that Vatsarāja described himself simply as Rājā.

It is very difficult to ascertain the date of this inscription by working out the above astronomical details. Because we do not know whether the cyclic year Vikāri of the Jupiter of the inscription belongs to the northern or southern system. The Oriya character of the inscription cannot go back beyond the 10th century A.D. The date 1359-60 A.D. suggested by Dr. Bhandarkar is, therefore, untenable. His calculation is based only on the genealogical list of the Rulers of Patna published in the *Gazetteer of Central Provinces* on pages 483-4. The trustworthiness of this list can be questioned now, because Vatsarāja's son Vaijāladeva of our inscription is not included in it.

Mr. L. P. Pandey often notices local accounts such as *Jayacandrikā* or a Sanskrit work entitled *Kośalānanda* which gives the

accounts of the "Cauhan Rulers of the Sambalpur district."[4] But I am not inclined to base the calculation of the date of the inscription on these accounts. Because the veracity of the said accounts is doubtful. The aforesaid work mentions Vatsarāja as the successor of Vaijāladeva while the order of succession is reversed in the inscription. Again the *ślokas* giving the same account in one manuscript of the said work is either written in different metre or totally wanting in the other. For illustrations I reproduce below the *ślokas* of two different manuscripts.

द्विपञ्चाशत् समा राज्यं कृत्वा राम महायशाः ।
इत्यन्तिकेस्ति तत्रत्यैरमरैरावृतः पर ॥
वर्त्तमाने गजपतौ राजराजेश्वरे क्षितौ
रविरामयुगख्याते विद्यमानेद्रु क कलौ
तस्य पुत्रो महालिङ्गः समाः षड् बुभुजे महीम् ।
पितुः प्रताप-तपनार्दितभूपतिसेवितः ॥
वजलो नृप-शार्दूलः पञ्चषष्टिः समा भुवं ।
पालयित्वा निजपुरं गतो वीरैः सहोदरैः ॥
यो भूत्वा नृपतेः गौडेश्वरेण वारणेसितुः ।
समरेषु बलाध्यक्षो ररक्षोत्कलसंम्पदम् ॥
वत्सराजो भवत्यस्य नामतोरिः पलायितः ।

(These *ślokas* are published by Mr. L. P. Pandey in *JBORS.*, vol. XX, p. 144 from one manuscript).

रामो नामाभिरामोऽभवदवनिधवस्तस्य पुत्रो महादि-
लिङ्गस्तस्यात्मभूतः प्रबलरिपुजयी वैजलो राजहंसः ।
तत्पुत्रो वत्सराजो निजभुज।वजितारातिवर्गस्तनुज-
स्तस्यासीद्वैजराजः क्षितिपतितिलकः क्षत्रनक्षत्रचन्द्रः ॥

(These *ślokas* are found on p. 108 of the *Kośalānanda*, edited by Maharaja Sir B. M. Singh Deo, K.C.I.E., from the manuscript belonging to the Mahārājā of Sonpur).

4 *Proceedings and Transactions of the 6th All-India Oriental Conference*, pp. 43-49; *JBORS.*, vol. XX, pp. 140-46.

The readers may now take note of the fact from the *ślokas* reproduced above that the same list of succession of rulers is put in different words in different manuscripts of the same work by the same author. Again the *śloka* (*ravi-rāma yuga* etc.), giving the date of death of Rāmadeva of one manuscript is not found in the other.

It is narrated in the *Kośalānanda* that Rāmadeva, the founder of the Ruling House of Patna, was 11th in descent from the famous Pṛthvīrāja of Delhi. He married the daughter of the brother of Rājarājeśvara, the Gajapati king of Orissa. Pṛthvīrāja was killed in the battle in 1192 A.D. Now allowing a margin of 200 years for 10 predecessors we get 1393 A.D. as the date of Rāmadeva, when in Orissa there was no Gajapati king, Rājarājeśvara by name. The last Rājarāja of the Gaṅga dynasty ruled in Orissa between 1198 and 1211 A.D. Rāmadeva was certainly not a contemporary of this Rājarāja as he was not the immediate successor of Pṛthvīrāja. Evidently the accounts given in the *Kośalānanda* are untrustworthy. There is, therefore, no ground to discard the palæography and assign the inscription to a date earlier than the 16th century A.D.

BINAYAK MISRA

Ganjam Grant of Jayavarmadeva of Uṇmaṭṭakeśarī's Time

This grant consists of 3 copper-plates, each measuring 7″ long and 3½″ broad. The plates are strung to a circular copper ring which passes through the holes bored in the middle of the left side of each plate. The diameter of the ring is 3¼″. A lump of copper containing the seal secures the two ends of the ring. The figures on the seal are now indiscernible. They are probably like those of other Gaṅga grants of Ganjam.

My friend Mr. P. Acharya, the State Archæologist of Mayurbhanj, has recently purchased this grant from Mr. S. N. Rajaguru of Parlakimedi for Baripada Museum. I owe my indebtedness to Mr. Acharya for kindly lending it to me for decipherment. It is regrettable that no report as to its discovery is now available.

The inscription begins on the reverse of the first plate and ends on that of the last plate. It first discloses that one Viṣavārṇava obtained permission from Unmaṭṭakeśarī at Virajā to issue the grant with his own *praśasti* to Bhaṭṭa Nanvaṭṭamauttara on the occasion of a solar eclipse, recording the grant of the Vālamaśṛṅga in the Varttani *viṣaya* of the Koṅgoda *maṇḍala*. Thereafter Śvetaka, the place of issue, is mentioned. Then after the mention of Lord Gokarṇeśvara on the Mahendra mountain, occurs the *praśasti* of Jayavarmā, the lord of Kaliṅga, belonging to the spotless Gaṅga family, who granted the aforesaid village on the occasion of the solar eclipse of Phālguna to the above-named donee belonging to the Vājasaneya *caraṇa*, Kāṇva-*śākhā* and Vatsa *gotra* with the five pravaras:—Vatsa, Dairda, Bhṛgu, Jamadagni and Cyavana. The document was written by Polla-bhāṇḍāra, the minister for war and peace (*Mahāsandhivigrahī*), incised by Sāmanta Bhogaka and sealed by the queen Śrī Pṛthvī-mahādevī. The messenger (*dūtaka*) was Mukunda. The date of issue was the 3rd day of the bright fortnight of the month of Vaiśākha in the year 50 of an unspecified era.

It cannot be doubted that Viṣavārṇava and Jayavarmā are the two different names of one and the same person. The former is probably his private name and the latter official. Unmaṭṭakeśarī can be identified with the king of the same name of the Bhauma family, because Virajā, the place of his residence, is unquestionably identical with Jajpur in the Cuttack district.

The texts of all plates of the Bhauma family hitherto discovered have been published together and the problems connected with the said family have been discussed by me in a monograph entitled *Orissa under the Bhauma kings*. It is said in one of the plates of the Bhauma family that Unmaṭṭakeśarī subjugated the Kaliṅgas.[1] This statement is now corroborated by the present plate. Because Unmaṭṭakeśarī appears in this plate as an overlord of Jayavarmā, the lord of Kaliṅga. Therefore the unspecified era used in this plate can be taken as the same one found in the Bhauma plates. As the era of the Bhauma plates has been taken by me as the Harṣa era,[2] the date of this plate can be assigned to 656-57 A.D. In that case, the occasion of making the gift can be traced to 651 A.D. in which year an eclipse of the sun took place in the month of Phālguna.[3]

My friend Mr. Jogendra Chandra Ghosh suggests to me to identify this Jayavarmā with the brother of Anantavarmā of the Dharmaliṅgeśvara grant of the Gaṅga year 204[4] and take the era of the Bhauma plates as the Bhauma era. I have offered a suggestion as to the probability of use of their own era by the Bhauma kings.[5] But for want of sufficient evidence in favour of this supposition, I have taken the era of the Bhauma plates as the Harṣa era. Now I could have accepted his suggestion, if this identification of Jayavarmā had been based on surer grounds. The identification suggested by Mr. Ghosh seems to be untenable for several reasons. In the first place, Dharmaliṅgeśvara grant was issued from Kaliṅga-nagara and the present one from Śvetaka which has been identified with Chikiti in the

1 *Orissa under the Bhauma kings*, p. 41.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 78.

3 *An Indian Ephemeries* by L. D. Swamikannu Pillai.

4 *JAHRS.*, vol. II, p. 273.

5 *Orissa under the Bhauma kings*, p. 78.

Ganjam district by several scholars. Secondly, Jayavarmā of the former grant does not appear to be a ruler of Kaliṅga. Had he been a ruler, he himself would have issued the grant. And thirdly, I am tempted to hold that different branches of the Gaṅga family were ruling at different places in Kaliṅga. Because statements to this effect occur in the grants of the later Gaṅga kings. Again the grants which were issued from Śvetaka[6] do not contain the Gaṅga era unlike those from Kaliṅga-nagara. Moreover the former grants fall into one category and the latter ones into the other in respect of their texts and scripts.

In case of acceptance of Mr. Ghosh's suggestion, however, the date of the plate under discussion can be assigned to 697 A.D. Because Anantavarmā of the Gaṅga year 294 corresponding to 700 A.D.[7] must have issued the charter recognising the gift made by his brother Jayavarmā after the demise of the latter; hence the year 697 A.D. in which a solar eclipse took place in the month of Phālguna can be supposed to be the date of the present plate. In that case the initial date of the supposed Bhauma era falls in (697-50), 647 A.D. i.e., forty years after the commencement of the Harṣa era. Apparently my identification of Rājamala, the father of Tribhuvanamahādevī, is not untenable;[8] nor is Kṣemaṅkaradeva uncontemporaneous with Harṣa.[9]

6 *EI.*, vol. IV, pp. 199-201.

7 The initial year of the Gaṅga era is 496 A.D., vide *Ind. Ant.*, vol. LXI pp. 237-38.

8 *Orissa under the Bhauma kings*, p. 75.

9 *Ibid.*, p. 78.

TEXT

Plate I (Reverse)

L. 1 ॐ स्वस्ति विरजसि राज्ञ[10] श्रीउन्मत्तकेसरि राणक(:)श्रीवि-
L. 2 षवारणर्ण्णवेन विज्ञप्ता । सूर्य्य-ग्रह-परागे । वर्त्तते कोङ्गदमण्डले
L. 3 वर्त्तनि-विषये वालमश्टङ्गनाम्ना ग्रामो[11] अस्य[12] भट्ट-नन्वट्टम-
L. 4 उत्तरस्य पुण्याभिवृद्धये सलिल-धारा-पुरस्सरेणाचन्द्रार्क-
L. 5 क्षिति-सम-काल-मकरी-कृत्य अस्मत्प्रशस्त्या ताम्र (म्र)शास-
L. 6 नेन दास्यामीति एवं करिष्यथेति (* ।) अतो सितशतपत्र-कमलवि-
L. 7 कसितेन श्रीवदनेन श्रीराज्ञेन[13] आदेशा(त्)* दत्तं* । ततो राणकः श्री
L. 8 विषवारर्णव(:)* प्रमादं लब्धादेशात् स्व-प्रशस्त्या एवं ताम्र (म्र)-
L. 9 शासनं कारापितमिति (*) स्वस्ति श्वेतकाधिष्ठानाद्भ-

Plate II (Obverse)

L. 10 गवतश्चराचर-गुरोः शकल-शशङ्कशिखरधरस्य स्थित्योत्पत्ति-प्र-
L. 11 लय-कारण-हेतोर्म्महेन्द्राचल-शिखर-निवासिन (श्*) श्रीमद्गोकर्ण्णेश्व-
L. 12 र-चरण-कमलाराधना-व्याप्त-पुण्य-निचयस्य-शक्तित्रय-प्रकृष्टा
L. 13 नुरञ्जिताशेष-सामन्त-चक्र-स्व भुज-ब(व)ल-पराक्रमाक्रान्त-वी(वि)र्य्य स-
L. 14 कलकलिङ्गाधिराज्यो परम-माहेश्वरो माता-पितृ-पादानुध्या-
L. 15 तो गङ्गामल-कुल-तिलकः महाराज श्री-जयवर्मदे-
L. 16 व(:*) कुशली सर्वतः शिवमस्माकमन्यत् कोङ्गद-मण्डले वर्त्तनि-
L. 17 विषये यथा-कालाद्यासीन-राजानक-राजपुत्र-कुमारामात्या (अ)न्त-
L. 18 रङ्ग-बहिरङ्ग..................
L. 19 ....करणश्चाट-भट्ट-वल्लभ-जातीयान्

Plate II (Reverse)

L. 20 सामन्त-भोगि-विषय-जनपदानेतानन्यांश्च ब्राह्मण-पुरोगान् यथा-
L. 21 र्हं मानयत्यादिश(य*)ति च विदितमस्तु भवतामेतद्विषय-सम (ब*)न्ध(:) बाल-
L. 22 मश्टङ्ग-नाम्ना ग्राम(:*) चतुः-सीमोपल-क्षिति ॥ वाजसनेय-चरणाय काण्व-
L. 23 शाखाय वत्सवद् दिद्क्स्त् भृगु-वत् जमदग्निवत् पञ्च-
L. 24 प्रवरात्मको(काय) वत्स-गोत्र अयमेवाव* सव्यना(?) अनुप्रवरं भवति भ-
L. 25 ट्ट श्री-नन्वट्टमुत्तरस्य(राय) सलिल-धारा-पुरस्सरेणाचन्द्रार्क-क्षिति-
L. 26 सम-काल-मकरीकृत्य मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये
L. 27 फाल्गुन(ण)मासि सूर्य्य-ग्रहोपरागे प्रदत्तोऽस्माभिः येत(*त्) ताम्र(म्र)शा-
L. 28 सन-दर्शनात् धर्म-गौरवादस्मद्गौरवाच्च न केनचित् परिपन्थिनो

Ganjam Grant of Jayavarmadeva

Plate I (Reverse)
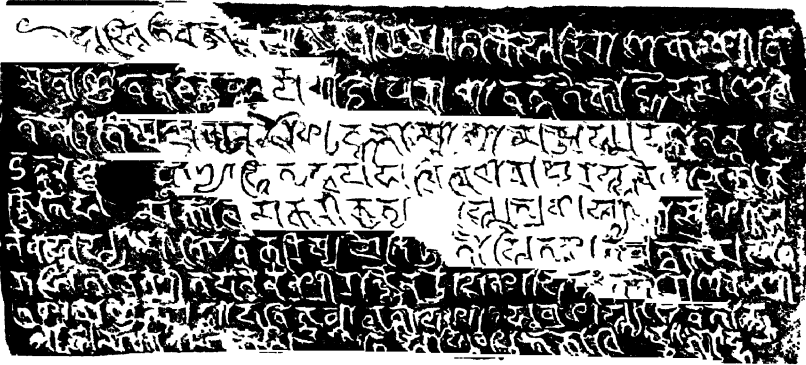
Plate II (Obverse)
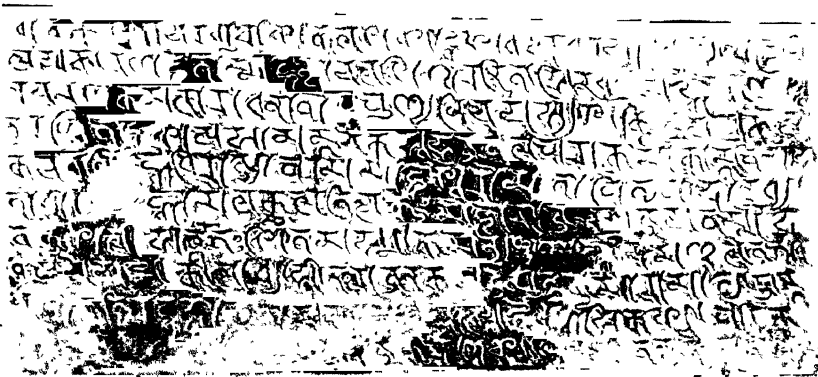
Plate II (Reverse)
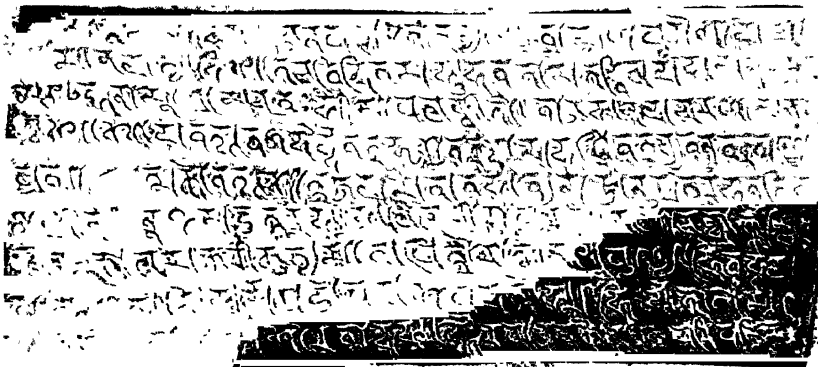
Plate III (Obverse)
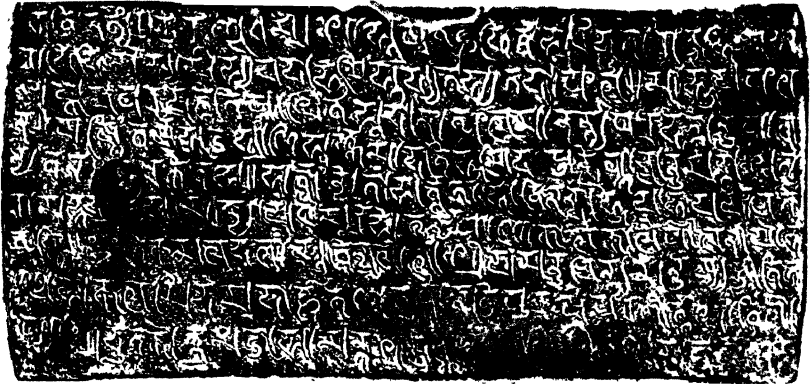
Plate III (Reverse)
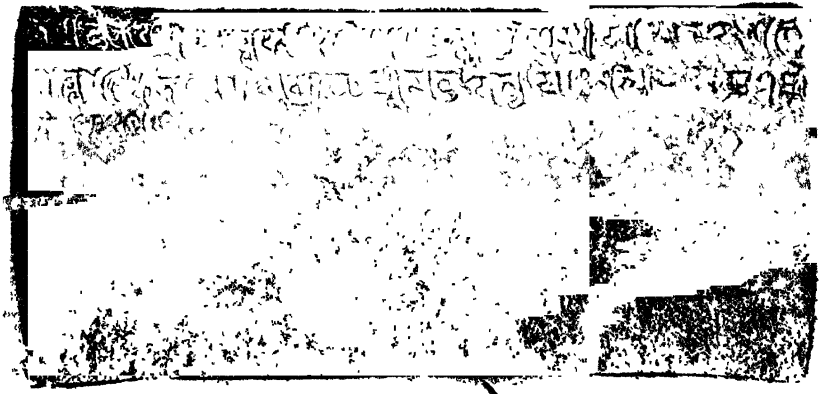
Plate III (Obverse)

L. 29 भवितव्यम् ॥ उक्तञ्च धर्म्मशास्त्रेषु ब(व)हुभिर्वसुधा दत्ता राजभि(:) सग-

L. 30 रादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ माभुय फल-

L. 31 शङ्काय परदत्तेति पार्थिवाः स्वदानात् फलमानन्त्यं परदत्तानुपाल-

L. 32 नं ॥ षष्टिं वर्ष-सहस्राणि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः । आक्षिप्ताश्चानुमन्ताश्च तो-

L. 33 न्येव नरके वसे (*) ॥ सर्वा(ं)एयेतानि(तं*) सर्वतो भावि(ए*)न्द्राम् भूय याचते

L. 34 रामभद्र(*) सामान्योयं धर्म-सेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भ-

L. 35 वद्भिः ॥ इति कमल-दलाम्बु-बि(व)न्दु-लोलाम् श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्य-
जीवित-

L. 36 ञ्च सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च बु(वु)ध्वा नहि पुरुषैं(:) पर-कीर्त्तयो विलो-

L. 37 प्याः ॥ दूतकोत्र महासामन्त मुकुन्देन ॥ लिखितञ्च महासन्धि-

Plate III (Reverse)

L. 38 विग्रही-श्री-पोल्लभाण्डारेण ॥ उत्कीर्णाञ्च सामन्तभोगके

L. 39 न लाञ्छितञ्च राज्ञी श्री-पृथ्वी-माहदेव्या-(य) इति ॥ सम्ब(म्व)त् ५०

L. 40 वैशाख शुदि ३ ॥

BINAYAK MISRA

Bhartṛyajña—the oldest commentator of Pāraskara-Gṛhyasūtras

The *Pāraskara Gṛhyasūtra* belonging to the Suklayajurveda is one of the most important and popular texts of its class. The importance and the popularity of the text may be easily gauged from the fact that a number of learned commentaries written by those who are acknowledged authorities on the subject has come down to us from ancient times. But, as the unfortunate case is, not all the comments are extant to this day for our study and investigation. Karkācārya is believed to be the most authoritative of all the commentators and his comments upon the text of Pāraskara are rightly taken to be the model of what concise and excellent comments should be. Harihara is the most popular among the writers of commentaries upon the text and is specially renowned as an admirable and reliable guide for leading us through the thorny complex details of the domestic rituals by the composition of his rightly admired *Paddhati*. The commentaries of Jayarāma, Gadādhara, Viśvanātha and Rāmakṛṣṇa have also seen the light of day in the excellent editions published by the Gujarāṭī Press of Bombay and the Vidyāvilāsa Press of Benares. But unfortunately it is not generally known that Bhartṛyajña, an ancient commentater of great renown, has also composed a learned commentary upon the text of Pāraskara Gṛhya. From a number of quotations and references made in the commentaries of Gadādhara and Rāmakṛṣṇa we can firmly assert that Bhartṛyajña wrote a commentary and that too a very learned commentary upon Pāraskara's Gṛhya text. Only a small portion of Rāmakṛṣṇa's commentary has been published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit series and hence we have traced there not more than five or six references[1] to the views of Bhartṛyajña but the commmentary of Gadādhara, though it extends only up to the second Kaṇḍikā of the text, possesses more than 25 references[2] to the peculiar

1 संस्कारगणपति (Chowkhamba Edn.) pp. 22, 156, 269, 271.

2 पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र with भाष्य (Guj. Press Edn.) pp. 2, 53, 65. 69, 76, 77, 95, 96, 124, 145, 150, 160, 172, 190, 191, 201, 203, 204, 208, 209, 230, 248, 266, 276.

comments of this author. Hence it is obvious that Bhartṛyajña's commentary did exist at that time since it has been utilised to such an extent by these commentators. If there still be any lurking doubt about the existence of a commentary by Bhartṛyajña, it will be surely removed by the notice of Bhartṛyajña's incomplete Ms. called Pāraskara-Gṛhyavivaraṇa in the recent catalogue[3] of Sanskrit Mss., published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Date

Our author seems to have been a very ancient commentator. His date can be correctly ascertained by a number of references made to his views and comments by the later commentators of the Gṛhya and Smṛti texts. Thus Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana in his *Āpastamba-dhvanitārtha-kārikā* while discussing various views about the merits of a householder privileged to consecrate the sacrificial fires, refers to the opinion of Bhartṛyajña[4] that one who has committed to memory the text of the Veda has a genuine privilege for the consecration of the Śrauta fires, even though he happens to be ignorant of the meaning of the text. This writer whose personal name is believed to be Bhāskaramiśra flourished in the beginning of the 12th century.[5] Hence our author must be earlier than that. But another reference by a still ancient writer takes this date to four centuries earlier. Medhātithi on Manu., VIII. 3 makes a reference[6] to the different explanations proposed by Bhartṛyajña and advises his readers to consult his works and take them as the most authoritative explanations offered. This reference amply proves that even in the middle of the 9th century to which this premier commentator of Manu belongs,[7] Bhartṛyajña's authority on

3 Vol. II, no. 1023.

4 यद्वाऽध्ययनसंसिद्धविज्ञानरहितोऽपि सन् ।
नातीवाधिक्रियाशून्यो भर्तृयज्ञादिदर्शनात् ।
त्रिकाण्डमण्डन, I. 41. (B. I. Edn.) p. 29.

5 Kane: *History of Dharmaśāstra*, pp. 555-556.

6 व्याख्यानान्तराणि भर्तृयज्ञेनैव सम्यक् कृतानि इति तत एवागन्तव्यानि सर्वथा प्रमाणमूलानि ।

7 Kane: *History of Dharmaśāstra*, p. 275.

religious matters was supreme and that his name was conjured up with the greatest reverence due to one who commanded profound respect from later writers on account of his age and authoritative position. Thus it is natural to assume that he is not later than the first quarter of 9th century and he possibly flourished in the 8th century, if not earlier.

His eminent position

The reference to be found in Gadādhara's commentary upon the *Pāraskara-Sūtras* amply prove that Bhartṛyajña was looked upon, even in matters relating to the domestic rituals, as an authority of great eminence and antiquity whose comments, therefore, were of highest importance and consideration. In many places in making references to his views Gadādhara uses the plural number with the name of this Ācārya which is a sure indication of his high position.[8] Hence it is but natural to believe that the opinions and views held by Bhartṛyajña are worthy of consideration for an impartial and critical study of these deservedly popular Gṛhya Sūtras.

His textual criticisms

The aim of this paper is to collect in one place some of the important comments of this writer and thus to show their instrinsic worth for a proper and comprehensive study of these Gṛhya Sūtras. Bhartṛyajña's comments are useful not only for the interpretation of the sūtras but also for testing the purity of the text as we have got it now. We shall quote below only three of such comments as are valuable for the textual criticism of the work. Thus the text[9] of the the sūtra, II. 10,13 as commented upon by Jayarāma and Harihara has the reading *Audumbarya* but in Bhartṛyajña's opinion the correct reading is *Audumbarī*[10] and this latter reading has also

8 e.g. भर्तृयज्ञास्तु कालचतुष्टयं वर्णयन्ति । औदुम्वर्य इति तु कर्क भर्तृयज्ञाः । पारस्करगृह्यसूत्र (Gujrati Printing Press edn.) p. 276.

9 The full sūtra runs thus—हुत्वा हुत्वौदुम्बर्यस्तिस्रस्तिस्रः समिध आदध्युरार्द्राः सपलाशा घृताक्ताः सावित्र्या ।

10 पारस्कर गृह्य०, p. 276.

been adopted by Karka.[11] Harihara's Bhāṣya[12] supposes a new sūtra[13] after II. 5.27 descriptive of the diverse measurements of the sticks used by the Brahmacārins of the three castes but as Gadādhara reports this is an interpolation *in toto* because it has not been commented upon by Bhartṛyajña and following him by Karka.[14] From this statement we can legitimately assume that Gadādhara considers Bhartṛyajña to be a greater authority even for the readings of the Sūtras than Harihara and hence he is thoroughly justified in his remarks that the measurements of the Brahmacārins' sticks have not been enumerated by the Ācārya Pāraskara but should be adopted here from the texts of the other Vedic schools.[15] In another part of his commentary Gadādhara frankly tells us that Bhartṛyajña has given the ancient reading of the Sūtra which has become a bit altered at the hands of a later commentator. The text[16] of the Sūtra I. 1.12 as commented upon by Harihara contains the word *sakeśāni* which creats an unnecessary textual difficulty removed only after the supposed reference to the word *kuśataruṇāni* occurring in the Sūtra, I. 1.10. But the better and chronologically the older reading is *Keśān* as given by Bhartṛyajña and followed by Karka.[17] These few references are sufficient to prove that the Sūtra-readings adopted by Bhartṛyajña are valuable not only on account of their age but also for a better understanding and construction of Pāraskāra's text.

His new interpretations

The meanings of technical words occurring in the Sūtras as proposed by Bhartṛyaña are no less remarkable. Generally these are

11 *Pāra. Gṛhya.*, p. 276. 12 *Ibid.*, p. 223.

13 The full text of this sūtra is—केशसंमितो ब्राह्मणस्य ललाटसंमितः क्षत्रियस्य, घ्राणसंमितो वैश्यस्य।

14 इदं च सूत्रं सूत्रत्वेन हरिहरभाष्ये तिष्ठति। भर्तृयज्ञकर्कादिग्रन्थेषु नोपलभ्यते। अतः क्षिप्तमेतदित्याभाति। पार० गृ० p. 230.

15 अत्राचार्येणानुक्तमपि दण्डमानमुपयुक्तत्वादविरोधित्वात् शाखान्तरीयं ग्राह्यम्। पार० गृ० p. 230.

16 The full sūtra is—सकेशानि प्रच्छिद्यानुड्हे गोमयपिण्डे प्रास्यत्युत्तरतो ध्रियमाणे।

17 भर्तृयज्ञैः प्राचीनपाठो दर्शितः। पार० गृ० p. 191.

natural and direct and in most cases seem to be based upon tradition. We shall refrain from mentioning all such cases and confine ourselves merely to a few of general interest.

(1) The Sūtra, I. 3,5 आहरन्ति विष्टरं पद्यं पादार्थमुदकमर्घमाचमनीयं etc. contains the word विष्टरं which is differently explained by the commentators. Reṇuka tells us that विष्टर means प्रादेशमात्रं विवृतं कौशं वा काशनिर्मितं। According to Harihara it is made of 25 *Kuśa* sprouts but Bhartṛyajña's comment is quite different from these. He says[18]— विष्टरः विवृदरत्निमात्रः कौशो रज्जुविशेषः।

(2) The word पद्यं occurring in the above sūtra has got a different interpretation meaning 'water meant for washing the feet.' पादप्रक्षालनार्थंजलं पद्यशब्देन[19]।

(3) The sūtra I. 4.14 has got समञ्जयति which is explained differently. Bhartṛyajña takes it to mean[20] परस्परं गात्रसंश्लेषः।

(4) दृढपुरुष found in the sūtra, I. 8,10 is explained by Harihara as any strong man but Bhartṛyajña takes it in the sense of one who has firm control over his senses (दृढपुरुषो जितेन्द्रियः[21]।) and this latter meaning is adopted by Gadādhara with a light modification.

(5) Bhartṛyajña has made some interesting and novel remarks[22] about the word दारकाल in sūtra I. 2.1. आवसथ्याधानं दारकाले which though based on the authority of some गृह्यकार appear to be somewhat curious and hence have called forth a lengthy criticism at the hands of Karkācārya. This will be considered later on in some details.

(6) Bhadrapīṭha in the sūtra, I. 15.4 has been explained in a peculiar manner.[23]

(7) The sūtra, I. 17,4 शर्म ब्राह्मणस्य वर्म क्षत्रियस्य गुप्तेति वैश्यस्य possesses two lines of interpretation at the hands of commentators. According to Bhartṛyajña[24], शर्मन् should form an integral part of the name of a Brāhmaṇa, वर्मन् that of a Kṣatriya and गुप्त that of a

18 & 19 These remarks are quoted by गदाधर on पार० गृ० p. 53 and by रामकृष्ण in संस्कारगणपति p. 156.

20 पार० गृ० p. 69.

21 पार० गृ० p. 95.

22 पार० गृ० p. 22 and संस्कारगणपति p. 50.

23 पार० गृ० p. 150.

24 Ibid., p. 172.

Vaiśya—an explanation which is amply supported by Manu[25] and other Smṛti writers. But Karka's comments represent a different line of approach altogether.[26]

(8) The sūtra, II. 1,3 यथामङ्गलं वा सर्वेषाम् has been made to yield a sense which is at once peculiar and interesting.[27]

(9) Bhartṛyajña differs in many places even in points of ritual details. Such a point is provided by the sūtra II. 3.1. as regards the place of ब्रह्मचारिन् at the time of his गायन्युपदेश ।[28] Other such interesting cases are to be found under the sūtra, II. 2,8 where Bhartṛ's opinions have found favour with most of the later commentators.[29]

(10) While commenting upon the sūtras, II. 3,8-9, which signify that the गायत्री of a Kṣatriya should be in the त्रिष्टुभ् metre and that of a Vaiśya in the जगती metre, Bhartṛyajña fortunately supplies with the respective mantras from the यजुः संहिता । According to him[30] the क्षत्रिय गायत्री is the mantra तां सवितुः (शु० यजु० सं (17,74), while the वैश्य गायत्री is युञ्जते मनः (5,14). This is really a piece of very valuable information, since we find nothing to this effect even in the भाष्य of Ācārya Karka.

These few references, selected at random, from the commentary of Gadādhara fully demonstrate the originality and importance of the views held forth by our author. Original as these comments are, they lay claim upon our attention no less by their belonging to an old age than by their following an old tradition. This will be amply proved by the examination of some of the materials which we possess for determining the relative chronology of our author in comparison with the so-far-oldest-known commentator, the celebrated Ācārya Karka.

Bhartṛyajña and Karka—their Relative Chronology

It is an ascertained fact that Karka belongs to an age anterior to the beginning of the 12th century since his views have been quoted

25 शर्मान्तं ब्राह्मणस्य स्यात् etc. म०स्मृ० ।

26 Vide पार० गृ० p. 171.

27 Ibid., p. 190.

28 Ibid., p. 208.

29 Vide. pp. 203, 204 of पार० गृ० ।

30 पार० गृ० p. 209.

with approval by Trikāṇḍamaṇḍana in his *Āpastambadhvanitārthakārikā* about certain details of sacrificial ritual.[31] No other argument has been advanced so far to take his date back to some earlier centuries.[32] But the date of Bhartṛyajña, as shown above, has been fixed on external grounds and he is known to belong to an age anterior to the 9th century; probably he belongs to the latter half of the 8th century. Hence it is but natural to assert that Bhartṛyajña is an older commentator than Karka. And the examination of Karka's Bhāṣya on *Pāraskaragṛhyasūtra* fully corroborates the statement made above, since it contains references to, and lengthy refutations of, the views which we know, on the authority of Gadādhara, were propounded by Bhartṛyajña himself.

It is generally believed that Karka is the oldest and the first commentator of Pāraskara but this is a mere belief based upon unsupportable evidences. A close study of his commentary has a different tale to tell. It undoubtedly reveals the fact that Karka cannot in any way be credited with the authorship of the first commentary on Pāraskara, because he makes therein clear references to the opinions of an older commentator of the text. But an apparent difficulty arises from the fact that Karka is wholly silent as regards the name of his predecessor whom he quotes and refutes, since he refers to such writer or writers under the general term केचित् or अपरे । But even a supperficial comparison of such views with those that are peculiar to Bhartṛyajña takes us to the conclusion that these pertain to no other commentator known save to our author. We shall examine a few such cases as will prove to any discerning critic that Bhartṛyajña was *anterior* to Karkācārya in point of the relative chronology and thus he should be considered as the most ancient commentator on पारस्कर in the present state of our knowledge.

31 त्रिकाण्डमण्डन pp. 68, 70, 162, 163; Kane: *History of Dharmaśāstra*, p. 384.

32 But a very fantastic theory has been put forward by Vidyābhūṣaṇa Paṇdit Dināṇāth Sāstri of Indore according to whom Karkācārya lived about fifteen thousand years ago. Vide 'The date of Karkācārya' *I H. Q.*, Vol. IX (1933), pp. 923—929.

Bhartṛyajña as criticised by Karka

(a) In the very beginning of the text, the sūtra I. 1,2 परिसमुह्योपलिप्य[33] etc. presents a difficult problem for the commentators to solve. Are the sprinkling and other items mentioned herein meant for five or for the purification of the ground? Karka adopts the first view and criticises—and that too at a great length—an opinion apparently favoured and well received in his time as the lengthy refutation naturally would lead one to believe. He tells us—परिसमूहनादयः पञ्च पदार्थाः भूमिशुद्धर्था इति केचित्। तदयुक्तम् न ह्यशुद्धे देशेऽग्नेः स्थापनप्रवृत्तिर्युक्ते ति तस्मादग्नयर्था एव। यत्र यत्राग्नेः स्थापनं तत्र तत्रैते कर्तव्या इति। In later times this view of Karka came to receive favour and approval at the hands of the commentators but the pertinent query is who is the author whose view is here criticised by Karka? The obvious clue is given by Gadādhara who, though a staunch follower of Karka so far as the interpretation of this sūtra is concerned, makes a clear and important statement that एते पञ्च भूसंस्कारा इति भर्तृयज्ञभाष्ये. This can lead us to only one legitimate conclusion and it is that this veiled reference of Karka concerns none but Bhartṛyajña who must, therefore, be an earlier and important commentator to merit a reference and a refutation.

(b) The sūtra, I. 2,1 आवसथ्याधानं दारकाले[34] mentions the right time for the establishment of the domestic fire. It is दारकाल when the domestic fire should be prepared and piled for the first time by every Hindu householder. But the term दारकाल is rather vague. Hence naturally opinions differ about the interpretation of this important word here. In Karkācārya's opinion the right time for such a religious ceremony is the marriage time but he clearly mentions that 'in the opinion of some', obviously based upon the authority of some other Gṛhya writer, the ceremony may take place even before marriage. And here comes from his pen a lengthy criticism pointedly expressing the inadvisibility of such a view on the strength of both authority and

33 पारस्करगृह्य० p. 2.

34 Ibid., p. 7.

tradition.[35] Now, the point is who is the commentator advocating such a peculiar view? Gadādhara[36] and Rāmakṛṣṇa[37] are at one in stating that भर्तृयज्ञ advocated such a view in interpreting this sūtra in his commentary प्राग् ध्रुवदर्शनात् दारकाल इति भर्तृयज्ञः. It is but legitimate to conclude that कर्क refutes here the opinion of भर्तृयज्ञ, which had gained currency in his time.

(c) The tenth section of the second chapter contains a detailed description of उपाकर्म, 'the beginning of the Vedic studies.' The second sūtra thereof ओषधीनां प्रादुर्भावे श्रावणेन श्रावण्यां पौर्णमास्यां श्रावणस्य पञ्चमीं हस्तेन वा enjoins the right time for such an important ceremony. Karka opines that this sūtra gives an option for the selection of the right time between the 15th and the 5th day of the bright half of the month of Srāvaṇa. But some commentator explains this sūtra as enjoining four different dates for such an action.[38] On the authority of Gadādhara we know that a statement to this effect was made by Bhartṛyajña in his comments.[39] No other commentator known to us is credited with such a view. As a cumulative effect of all such arguments we are led to believe that Bhartṛ's views have been criticised and referred to by Karka though without mentioning his name and hence he must have undoubtedly been his predecessor in this line.

The theory propounded above receives an ample corroboration from the following evidences:

(i) From Anantadeva we learn that our author was also a commentator of the Śrautasūtra of Kātyāyana.[40] While justifying his own

35 केचित्तु पाणिग्रहणात् प्रतिगच्छन्ति गृह्यकारान्तरवचनात्। एवं हि तेनोक्तं जायायाः पाणिं जिघृक्षन्नादधीतेति। तत् पुनर्नातीव युक्तरूपम्। येनाद्यापि असंस्कृतमेव स्त्रीद्रव्यम्। न चासंस्कृतं तत्सहायतां प्रतिपद्यते। ससहायस्य च कर्मस्वधिकारः etc. पार० गृ० pp. 13-14.

36 op. cit., p. 23.   37 संस्कारगणपति p. 50.

38 श्रावण्यां हि पौर्णमास्यां श्रवण एव प्रायशो भवति ओषधीनां प्रादुर्भावश्च। तदेतदुभयं तस्या एव विशेषणम्। तत्रापि हस्त एव भवति। अतः कालद्वयस्योपाकरणकर्मणो विकल्पोऽयम्। अपरे तु कालचतुष्टयं वर्णयन्ति।—पार० गृ० p. 272.

39 भर्तृयज्ञास्तु कालचतुष्टयं वर्णयन्ति। —पार० गृ० p. 376.

40 मुनिं कात्यायनं कर्कं पितृभूतिं तथादिमान्।
यशोगोपिं भर्तृयज्ञं तथा भाष्यकृतोऽपरान्॥

position as a new commentator of an old text and demonstrating the peculiarities of his comments, this writer has made, in the beginning of his commentary upon the said sūtras, certain remarks about the earlier commentators of the text which are specially important in this connexion. He comments upon the omissions to be found in the commentaries of Bhartṛyajña, Pitṛbhūti and Karka.[41] This order which he observes in mentioning these earlier writers is, the present writer firmly believes, not without importance in settling their relative chronology. Thus the fact that Bhartṛyajña's Bhāṣya has come in for criticism before that of Karka who is taken to supplement Bhartṛyajña and Pitṛbhūti suggests without any doubt the priority of the former to the latter.

(ii) Bhāskaramiśra, in his discussion about पुनराधान, quotes the comments of Bhartṛ and Karka upon the sūtra पुनराधेयमाधानाप्रतिज्ञातस्य (का०श्रौ०सू० IV. 11,1) in the very order in which Ananta mentions them. Further he shows his greater regard for the first with the honorific title of ācārya which is denied to the latter mentioned only in the singular number[42] and after a lengthy and learned discussion proves the correctness of Bhartṛ's views on the question. Hence it is but obvious that in accordance with the views of this eminent writer Bhartṛ was anterior to Karka.

These additional arguments would undoubtedly lead us to the conclusion that Bhartṛyajña flourished prior to Karkācārya and hence he should be considered the oldest commentator so far known of these important Gṛhyasūtras of Pāraskara.

BALADEVA UPADHYAYA

41 किं च भर्तृयज्ञभाष्यमल्पव्याख्यायुतं न दृढन्यायनिरूप्यवैकृतकर्मविवृतिसमर्थम्। पितृभूतिकृतं च श्रुतिमात्रनिरूपणपरम्। तत्र पर्यायोऽपि शब्दान्तरेण क्वाचित्क एव। तस्मात् सम्भावनापि वैकृतसिद्धेर्न घटते। ननु कर्कभाष्यमनेकन्याययुतं युक्तिभिः सुदृढं सर्वसन्दिग्धनिर्णयप्रयोगविध्यपेक्षिततत्तदंशप्रपूरकं भविष्यति etc.

का० श्रौ० सू०, p. 2. (Benares Edn).

42 आधानेन लक्षणेन...............इति भर्तृयज्ञाचार्याः व्याचक्षते। यस्याधानं...............इति कर्कः। vide त्रिकाण्डमण्डन p. 158.

Śrī Harsa, the King-Poet

(The Authorship of Śrī Harṣa)

The Paṇḍits of the old School disputed Harṣa's authorship of the three Dramas and held that Bāṇa was the real author. Doubts first rose from Nāgojī's comments on the famous passage of Mammaṭa,— 'श्रीहर्षादेर्बाणादीनामिव धनम्' ;[1] While Mammaṭa simply refers to Harṣa's gift of gold to Bāṇa as an example of poetry leading to affluence, the modern commentator took it to mean that Bāṇa derived an immense fortune from his literary works, which were passed off in the name of his liberal patron, Śrī-Harṣa. But there is the statement of Bāṇa himself to the contrary, that the king's high favour to him followed only the vindication of his character, about which there were spread many ugly rumours. After that, he says, "he came actually to share with the king his wealth and even his state-dignity." But this statement of Bāṇa is not acceptable to the historians as a proof against Nāgojī's allegation. I-tsing clearly refers to the dramatization of the subject of *Nāgānanda* by Harṣa, and Dāmodaragupta who lived under Joyāpīḍa of Kashmir (A.D. 779-813) mentions a performance of *Ratnāvalī* attributed to the king. This establishes the fact beyond doubt that as early as in the seventh or eighth century, nobody disputed Harṣa's authorship of those dramas. But, it may be pointed out that works like *Madana-pārijāta* have been referred to in the later works of Raghunandana and others, under the names of the reputed king-authors, and nowhere under the names of the real authors (Viśvambhara and others) who passed off their works under the names of their patron kings, as Bāṇa was supposed to have done. In fact, it is contended that those early writers referred either to the

1 There is another reading, which has the name of Dhāvaka in the place of Bāṇa. It is however not acceptable, on the ground (1) that it is not supported by any MSS. coming from Kashmir, the country to which Mammaṭa belonged, and that (2) the tradition about Harṣa's munificence to Bāṇa is supported by Bāṇa himself and also by Soḍhala, a contemporary of Mammaṭa (Gaekwad's Oriental Series no. 11); and the latter mentions the name of no other poet in this connection.

subject-matter of the drama or to the dramatic performance; the authorship was not their point.

To my mind, however, the comment of Nāgojī referred to above is proved to be baseless by the statement of Mammaṭa's own contemporary, Soḍhala, concerning the same tradition about Harṣa's gift to Bāṇa. It is clear and elaborate enough not to give rise to any misconception. The tradition according to Soḍhala runs:—Harṣa was the king, who while seated among his learned men in the *saṃsad* was really a lover of learning though his name implied "a lover of royal-fortune."[2] That is why, says Soḍhala, the king honoured Bāṇa by presenting him with the fabulous amount of a hundred crores of gold. Far from suggesting that the money was paid as price for the authorship of any of the works of Bāṇa, that writer of the 11th century (who could have no motive like the king's own protégé) paid a very high tribute to the king as both a "Prince of Princes" and a "Prince of Poets."

The object of the present paper is to make a further contribution to the discussion about the king's authorship with special reference to the following points: (I) Warrior Harṣa as reflected in the earlier dramas; (II) Harṣa's cosmopolitan religious conviction as reflected in his three dramas; and (III) the lofty sentiment expressed by the Sarvasvadāna in his last drama.

(I) *The Warrior Harṣa*

The warrior Harṣa names his first drama *Ratnāvalī*, which means "Jewel Wreath," and behind which, I think, is the king's happy memory of the Ekāvali episode in his Daṇḍa Yātrā, described in Bāṇa's *Harṣacarita*—(Book VIII). This Ekāvalī, which also means "a wreath," is said to have been presented to him by Divākara Mitra, the Buddhist Saint, whom he met in the depth of the Vindhya forest. It served as a protection against any kind of poisoning to which the king's life was always exposed. The monk proceeded to give the history connected with the garland and said that "the first monarch whose shoulder it decorated was "Sātavāhana, the lord of the four oceans."

2 श्रीहर्ष इत्यवनिवर्त्तिषु पार्थिवेषु नाम्नैव केवलमजायत वस्तुतस्तु ।
श्रीहर्ष एष निजसंसदि येन राज्ञा सम्पूजितः कनककोटिशतेन बाणः ॥

This Ekāvalī is described by Bāṇa as a costly jewel and is counted as one among the many blessings of Harṣa's life. It is said that "come down to him from the successive rulers of earth, it was taken by Harṣa to be the Banner which announced the coming of the Imperial fortune" to him. The *acquisition* of Ekāvalī, he thought, meant the *attainment* of imperial fortune. The fact is that it cheered him up as a happy omen in his Daṇḍa Yātrā, which was really crowned with success and made him the emperor of Northern India. The happy reminiscence of this, it seems, served as a background in the *Ratnāvalī*—the first attempt of the young dramatist which opens with the cheering news of the king's all-round victory. Even a superficial acquaintance with the story of the drama will shew the striking similarity between the two, the Ekāvalī and *Ratnāvalī*, not only in name but also in magical power. For victory and the imperial power would come to the possessor of both—Ratnāvalī the Princess, and Ekāvalī the jewel. That is why the hand of the Princess is sought for the king by Yaugandharāyaṇa; and the latter carefully weaves his plot to that end.

Moreover, in the story of the drama, we have actually an imperial wreath, which was also called Ratnāvalī and was presented to the heroine by her father, Siṃhaleśvara. This also may reasonably be said to give the play its name, serving as it does the same dramatic purpose as the token ring in the *Abhijñāna-Śakuntala*. In either case, it is the happy reminiscence of the Ekāvalī, the Imperial wreath, which is underlying the whole plot of the play.

The warrior Harṣa reveals himself in the descriptions of the wars in his dramas. The scenes of the battle are laid in the very countries, which from his own inscription and that of his great rival the Cālukya-king, appears to have been the storm centres in those days, and which were, therefore, always uppermost in his thoughts. This explains why the stories of the battles have been introduced, though they are without any bearing whatsoever on the development of the plot, and may therefore be omitted without leaving any gap in the story.

Both the earlier dramas (*Ratnā* and *Priya*) open with a boastful reference to the king's war. In the *Ratnāvalī*, the first drama, it reads like a review of Harṣa's war of the first period, which was forced on him by his enemies and which resulted in his complete victory and

consolidation of his power in Northern India. The kingdom has its enemies completely vanquished (rājyaṃ nirjitaśatru), says king Udayana, the hero of *Ratnāvalī*, when first entering the stage in the high spirit of a victor. Again in the history of the second period of his war, the king-poet appears to have been all along aggressive; and in *Priyadarśikā*, the second drama, the story is introduced with a complacent allusion to complete success in an aggressive expedition of a most daring nature, in which, the hero says, he was actuated solely by his "passion for military adventure, which has been carried to the climax" (*nirvyūḍhā raṇasāhasavyasaritā*).

His *Ratnāvalī* closes, again, with an account of the battle of Kośola; and his *Priyadarśikā*, with that of Kaliṅga. These two countries were the storm-centres. As regards the kings-poet's battle in Kaliṅga[3] we have definite proof of it in the accounts of Hiuen Tsang. "His last recorded campaign," says Vincent Smith, "was directed against Ganjam (that is the country of Kaliṅga) on the coast of the Bay of Bengal in A.D. 643." Further, in the Aihole Inscription of the rival king, Kaliṅga is mentioned together with Kośala as the country conquered by him. In regard to the king-poet's war in Kośala we have no direct evidence; from the same Aihole inscription, he is inferred to have come into conflict with the ruler of that region also. This inference of the historian is supported by the very fact that Kośala is chosen by the king-poet as the scene of war in the first drama, just as Kaliṅga, the scene of "his lest recorded campaign" has been made the scene of war in his second.

The fiery description of battles in both the dramas is quite worthy of the warrior poet, as it shows bold strategic conception combined with dashing generalship and have nothing to do with the mythical weapons, the accounts of which fill the description of war by other poets including even Kālidāsa. In those accounts of war, the facts, specially noteworthy, are as follows:—

(1) Vindhya-ketu (in *Priya*) is shown as one of the most heroic characters, who is a chief of the Vindhya forest and with whom the princess in her distress takes shelter. This account of

3 See R. D. Banerji, *History of Bengal*, 2nd ed., p. 109.

Vindhyaketu reminds us of that of Vyāghrakētu in *Harṣa-carita* (Bk. viii) who is also a chief of the Vindhya forest It is he who helps the king in searching out his lost sister in the Vindhya hills and he, it is most probable, has been immortalized in the second drama as one of the heroic characters, who "by his death puts his victor to shame."[4]

(2) The second point worthy of note is the news that comes from the front (*Ratnā*).that "suddenly in the thick of the battle the general challenged the king of Kośala and slew him single handed"—a news, which is received with wild demonstration of joy in the king's court. This recalls a passage in *Harṣacarita,* which notes, among outstanding incidents in Harṣa's military career, the following:—
Nirṇayasagara ed. 1.91.

> "My supreme Lord has signalised his power by laying low his enemy single handed at one stroke." "In him a Man-lion has manifested Himself and His might, having cut down the enemy with his own hands."

What particular enemy is meant here we have no means to ascertain. This in fact is the only historical allusion in the passage in question, that remains yet to be explained. The striking similarity between the two accounts is pointed out here for what it is worth. I am tempted to identify the enemy of Harṣa, whom he "laid low single handed" with the king of Kośala whom the general "slew single handed." The facts are however too meagre to warrant any conclusion.

Whatever be the historical value attached to them, the students of Harṣa literature cannot easily dismiss the facts noted above which may be summed up thus: (1) the same countries are mentioned as the scene of struggle of both Harṣa himself and the hero of his creation against the rival-kings, and (2) some of the episodes or incidents of Harṣa's life-story as given by Bāṇa Bhaṭṭa are reflected clearly and unmistakably in his dramas.

4 Dr. R. Mookerjee appears to hold the same view in his *Harṣa* p. 153. But the incident is described not in *Ratnāvalī*, as he says, but in *Priyadarśikā*. Further, there was no such "connection" between Vyāghraketu, the forest chief and the princess Rājyaśrī, as between the heroine of *Priyadarśikā* and the Śavara-chief who actually gave her shelter.

II: *Harṣa's Cosmopolitan Religion*

Besides, all the three dramas, have, on them, the stamp of the peculiar religious conviction of Harṣa. He owed his religious ardour no doubt to heredity. His great ancestor Puṣpabhūti has been described by Bāṇa as a "Śaiva by inclination." His father and grandfather were worshippers of the Sun-God, and his brother, a devotee of Buddha. The inscription of Harṣa himself attaches the epithet of Paramāditya-bhakta to the names of both his father and grandfather and that of Parama-saugata to the name of his brother. Bāṇa describes very elaboratedly in the 4th book of *Harṣa-carita*, how Harṣa's father used to worship the Sun-Deity "at dawn, at mid-day, and at eve." Thus in Harṣa's family Śiva, Sūrya and Buddha were worshipped. Harṣa's own religion embraced them all. Bāṇa describes the cosmopolitan outlook of his patron in his own peculiar way. "The king displays", says Bāṇa, "all the gods united in himself, having Buddha in his majestic move, the sun in his radiant lips, Avalokita in his placid looks, and the Thunderer in his brawny arms." This cosmopolitan outlook of the king is further reflected in the facts that the great assembly held by him at Prayāga was "attended by both the distinguished Śramaṇas and the pious Brāhmaṇas alike" and that on this occasion the images of all the three gods "Sūrya, Buddha and Maheśvara" were installed and worshipped. "On the first day," says Hieuen Tsang, "they installed the image of Buddha; on the second day, that of Sūrya; and on the third day, that of Maheśvara." This outlook of the king, equally honouring three gods representing three different cults, is reflected again in his three dramas, especially in *Nāgānanda*, where the Buddhistic and the Brāhmaṇic deities are mixed up. The sun is referred to in all the three dramas. In the first two dramas (*Ratnāvalī* and *Priyadarśikā*), there are Śiva and Gaurī invoked in the Nāndī besides the sun-god. There is no mention of Buddha in them. In the *Nāgānanda*, which is avowedly a Buddhistic drama and opens with an invocation to Buddha, the Brāhmaṇic goddess Gaurī plays an important part; and the Sun-god is glorified more than once, as the one object of adoration, (एकः श्लाघ्यो विवस्वान्) who awakens the hero to the great mission awaiting him.

III. "*Sarvasvamahādānam*"

The most notable events of Harṣa's reign consisted, without doubt, in the king's unparalleled sacrifices for his subject in the quinquennial assemblies he used to hold, which, it is said, emptied his royal treasure-house. It appears, from Harṣa's own words, that the king came to feel the grave injustice, involved in the accumulation of wealth in the royal treasure house, to which he traced the distressing poverty of the vast millions. He called it a 'calamity' and felt it to be the king's sacred duty to release the wealth, shut up in his treasury, for the common good. All this has been put in the mouth of Jīmūtavāhana of *Nāgānanda*. Hence "to remove the wants of the world and to fulfil the hopes of all" appears to have been the one thought and mission of the great king-poet, which he ascribed to his hero.

This sentiment of Harṣa has been referred to as *Sarvasvamahādānam* in the *Harṣa-carita* (Bk. II). "King Harṣa," says Hieuen Tsang, "used to hold an assembly every five years and give away in religious alms all his possessions, not excluding his own garments." The same sentiment has expressed itself again in his last drama, where the hero begins by distributing his treasure among his needy subjects and ends by giving his life (see pp. 29, 30 for details).

Under these circumstances nothing can be more natural than to conclude that Harṣa was the one poet who could have written the dramas, because, to put the whole argument in a nutshell, they show clear traces of (1) what was uppermost in his thought in his early life, (2) what was in the depth of his being in his mature days and (3) what formed the distinctive feature of him as a king.

I cannot close this topic without referring to the uncanonical feature of the dramas in which the dramatist appears in person. Such a work, based on egotism, is of limited vision and falls far short of the standard of poetic conception, which is characterised by universalism, sakalahṛdayasaṃvādabhāksādhāraṇyam, as our old critic describes it.

From what has been said above, it is also manifest that of the three works (*Ratnāvalī*, *Priyadarśikā* and *Nāgānanda*), the first two bear the stamp of the violent and military in the young author, while the third work written in his mature age, shews his outlook on life totally changed.

NANIGOPAL BANERJEE

MISCELLANY

Geographical Data in Pāṇini

No Ptolemy has given us a detailed and accurate geographical account of ancient India, but a minute study of the *Purāṇas* and *Pāṇini* reveals the fact how detailed and accurate the information of our ancestors was regarding parts of the Indian continent.

Alexander's men have mentioned some places of Afghanistan and the Punjab. By a study of Pāṇini's aphorisms we find that these are only corrupt forms of those ancient names mentioned by Pāṇini. The number of names of towns, villages, rivers and mountains, occurring in the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, is indeed very large. It would be difficult or even impossible to identify them all, but the positions and modern names of a good many of them can be determined, and in fact something has been done by S. N. Mazumdar in his Notes appended to Cunningham's *Geography*.[1]

The northern-most kingdom of Afghanistan, in ancient times, was known to some of the Greeks and Roman geographers by the name of Kapisene, and the Chinese traveller Hieun Tsang calls it, Kia-pi-she. Pāṇini mentions Kāpiśī in his sūtra कापिश्याः ष्फक् (IV. 2. 99) from which he derives कापिशायिनी the name of a grape and कापिशायन the name of a wine, manufactured from grapes and produced in the district. The country about Kabul is still remarkable for its fine grapes. So it is quite clear that Kapisene of Greek writers is no other but Kāpiśī of Pāṇini.[2]

Another province of Afghanistan is called Fa-la-nu by Hieuen Tsang, and identified with the modern Vaneh or Wanneh by some, and with Bannu by Cunningham. The Sanskrit word corresponding to this is not known. Pāṇini, however, mentions a country named Varṇu in

1 Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India with intro. and* notes by S. N. Mazumdar, Calcutta, 1924; henceforth abbreviated as SNM.

2 *SNM.*, p. 671.

several places,[3] which is very likely the same as Hieuen Tsang's Fa-la-nu (*SNM.*, p. 679).

The river Suvāstu which is mentioned in Pāṇini's Sūtra सुवास्त्वादिभ्योऽण् (4. 2. 77) is the modern Swat, a branch of the Kābul river (*SNM.*, p. 678).

The position of the hill-fort of Aornos, in the capture of which, 'the warlike son of Philip' displayed his martial vigour and military tactics and which has been beautifully described by Arrian, is still a matter of uncertainty. The Sanskrit name corresponding to it is quite unknown. Professor Wilson[4] traces it to the word Āvaraṇa, 'enclosing', which, he thinks, forms the latter part of many names of cities. On the other hand Cunningham derives it from the name of a king, whom he calls Rājā-Vara but these identifications appear to be without any foundation. There is a Sūtra of Pāṇini वरणादिभ्यश्च (4. 2. 82) which means that the city in the neighbourhood of Varaṇā is called Varaṇā. Dr. Bhandarkar rightly thinks Varaṇā of Pāṇini is the original word maintains its existence in the corrupt form of Aornos of the Greeks.

Arachosia which was probably situated on the site of modern Herat is mentioned as a province of Afghanistan by Greek writers. A great controversy exists among scholars as regards its original name. Dr. Bhandarkar opines that there was a mountain named Ṛkṣoda in this province and the inhabitants were known as Ārkṣoda. Dr. Bhandarkar on the strength of the following aphorism आयुधजीविभ्यश्छः पर्वते (4. 3. 91) of Pāṇini maintains that Ārkṣoda is the original word of Archosia of the Greeks. Seeing the phonetic resemblance of these two words, we can accept Dr. Bhandarkar's suggestion.

Greek writers have described the Malloi and the Oxydrakæ as two tribes of warriors. The Malloi tribe was living on the confluence of Rāvi and Indus and the Oxydrakæ in the midland of Rāvi and Vyās. A scholar of note traces the origin of the word Oxydrakæ from the word Kṣatriya. On the other hand, Dr. Bhandarkar is of opinion that these

3 वर्णौ वुक् (4. 2. 103) सिन्धु तक्षशिलादिभ्योऽणञौ (4. 3. 93). सिन्धुगण comprises good many words one of which is वर्णु.

4 See Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua.*

two words are derived from the words Mālavya and Kṣaudrakya respectively. Patañjali while commenting on the Sūtra जनपदशब्दात् क्षत्रियादञ् (4. 1. 168) mentions Mālavya and Kṣaudrakya as two confederacies.[5]

Now, we try to give an account of those cities and towns which have been identified by scholars with modern towns and villages and whose remains are still to be found on the site of their ancient sites.

Pāṇini mentions Kamboja as the name of a country in one of his Sūtras (कम्बोजाल्लुक्, 4. 1. 175). Scholars are of opinion that Kamboja was the ancient name of Afghanistan, at least of its northern part. According to Dr. Stein the eastern part of Afghanistan was Kamboja. Its capital was Dvārakā which should not be confused with Kṛṣṇa's Dvārakā in Gujerat. The Shia-posh tribe which now resides on the Hindukush mountain is said to have descended from the Kambojas.

In the Sūtra साल्वेयगान्धारिभ्यां च (4. 1. 169), Pāṇini refers to Gandhāra as the name of a country in which a Kṣatriya tribe called Gāndhāri was living. The country of Gandhāra lies along the Kabul river between the Khoaspes (Kunar river) and the Indus comprising the modern districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi. Its capitals were in different ages Puruṣapura (modern Peshawar) and Takṣaśilā (modern Taxila). Ptolemy makes the Indus as the western boundary of Ganddāri (Gandhāra). Puṣkalāvatī or Puṣkarāvatī was its most ancient capital, which the *Rāmāyaṇa* places in the Gandhāra-deśa. The modern town of Kandahar in Afghanistan still indicates that part of the country to which the ancient province of Gandhāra must have belonged.

Pāṇini gives us further information about the important cities of the Gandhāra province. They are Śalātura and Takṣaśilā. The name of Śalātura occurs in the Sūtra तूदीशलातुरवर्मतीकूचवाराड्ढक्छण्ढञ्यकः (4. 3. 94). This sacred city was the birth-place of Pāṇini himself,

5 The credit of suggesting these identifications for the first time goes to Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar. Vide *Ind. Ant.* vol. I (1872), pp. 21 ff. and his *Collected Works*, vol. I, ff. 102-107.

because the celebrated Sanskrit grammarian is mentioned by later Ācāryas as Śālāturīya (one born in Salātura). This city existed even so late as the seventh century A.D., when it was shown with great reverence to Hieuen Tsang when he was crossing the frontier on his way to India from China. As regards the identification of Śalātura opinions differ. It has been identified by Cunningham with the village of Lahora to the North-West of Ohind in the Punjab. On the other hand Bühler identifies it with Lahul.

Pāṇini mentions the name of Takṣaśilā with that of Sindhudeśa in the Sūtra सिन्धुतक्षशिलादिभ्योऽणञौ (4. 3. 93). The remains of Takṣaśilā are still to be found in the district of Rawalpindi in the Punjab. Cunningham places the site of the city near Shehdheri, one mile north-east of Kālā-kā-Serai between Attock and Rawalpindi where he found the ruins of a fortified city. Takṣaśilā was well-known as a city in ancient times for its world-famous university. It is said that Pāṇini received his education at this great centre of learning.

Passing from Gandhāra we come to the province of the Punjab, the Madradeśa of ancient times. The country of Madra is referred to by Pāṇini in the Sūtra मद्रेभ्योऽञ् (4. 2. 108). This country was situated between the rivers Irāvati (Rāvi) and Candrabhāgā (Chenab). Madra was the kingdom of Śālva of the *Mahābhārata* and also of the king Aśvapati, father of the celebrated Sāvitrī, the wife of Satyavān. Some suppose that Madra was also called Vāhīka, which, however, appears to be only a part of Madradeśa. Hemacandra in his *Abhidhānacintamaṇi* calls it Ṭakkadeśa where the Ṭākkī language was most famous. Sākala which has been mentioned in the Sūtra संकलादिभ्यश्च (4. 2. 75) was the capital of Madradeśa. Cunningham identifies it with Sanglawala-Tiba in the district of Jhang in the Punjab. But this identification seems erroneous. Dr. Fleet rightly identifies it with Sialkote in the Lahore division in the Punjab. It is interesting to know that this was the birth-place of Sāvitrī. The town was important not only in the time of Pāṇini but continued to enjoy an undiminished supremacy and uninterrupted glory even in later centuries of Christian era as it was the capital of the Greek conqueror Menandar (2nd century B.C.) and of the Hūṇa kings Toramāṇa and Mihirakula (5th century A.D.).

From Madradeśa now we pass to the Kekaya country which is mentioned by Pāṇini in the Sutra केकयमित्रयुप्रलयानां यादेरियः (7. 3. 2). It was a country situated between the Beas and the Sutlej. It was the kingdom of the father of Kaikeyī. Giribrajapura or Rājagiri was the capital of Kekaya, on the north of Beas, in the Punjab which has been identified by Cunningham with Jālālpura, the ancient name of which was Giriyak. Pāṇini does not omit mentioning the celebrated river of Kekaya. Vipāśā, the modern Beas and the Hypasis of the Greeks, is referred to by him in the Sūtra उदक् च विपाशः (4. 2. 70).

Passing eastward we come to Kurudeśa which has been enumerated by Pāṇini in the Sutra विभाषा कुरुयुगन्धराभ्याम् (4. 2. 130). The ancient capital of this country was Hástināpura. Kurudeśa needs no detailed description because it was a famous country in ancient times.

Śālva (4. 2. 76) was also a country near Kurukṣetra known in ancient times by the name of Mātikavata. It was the kingdom of the father of Satyavān, the husband of celebrated Sāvitrī. It comprised portions of the modern territories of Jaipur, Jodhpur and Alwar.

Moving still eastward we reach the country of Pañcāla which is referred to by Pāṇini in the Sūtra न प्राच्यभर्गादियौधेयादिभ्यः (4. 1. 172). It was originally the country situated north-west of Delhi from the foot of the Himālayās to the river Chambal. But it was afterwards divided into north and south Pañcāla and was separated by the Ganges. The capital of the former was Ahicchatra and of the latter Kāmpilya. South Pañcāla was the kingdom of Rājā Drupada whose daughter was Draupadī.

Leaving the countries of Madra and Pañcāla, we now come to the famous country of Kośala which has contributed a good deal to the annals of ancient India. The ancient Kośala was Oudh of modern times. It was divided into north Kośala and south Kośala. The capital of the latter was Kuśāvatī founded by Kuśa and the capital of the former was Srāvasti. At the time of Buddha it was a powerful kingdom but in 300 B.C. it was absorbed into the kingdom of Magadha. Kālidāsa divides Kośala into north and south Kośala. The latter included the eastern part of the Central Provinces.

Magadha which is mentioned in the Sūtra द्वयञ्मगधकलिङ्गसूरमसादण्

(4. 1. 100) is well known. It was one of the most famous and powerful kingdoms of ancient India.

The names of Aṅga and Vaṅga occur in the Sūtra न प्राच्यभर्गादि-यौधेयादिभ्यः (4. 1. 172). The country about Bhagalpur including Monghyr was known by the name of Aṅga in ancient times. It was one of the sixteen famous political divisions of India at the time of the Buddha. Its famous political divisions of India at the time of the Buddha. Its capital was Campā or Campāpuri. The western limit of its northern boundary, at one time, was the confluence of the Ganges and the Sarayū. It was the kingdom of Lomapāda of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and Karṇa of the *Mahābhārata*.

Kaliṅga is mentioned in one of his Sūtras द्व्यञ्मगधकलिङ्गसूरमसादण् (4. 1. 100). Kaliṅga (modern northern Sircars) was lying on the south of Orissa and north of Dravida on the border of the sea. According to Cunningham it was situated between the Godāvarī river on the south-west and the Gaoliya branch of the Indravatī on the north-west. According to Rapson it was between the Mahānadī and the Godāvarī. Its chief towns were Maṇipura and Rājapur. In the time of the *Mahābhārata* Orissa (*Utkala*) was included in Kaliṅga, but in the time of Kālidāsa these were two different provinces as he mentions them separately in his *Raghuvaṃsa*:— उत्कलादर्शितपथः कलिङ्गाभिमुखो ययौ (Canto 4. 39). The country of Utkala was, however, to the north of Kaliṅga. The very word Utkala means north of Kaliṅga (उत्कालङ्ग) .It comprised the modern province of Orissa. Chanduar, situated on the opposite side of Cuttack across the river was the ancient capital of Utkal under the Magadha kings.

Pāṇini mentions the name of Sindhu as a country, in the Sūtra सिन्धुतक्षशिलादिभ्योऽणञौ (4. 3. 93) which corresponds to the modern province of Sindh. According to Ptolemy the Ābhīras dwelt in the southern portion of Sindhu and the Muṣikas resided in the northern portion. After the death of Menandar who reigned over the Punjab, Kabul and Sindh from 140-110 B.C., *Manes*, the Scythian king, conquered Sindh and expelled the Greeks.

The *Janapada* of Sauvīra is enumerated in the Sūtra स्त्रीषु सौवीर-साल्वप्राक्षु (4. 2. 76). It has been identified by Cunningham with Eder, a district in the province of Gujerat. It was called Badari by the

Buddhists, and was situated at the head of the gulf of Cambay. Sauvīra was the Sophir or Ophir of the Bible and Sovira of *Milinda-Pañho* where it is described as a sea-port. Dr. Rhys Davids places Sauvīra in his map to the north of Kathiawad and along the Gulf of Cutch.

The names of Avanti and Kunti occur in the Sūtra अवन्तिकुन्ति-कुरुभ्य एच्च (4. 1. 176). Avanti was a well-known kingdom in ancient India, famous for its enormous wealth and cultured people. Ujjayinī was the capital of this noted kingdom and was famous for the picturesque temple of Mahākāla.

Kunti was also called Kunti-bhoja. It was an ancient town of Mālava, where Kunti, the mother of Yudhiṣṭhira and his brothers, was brought up by her adoptive father Kunti-bhoja, the king of Bhoja. It was situated on the bank of a small river called Aśvanadī or Aśvarathanadī.

The name of Vidarbha country is included in the term प्राच्य in the Sūtra न प्राच्यभर्गादियौधेयादिभ्यः (4. 1. 172), which comprised the modern province of Berar. It was the kingdom of Bhīṣmaka whose daughter Rukmiṇī was married to Kṛṣṇa. Its principal towns were Kuṇḍinagara and Bhojakaṭa. कुण्डिनगर or Vidarbhanagara its capital was evidently Bidar. The ancient country of Vidarba included the kingdom of Bhopal and Bhilsa to the north of the Narbada. Kuṇḍinanagara which has been beautifully described by Srīharṣa in his Naiṣadhīyacarita (2. 73-105), was the birth-place of celebrated Damayantī, wife of king Nala.[6]

BASUDEV UPADHYAYA

Supplementary Note on the Bhāvaśataka

I see now that Professor Dasharatha Sharma (in the *Journal of Indian History*, vol. XIII, Dec. 1934, pp. 303 ff.) has already refuted the identification of the Nāgarāja of the *Bhāvaśataka* with Gaṇapati Nāga. He has also shown that the evidence of manuscripts is entirely in favour of the reading *gatavaktraśrīr* in verse 2 of the *Bhāvaśataka*.

M. WINTERNITZ

6 The writer is much indebted to Mr. Nanda Lal Dey in the preparation of this essay. His *Geographical Dictionary* has been of invaluable help.

Fresh Numismatic Data relative to the History of the Āhom king, Rājeśvarasiṃha of Assam

In any discourse on the ancient names of Assam, one must not forget that the extent of one of the old political entities, Prāgjyotiṣa, Kāmarūpa or Saumārapīṭha varied appreciably from time to time. The passage, *Prāgjyotiṣapurasyāsīt samantācchatayojanam, ācitā mauravaiḥ pāśaiḥ kṣurāntairbhūddvijottama*[1] probably indicates the area only of the capital during a particular period. Portions of China formed part of the kingdom for some time.[2] Secondly, the *Rāmāyaṇa* has a passage :—*Yojanānāṃ catuḥṣaṣṭirvarāho nāma parvataḥ, Suvarṇaśṛṅgaḥ sumahānagādhe Varuṇālaye; tatra Prāgjyotiṣaṃ nāma jātarūpamayaṃ puraṃ, tasmin vasati duṣṭātmā Narako nāma dānavaḥ.*[3] It must not therefore escape attention that there 'appears to be another Prāgjyotiṣapura on the bank of the river Betwa or Vetravatī.'[4] Thirdly, all 'the Muhammadan historians' do not call the country 'Āsām,' or that of the 'Āsāms.'[5] Abū-Umar-i-Uśmān speaks of 'a Rae of Kāmrūd' and 'the Kāmrūd country.'[6] But Talish (Shiháb-ud-dín), a follower of Mir Jumla, apparently calls the principality which he visited, by a name very similar to its modern one, in the Fathiyya-i-ibriyya.[7] Blochmann spells the name as 'Āsām.' Kaviraj Syamal Das in a paper based on the work of Muhammad Kāzin ibn Muhammad Amīn Munshī, calls the people 'Āsāmis,' and the country 'Āsām.'[8]

We may conveniently divide the histoy of Assam before the British occupation, into three periods, the legendary, the early historical and the Āhom.

It is noticeable that the Mlecchas seem to have shared political power with the Aryans and others during the earlier periods. Bhagadatta, a powerful monarch of the legendary period, is called

1 *Viṣṇu P.* (edited by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara), pp. 740, 741; V. 16.
2 Basak, *The History of North Eastern India*, p. 210.
3 *Kiṣk-K.*, 42, XXX; XXXI.
4 De: *The Geo. Distionary of Anc. and Med. India*, (1927), p. 158.
5 For an apparently different view, see *Ency. Reli. and Ethics*, vol. I.
6 *Tabaqāt'-i-Nasīrī* by Raverty, pp. 564, 569, 570
7 *JBORS.*, vol. I, Pt. II, p. 182.
8 *JASB.*, 1872, Part I, p. 79; *IA.*, 1887, pp. 223, 224.

the 'king of the Yavanas' who bore 'on his head that gem which was known to be the most wonderful on earth,' the 'mighty sovereign of the Mlecchas' whose 'power' was 'unlimited.'[9] Gait says in his *History of Assam*[10] that Narak[11] and Bhagadatta were real and exceptionally powerful kings, and probably included in their dominions the greater part of modern Assam and Bengal east of the Karatoyā. During the early historical period, the Bargaan plates of Ratnapāla say; *Mlecchādhinātho vidhicalanavaśādeva jagrāha rājyam.*[12]

The arrival of Sukāphā in Khāṃjāng ushered in a new era. The Mongols finally defeated the T'ai who originally[13] inhabited 'central and southern China, south of the Yangtze river'[14] by the middle of the thirteenth century. 'A flood of emigration southwards' was the result. In any case, just after the first quarter of the thirteenth century,[15] the Āhoms, a branch of the Shāns, estabblised themselves in Assam and remained politically dominant for several centuries, and gave the modern name to the country.[16]

The Āhom period was influenced in political thought and practice by the tradition and records of the two earlier periods. In the realm of theory, the conception of the royal descent from 'Lengdon' or Lengdun of the coins became affected by that of origin from the Vidyādharī and Indra, and that of 'cao pha' was almost rendered into the idea of *svargadeva.*[17]

In the numismatic field, Āhom inscriptions vied with Sanskrit ones for notice, and Bharatasiṃha who was installed by the Moamarias in 1791, called himself *Bhagadattakulodbhava* on his coins of Saka 1715.[18]

9 The *Mahābhārata*, (Roy's Translation:—Sabhā P., pp. 45, 485 of the newer ed.; pp. 79, 80, 142; Karṇa P. (1926), p. 7; Droṇa P., pp. 70-72, Udyoga P., pp. 146, 493 etc., speaks of the exploits of this monarch.

10 1926 ed., p. 15.

11 =Naraka.

12 *JASB.*, 1898, Part I, p. 108, ll. 15, 16.

13 It is a surmise. 14 Le May. *The Coinage of Siam*, p. 8.

15 *Cam. Hist. of India* (vol. III, p. 539) takes 1229 to be the date.

16 *JRAS.*, 1904, p. 203; *Z. Deutschen Morgen, Ges.*, 1902, pp. 1, 38.

17 I have dwelt on the development of the theory of Divine Right in a paper sent to the Anthropological Section of the Indian Science Congress of this year.

18 *Num. Chron.*, 1909, p. 326, Pl. XXV, 6; Gait, p. 220. The original has 'kvalo' etc.

Mr. T. W. Hockley of Negombo, Ceylon, has a collection of statues, coins and various other articles of great historical interest. His father, Mr. Ross Hockley, with the help of a tea-planter in Assam, collected 'genuine old gold coins' 'in graded sizes.' When a sufficient number had been obtained, "they were made into a bracelet' for Mrs. Ross Hockley. The coins were 'dug up from the ground at different times.'[19]

A few months ago, Mr. T. W. Hockley presented the bracelet to the Museum of Colombo.

The coins are ten in number, and arranged according to size, the tinier ones being placed in the middle between three larger ones on one side, and two larger ones on the other. According to size these coins may be divided into two groups. As it is not possible to separate them readily from the bracelet, I am unable to ascertain the exact weight of each of these. They are all made of gold, and minted by King Rājeśvarasiṃha. The dates which they furnish, the name of the king and the provenance lead me to identify the monarch with the Āhom king of that name. Rājeśvarasiṃha is also called Surāmphā[20] and Surenphā[21] on some other coins.

He came to the throne in 1751, and reigned for eighteen years. He was successful in various military undertakings, the chief of which resulted in the restoration of Jayasiṃha to the throne of Maṇipura. Promotion of the economic prosperity of his subjects and encouragement of learning make his reign a memorable one. His piety led to the erection of many temples and his taking 'the Śaraṇa' of 'Nāti Gosāin.' It is testified to by the epithet, "*'Śrīśrīśivapādaparāyaṇasya'*" on these coins.

Beginning from the bottom one furthest away from the clasp and resting on the golden chain that may be said to form the base in the photograph, the readings may be given thus.

No. I, Pl. I
(Line 1) Śrīśrīrā
(Line 2) jeśvarasiṃ
(Line 3) hanṛpasya

No. II, Pl. I
same as in No. I

No. III, Pl. I
same as in No. I
But the *ā* after *r* is distinct here.

No. IV, Pl. I.
same as in No. I

No. V, Pl. I
Śrīśrīrā (Line 1)
jeśvara (Line 2)

No. VI, Pl. I
same as in No V.

19 Letter of Mr. T. W. Hockley to the Director of the Colombo Museum.

20 Gait, H.A., p. 364.

21 e.g. *Num. Chron.*, 1909, Pl. XXIII, no. 6.

21 *Num. Chron.*, 1909, Pl. XXIII, no. 6.

Coins of the Ahom King Rājeśvara Siṃha

Plate I

Plate II

No. VII, Pl. I	No. VIII, Pl. I	No. IX, Pl. I
Śrīśrīrā (Line 1)	same as in No. VII.	same as in No. III
jeśvara (Line 2)		
No. X Pl. 1		
same as in No. III		

Beginning from the coin nearest the clasp which lies on the point of the base opposite the plain one, the legends may be read in the following manner.

No. I, Pl.II	No. II, Pl. II	No. III, Pl. II
(Line 1) Śāke	same as in No. I	siṃha (Line 1)
(Line 2) 167 (4)		nṛpasya (Line 2)
No. IV, Pl. II	No. V, Pl. II	No. VI, Pl. II
same as No. III	same as in No. III	same as in No. III
No. VII, Pl. II	No. VIII, Pl. II	No. IX, Pl. II
Śāke (Line 1)	Śāke (Line 1)	Śrīśi (Line 1)
167 (8) (Line 2)	167 (4) (Line 2)	Vapadaparā (Line 2)
		yaṇasya (Line 3)

Plate I gives the Obverse and Plate II the Reverse readings. The inscription on the reverse of Pl. I, No. I cannot be deciphered because an additional plate has been rivetted by the jeweller for fixing the clasp.

According to legends, it is possible to classify the coins of this monarch into three categories. To the first, belong those bearing the Āhom; to the second, those bearing the Sanskrit; and to the third those having the Persian inscriptions on them. Our coins belong to the second class. The language of their legends is Sanskrit, and the script is Vāṅgālā. Sūryanārāyaṇa seems to be the first Āhom king to use Sanskrit written in the Bengali script. A 'sikka' of the third class calls Rājeśvarasiṃha 'Sultan and ālampanāh.'[22]

All our coins are octagonal in shape. Commenting on the octagonal coins of Rudrasiṃha, Brown says, 'the strange octagonal shape of coins is said to owe its origin to a statement in the *Yoginī Tantra* which describes the Āhom country as octagonal.'[23]

J. C. De

22 *Cat. of Coins in Ind. Mus.*, vol. I, pp. 303, 304 and Plate; *Num. Chron.*, 1909, pp. 320-322 and Pl. XXIII and XXIV; Brown, *The Coins of India*, p. 101.

23 *The Coins of India*, p. 101.

Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla

It was Dr. H. C. Roychowdhuri who first expressed the opinion that Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla are two separate countries and suggested that Vaṅgāla was probably identical with Candradvīpa.[1] We differed from Dr. Roychowdhury because the only evidence which goes to support his view is the Ablur inscription of Vijjala[2] and because the particular invasion of Bengal by this Kalacurya King has no historical basis at all.[3] The poet might have meant to repeat the same incident by referring to the conquest of Vanga and by alluding to the killing of the king of Vaṅgāla. Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla cannot be regarded as two separate countries on the strength of this evidence alone. We therefore observed that Vaṅgāla seems to be an etymological variation of Vaṅga, probably made by the southerners and foreigners. In a short note[4] Dr. N. N. Chaudhuri says that Vaṅga is derived from the Tibetan word བངས་ and means marshy and moist. The second part of Vaṅgāla, the Dravidian '*ālam*' is a verbal derivative from the root 'āl,' meaning to possess. Therefore Vaṅgālam means marshy and moist region.

In course of further study of the subject we find Bangala (=Vaṅgāla) has been mentioned in many southern India inscriptions.[5] In one record of 1190 A.D., as in the Ablur inscription, Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla have been mentioned, thereby showing that they were probably two separate countries. Again, in the *Hammīra Mahākāvya* of Nayacandra Sūri (composed before 1496 A.D.) Banga and Bengala have been mentioned side by side.[7] It must be noted that exploits in Vaṅga and Vaṅgāla in these three records seem to be vague generalisations and poetic exaggerations. But the fact that in three separate

1 *Mānasī O Marmavāṇī*, 1335-6 B.S., pp. 566 ff.

2 *IHQ.*, XII, p. 77, fn. 61. 3 *Ibid.*, XI, p. 769.

4 *Modern Review*, September, 1936.

5 *Epigraphia Carnatica*, V, Intro. 14n, 19; Cn, 179; VI, Cm. 137; VII, Intro. 30 Sk. 119; IX. Bn. 96.

6 *Ibid.*, V, Cn. 179, Eng. Trans. p. 202.

7 *Ind. Ant.*, 1879, p. 68.

records Vaṅga and Vaṅāla are to be found side by side goes to strengthen Dr. Roychowdhuri's opinion.

Mr. R. C. Banerjee suggests to locate the Vaṅgāla country to the east of the Brahmaputrā river.[8] Attention may be drawn to Marco Polo's account of the Bangala country. The king of Mien (Burma) is also called the king of Bangala (=Vaṅgāla?).[9] As regards its geographical position, Yule remarks:[10] "Marco conceives of Bangala, not in India, but as being like Mien, a province on the confines of India, as lying to the south of that kingdom, and as being at the (south) western extremity of a great traverse line which runs (north east into Kwei-chan and Sze-ch'wan. All these conditions point consistently to one locality; that, however, is not Bengal but Pegu .... And possibly the name of Pegu may have contributed to his error, as well as the probable fact that the kings of Burma did at this time claim to be kings of Bengal, whilst they actually were kings of Pegu." This does not preclude the possibility of locating Vaṅgāla as a separate country to the east of the Brahmaputra. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the kings of Burma had important political and social relation with this part of Bengal. Anoratha (1044-77 A.D.), one of the most powerful kings in Burmese history, extended his conquests as far as Bengal.[11] A prince of Paṭṭikerā (still a paragaṇā in Tippera) married the daughter of the Burmese king, Kyanzittha (1084-1112 A.D.). The next king Alaungstthu (1112-87 A.D.) married a princess of Paṭṭikerā. The Mainamati plate of Raṇvaṅkamalla[12] bears testimony to the Burmese influence in that region. This perhaps explains in a way why the kings of Burma and Pagan were also called kings of Bangala by Marco. Again, it is doubtful whether Marco visited these regions and his account was most probably based on hearsays.

8 *Indian Culture*, II, pp. 756 ff.

9 The account of *Marco Polo* translated by Yule. Yule takes Bangala to refer to the entire province of Bengal, Vol. II, p. 98, note 99, 100; for the account of the Bangala country, see pp. 114 ff.

10 *Ibid.*, p. 128.

11 Phare, *History of Burma*, p. 37.

12 IHQ., 1939, p. 285.

So, much reliance cannot be placed on his account in its entirety. The other suggestions of Mr. R. C. Banerjee, regarding the connection of the Vaṅgālas with the Kulu district in the Punjab, their migrations and movements cannot be accepted, relying on the names of some localities, as connecting links, if there would have been any, are not known.

PROMODE LAL PAUL

Picture Showmen : Maṅkha

In his article on the subject of Picture Showmen in the *IHQ.*, vol. V, pp. 128-187, Dr. Coomaraswamy has gathered a number of references to more than one kind of Picture Showmen in ancient India from Sanskrit and Prakrit literature. He mentions one kind of Picture Showmen called Maṅkha on p. 183 as met with in Jain Prakrit texts and he refers to the *Bhagavatī-sūtra*, the *Aupapātika-sūtra* and the *Upāsaka-daśā*.

Really, there are few Jain Prakrit texts which do not mention the Maṅkha, the beggar or mendicant who goes about showing picture panels,—'*Citra-phalakā-vyagra-hasta-bhikṣāka-viśeṣa*'. I wish to add the following two references from the Sanskrit glosses on Jain Prakrit texts which inform us that this Maṅkha was known also by two other names, *Gaurīputraka* and *Kedāraka*.

The gloss on the *Kalpa-sūtra* named *Sandehaviṣauṣadhi* by Jinaprabhamuni (finished in A.D. 1307) says:

मंखाः चित्रफलकहस्ताः भिक्षाका गौरीपुत्रका इति प्रसिद्धाः ।

Kalpa-sūtra, ed. H. Jacobi, pp. 109 fn.

The Jain lexicon *Abhidhānarājendra* also gives the above passage from the gloss on the *Kalpa-sūtra* and adds to it a passage from the gloss on the *Piṇḍaniryukti* which says that the Maṅkha had a third name, **Kedāraka.**

मंखः केदारकः यः पीठमुपदर्श्य लोकमावर्जयति ।

V. RAGHAVAN

The Horse of Śākyasiṃha

In order to renounce the world Śākyaśiṃha, the prince of Kapilavāstu came out from the palace of his father by a horse. The name of that horse as found in Buddhist works is *Kaṇṭhaka* or *Kanthaka*. In Pali we have the latter. What are the meanings of the words and which of them is original ? The former may mean an ornament for the neck, and as such may be applied for the name of the horse that was very excellent. But what is the sense of the latter ? The word *Kanthaka* like *Vatsa* from which we have *Vātsya* is included in the group of words (*gaṇa*) begining with *Garga* in Pāṇini (IV. 1. 105). It is a name of a man. But it does not help one in ascertaining the meaning.

The Tibetan texts read for the name of the horse *bsṅags. ldan* (བསྔགས་ལྡན) which literally means in Sanskrit *praśaṃsāvat* or *praśaṃsita* 'a praised one, excellent.' The Chinese texts read the name for the horse as *chu tsan* (具 讚) which means the same thing as in the Tibetan texts i. e. 'praised, excellent.'

This leads one to think of the derivation of the two words used in Sanskrit texts, *kaṇṭhaka* and *kanthaka*, that they are connected with or derived from √*katth*[1] 'to praise, to boast.'[2]

From this root is derived *katthaka* and owing to spontaneous nazalization it becomes *kanthaka*. It appears that scribes being unable to understand the true meaning of the last word might have changed it to *kaṇṭhaka*. Or it may be that on account of cerebralization *kanthaka* is *kaṇṭhaka*, as we have both *avata* and *avaṭa* 'a well' even in the Vedic Sanskrit.

It may also be observed that between these two words, *kanthaka* and *kaṇṭhaka* the former was the first and then the latter came into being, for only thus we may account for the variations. One unable to understand the meaning of *kanthaka* may have changed it to *kaṇṭhaka* thus making its meaning clear. We have examples of dentals becoming cerebrals and not *vice-versa*.

VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA.

1 Originally it may be from √*kath*.

2 *Bhaṭṭikāvya*, xvi.4 : kṛtvā katthiṣyate na kaḥ. The use of such words as *katthana*, *katthanā* 'prasing', 'boasting' and of the root with the prefix *vi* is well-known.

The Naiṣadhacarita and Rajput Painting

The Nala-Damayantī series of drawings of the Kangra School is well-known to students of Indian Art, but it is not generally known that they represent scenes from the *Naiṣadhacarita* of Śrīharṣa. We owe this information to Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy, who in a communication concerning our English translation of the *Naiṣadhacarita* points out that the series closely follows Śrīharṣa's text and ends, like the poem, with the moonrise scenes. Dr. Coomaraswamy has kindly sent us for examination a copy of his magnificent *Catalogue of Rajput paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston,[1] containing about thirty reproductions of the Kangra Nala-Damayantī series, and we take this opportunity of pointing out the relation of some of these pictures to Śrīharṣa's poem. Dr. Coomaraswamy says in the Introduction to his *Catalogue* (p. 17) that the drawings probably follow some vernacular version of the Nala story, obviously because they cannot be explained with reference to the story of Nala as told in the *Mahābhārata;* but as we have said, he now holds that the pictures are based on the *Naiṣadhacarita,* which deals with the earlier part of Nala's career and ends with his marriage with Damayantī.

Of the reproductions given in Dr. Coomaraswamy's *Catalogue of Rajput paintings*, item CXVI (Plate XLVI) represents a typical scene from the *Naiṣadhacarita,* to which the *Mahābhārata* offers no clue. Nala with a jug in his hand is seen rushing at some girl attendants who slink away; Damayantī is seated behind him. In another part of the picture a well-dressed elderly person follows a maiden. This drawing depicts the merry scene described in *Naiṣadha* 20. 125 ff., wherein Nala pours forth a shower of water over two maids by way of punishing them for some witty remarks about himself and his bride. In the poem he does this by virtue of a mysterious power received from Varuṇa. The artist seems to add the jug to give a realistic touch to the picture. The elderly person following the maiden is meant to illustrate a subsidiary scene in which the chamberlains chase the saucy girls out of

1 *Catalogue of the Indian Collections in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, Part V, Rajput Painting by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy (Harvard University Press, 1926).

the inner apartments. The poet says: "With torrents of water easily accessible to him by virtue of Varuṇa's boon, he drenched their bosoms with water as he imbued their hearts with wonder" (20. 127).

Further scenes from Canto XX form the subject of some of the drawings. Item CXV (Plate XLV) shows on the right Nala on his way to the inner apartments followed by girl attendants; on the left is seen Damayantī seated, with her face turned, and bashfully hiding it with her hands, while Nala speaks something to a smiling maid, and other girls look at them. Item CIX (Plate XLVII) is a continuation of the same subject. The bashful Damayantī is seen seated imprisoned between the arms of Nala and a maid of the inner apartments. There is a small fountain playing in the foreground with birds going about in the courtyard. Scenes like these may be explained with reference to the following citations. "Beckoning to a maiden friend of his beloved, Kalā by name, he made her sit before him and spoke to her, making her a witness of his jesting" (20.26). "When Nala became silent, having spoken thus ironically to Kalā, she said to him with a smile imitated from Damayantī's face" (20.37). "When he was thus drenched by Kalā with nectar-showering pleasant words, he asked his beloved, raising her face, 'Is this really so'?" (20. 50). "Being in the company of his beloved, the king smilingly spoke to Kalā, her friend, desiring to have the pleasure of jesting again" (20. 53). It is not difficult to distinguish the figure of the beautiful and witty Kalā in the drawings.

Item CXXVI (Plate LI) is a handsome example showing Damayantī and Nala seated together in a pavilion; on one side are seen girl musicians playing on the lyre, and on the other, maidens with caged birds, corresponding to *Naiṣadha* 21.123 ff., though in the poem one of the birds is described as perching on a crystal rod. The poet says: "Damayantī's companions, daughters of the king of the Gandharvas, and disciples of herself in the practice of the arts, who were adept in playing soft music on the lyre, went over to the king, seated as he was, to sing to the lyre before him" (21.125). The poet continues: "The lyres then chanted forth songs of eulogy acting like honey on the ears of that couple, with the sequence of their letters perfectly distinct, in such wise that the tame parrot of

Damayantī, the Rati of the Earth, repeated all the songs thus, showering delight" (21. 130). It will be seen how the artist pieces together items from different verses.

Item CXVII (Plate XLVI) shows Damayantī on the upper balcony of her palace giving a pearl string to a maid, while below in a corner we see another maid handing a second pearl string to the leader of a group of fairly well dressed persons. This corresponds to *Naiṣadha* (19.. 65), where we are told that maids of the inner apartments distributed ornaments from Damayantī's person among the bards who had come to awaken the royal couple in the morning as a reward for their musical strains. Item CX (Plate XLIII) is an interesting representation of the wedding banquet, showing rows of guests being served by waitresses, of whom the poet gives a gay and sensuous picture in Canto XVI.

Item CXXIII (Plate L) shows a maiden announcing the hour of the midday ablutions to Nala who is seated with Damayantī; pitchers and maids in the background. The poet says: "A fair woman bard, coming near the door, then announced the midday to Nala. 'Victory to thee, O King! The earth, arid with the heat of the noon, desires to drink the water in which thou bathest thyself" (20. 158). There are several pictures depicting the subsequent scenes as described in the poem, for example, feudal chiefs paying homage to Nala (*Naiṣadha*, 21. 1), Nala in the gymnasium (21. 6), and Nala at the bath, attended by maids and priests (21. 7-8).

Erotic scenes from Canto XVIII form the subject of several charming pictures, while item CXXVIII (Plate LII) and Plate LIII depict the beautiful moonrise scenes. It will be remembered that in Canto XXII of the *Naiṣadhacarita*, Nala in the company of his bride beholds the beauty of the moon from the top floor of his palace and describes it to Damayantī who makes a suitable reply: Nala follows with another tribute to the moon's glory, which forms the grand finale of this elaborate panegyric.

Enough has been said to show that the Kangra Nala-Damayantī drawings are based on the *Naiṣadhacarita* of Śrīharṣa. As Dr. Coomaraswamy says in the Introduction to his *Catalogue*, they are "excellent examples of the Kangra *qalm* at its best," and admirably

illustrate intimate scenes from mediæval court life in India. Unfortunately the examples preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and reproduced in Dr. Coomaraswamy's *Catalogue*, do not complete the series, though there are further examples in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and other museums in America and elsewhere. A good many examples have been published, but not all, and Dr. Coomaraswamy tells us that it would be worth while to publish together all known examples with extracts from the corresponding texts.

From a literary point of view, the drawings attest the popularity of the poem in spite of the difficult style in which a good deal of it is written. The poet with all his scholarship and philosophical learning strove to create and maintain a romantic atmosphere, which must have strongly appealed to the imagination of the Rajput artists, who were besides attracted by the scenes in the poem reminiscent of the court life they knew so well. What is more important is that while it was usual for Indian painters to take mythological and other subjects from works like the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the Jātakas, it is very rare to find scenes described in the classical Kāvyas passing into the repertory of Indian artists. In Greece, apart from Homeric paintings, the lyric poet Stesichorus influenced contemporary vase-painting as early as the sixth century B.C., and the artists frequently depicted themes treated by the poet or borrowed details invented by him.[2] Among Sanskrit poets of the classical period, Śrīharṣa had the rare distinction of finding pictorial representation for his poem more than six centuries after its composition. It is to be hoped that Dr. Coomaraswamy and his colleagues will succeed in giving to the world these exquisite specimens of Indian art in an enduring form at no distant date.[3]

K. K. HANDIQUI

2 Croiset, *Histoire de la littérature grecque*, tome II, p. 339; Bethe, *Griechische Lyrik*, p. 63, and Bowra, *Greek Lyric poetry*, pp. 93 ff., which contains the latest treatment of the subject.

3 It may be mentioned that the *Naiṣadhacarita* contains important pictorial data which we hope to deal with in relation to similar references in other texts in a forthcoming work on Kāvya literature.

Note on Toramāṇa

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, to whom we are indebted for so many ingenious suggestions, has also given us[1] a new explanation of the name *Mauna*, which occurs in the Purāṇas as the designation of an ancient Indian dynasty, with variants such as *Maula*, *Mona*, *Yauna*, *Jana*, *Hūṇa*. He takes *Yauna* to be the original form, and identifies them with the Kuṣāṇas. This conclusion is based on the Kura inscription of Toramāṇa,[2] where Mr. Jayaswal corrects Bühler's reading *mahārāja-Toramāṇa-ṣāha-jaūvlaḥ* 'of the great king Toramāṇa ṣāha jaūvla', reading *jaūvṇaḥ* instead of *jaūvlaḥ*. 'The nominative stem was taken as *jauvan* from *jauvā*, from which *jaūvṇaḥ*, also* *jauvāṇaḥ*, **jauṇāḥ*, etc., could arise in India, and the Purāṇas very likely intended the form *yaunāḥ* which they do give and which I proposed (sc. *JBORS.*) to amend as *Jauvāḥ.*' He finds a support for his reading *Jaūvṇaḥ* in the Hūṇa coin illustrated in Rapson's *Indian Coins*, p. 29, pl. IV, fig. 18, where he reads *ṣāhi Javūvṇaḥ* instead of *ṣāhi Javūvlaḥ*, stating that 'here the lettering is clear and the full form of *ṇa*, with both hooked arms, is drawn.'

'The "*Tukhāras Muruṇḍas Yavnus* (*Yauvas*)" of the Purāṇas may be compared with Samudragupta's "*Sāhānusāhi-Śaka-Muruṇḍas.*" The *Sāhānusāhi*.........stands for the Tukhāras of the Purāṇas and his *Śaka-Muruṇḍas* for their *Muruṇḍas* and *Yau(v)as.*' About the 'title' *jauva* we hear that it 'occurs in the Taxila copper-plate inscription where the official is subordinate to the Kṣatrapa. It seems that under the Tukhāras or the Kuṣāṇas the title was current and that the Yauvas were actual rulers.'

I am afraid that I am partly responsible for this explanation, because I read *jaüvañae* in my edition of the Taxila copper-plate inscription in the *Corpus*, and explained *jaüva* as a variant of the well-known title *yavuga*, *yaüa*, etc. Prof. Thomas[3] has, however, shown that my reading and explanation were wrong, and that we must read

1 *JBORS.*, XVIII, 1932, pp. 201 ff., cf. *ibid.*, XVI, 1930, pp. 287 ff.

2 *Ep. Ind.*, I, pp. 238 ff.

3 Göttingische gelebste Anzeiger, 1931, p. 6.

mahadanapati Patika śaja uvajhae[*na**] *Rohiṇimitreṇa* 'the great gift-lord Patika together with the upādhyāya Rohiṇimitra.' Even if my reading had been right, it would, however, hardly be possible to accept Mr. Jayaswal's conclusions.

It is inconceivable how the *a*-base '*jaüva-*' could be treated as a *n*-base, and if *jaūva-* were another spelling of *yauna-*, it must be an *a*-base.

It is further difficult to assume that the voiced *z* in *jaüa*, i.e. *zaüa* could be written as *y* in the Purāṇas, though it occurs as *y*, *j* and *jh* in Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions.

And, finally, the cerebral *ṇ* in *jaūvṇaḥ* can hardly be explained. I know that some people are of opinion that everything is allowed in Prakrit, but Mr. Jayaswal does not share this view.

Even if we were to admit all these unlikely features, Mr. Jayaswal's opinion cannot be accepted, because the readings *jaūvlaḥ* in the Kura inscription *jaūvlaḥ* on the coin are absolutely certain. The akṣara below *v* in the latter has not, as stated by Mr. Jayaswal 'both hooked arms.' The right-hand arm is a straight upright, as in *la*, and not curved as in *ṇa*.

On the other hand, I agree with Mr. Jayaswal in explaining *jaūvl-*, *javūvl-* as a title, and not as a name, and I have little doubt that the Toramāṇa of the Kura and the Erāṇ inscriptions is one and the same person. Bühler, it is true, says: 'I am not able to assert that the Toramāṇa of our inscription is identical either with the Toramāṇa of the Erāṇ inscription or with the Toramāṇa of Kaśmīr, who is mentioned by Kalhaṇa and who has left behind so many coins inscribed with Gupta characters. The fact that this Toramāṇa bears the title Shāha or Shāhi and receives the epithet Jaūvla which may be a tribal name or a *Biruda*, is, it seems to me, sufficient to prevent the identification with the other Toramāṇas, who are not characterised in this manner.'

This argument is, however, far from being convincing. The Erāṇ inscription is metric, and there would not be room for more titles than the imperial *mahārājādhirājaśrī*, and, besides, it belongs to the king's first year. The fullest coin legend gives *vijitāvanir avanipati śrī Toramāṇa deva*, in imitation of Gupta coins, and no inference can

be drawn from this state of things. The date of the Kura inscription cannot be made out, only the final *ma* of the ordinal giving the year being preserved. It is perhaps possible to read *caturaśītime* 'eighty-fourth', in which case the inscription would be about thirty years later than the Toramāṇa coins, which are said to be dated in the year 52 of an unknown era. But it would be unwise to base any conclusions on such a doubtful reading. And Bühler's objection would be of little weight if *ṣāhi jaūvla* could be shown to be titles occurring elsewhere in the dynasty to which Toramāṇa belongs. And such is, I believe, actually the case.

Mr. Jayaswal reminds us of the fact that Alberūnī places Kanika, i.e. Kaniṣka, in the dynasty of the Ṣāhi of Kābul, the last ruler of which is given the name Laga Turman. He draws the inference that they were all Kuṣāṇas. It is true that they traced their descent to Kaniṣka, but they were hardly of Iranian stock, but only took over the traditions of their predecessors.

Among the 'Kuṣāṇa-Sasanian coins' discussed by Prof. Herrfeld[4] we find such as are ascribed to different Hephthalite kings and bear the legend *soho zobol*, i.e. *šāhə zabul:* And Prof. Junker[5] discusses some other Hephthalite coins with legends containing the words *šaho* and *zabolo*. Dr. Henning has pointed out to me that *zabolo* must be a title, and it seems evident that here we have the exact counterpart to the *ṣāha jaūvla* of the Kura inscription. And it seems necessary to draw the inference that we have to do with titles commonly used by the Hephthalites. *Ṣāhi* is of course the old title used by the Kuṣāṇas, which had been adopted by the Hephthalites. It is possible and perhaps probable that *jaūvla, zawolo* was also borrowed from elsewhere. But the collocation of these two titles in Hephthalite legends and in the Kura inscription shows that our Toramāṇa was, in all probability a Hūṇa, as has usually been assumed, and not a Kuṣāṇa. And there is no cogent reason for assuming that he was another person than the Toramāṇa of the Erāṇ inscription.

4 *Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India*, no. 38, pp. 19 f.

5 *SPAW.*, 1930, pp. 650 ff.

I cannot consequently accept Mr. Jayaswal's explanation of the name *Mauna* or *Yauna*, but I am thankful to him for directing our attention to the Kura inscription in this connection. If it has any bearing on the reading of the word in the Purāṇas, it might lead us to accept the variant Hūṇa. But I do not believe in any such inference.

STEN KONOW

Hemakūṭā

The Hemakūṭa Parvata (lit. golden peaked mountain) is referred to in many of the ancient writings, some of which furnish us with fragmentary information regarding its location.

All the Purāṇas agree in mentioning the Hemakūṭa mountain as running to the north of the Himavat mountain, with the Niṣadha Parvata to its north. These three mountains, i.e. Himavat, Hemakūṭa and Niṣadha, are mentioned as running from east to west, their ends stretching up to the eastern and western oceans.[1] The Hemakūṭa was also known as the Hemaparvata or the Kailāsa.[2] It is one of the Varṣaparvatas of Jambūdvipa.[3]

In the *Bhāgavat Purāṇa* (5, 16, 9) the Hemakūṭa is mentioned as forming the boundary line of the Kimpuruṣa Varṣa, and the Niṣadha is said to have bordered Harivarṣa i.e. the Uttarakuru. The Uttarakuru is said to have included the western part of Tibet (N. Dey's *Geographical Dic.*, pp. 75, 213-214). The northern boundary of Harivarṣa (western Tibet) is the Kuen-lun mountain which is described as covered with perpetual snow.[4] In this connection, we have to bear in mind that the geographical account contained in the Purāṇas is given as surveyed from the south, and therefore the Hemakūṭa mountain must be identified with the ranges of hills running to the south of the Kuen-lun mountain. From this it evidently follows that Hemakūṭa was the general name of the ranges of hills stretching in the northern part of Kashmere and extending towards the east.

The statement of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, that the Hemakūṭa formed the boundary line of the Kimpuruṣa Varṣa, suggests another point for

1 *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, ch. 52; *Vāyu Purāṇa*, 34, 9.

2 N. L. Dey's *Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Med. India*, second edition, p. 75.

3 The Varṣaparvatas were so called since they formed boundary lines between the different Varṣas or divisions of a Dvīpa. They were also known as Maryādāgiris (see *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa*, 5, 16, 6) for the same reason. The Varṣaparvatas of Jambūdvīpa are: Himavat, Hemakūṭa, Niṣadha, Merū, Nīla, Śveta and Śṛṅgin (see *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, 1, 54, 9-10).

4 Dey's *Geographical Dic. of Anc. and Med. India*, second edition, p. 214.

consideration. The Kimpuruṣas (Kinnaras) are termed as comprising a mythical race which has been rightly identified by N. L. Dey, with the Kimmerii of Strabo or the 'wandering Scythians' according to Herodotus. They were so called because of their living in the land Cimmeria. Their original home is said to be the Caucasus, on the western side of the Caspian sea. This they abandoned, since they were, more or less, in a perpetual state of warfare with their neighbours. After this they descended down to the northern side of the Jaxartes and began to stay there.[5] All these facts seem to point out that these people, on account of their being in a momadic stage, might have further continued to move in the same direction, i.e. towards the south-east till they reached the land bordering the northern side of the Hemakūṭa. That these people had come down as far as the Hemakūṭa is corroborated by the statement of Bāṇabhaṭṭa who records, in his *Kādambarī*, that Candrāpīḍa saw a pair of Kinnaras ascending the adjacent hill.[6] From this they could not come down, since the wide ranges of hills, covered with perpetual heaps of snow, lay as an insurmountable barrier in their further southward march. It is also probable, in view of the foregoing statement, that the Kinnaras or Kimpuruṣas might have established themselves here, i.e., on the immediate north of the Hemakūṭa. This is the reason why we have a mention of the Hemakūṭa in the Purāṇas, as the boundary line of the Kimpuruṣa Varṣa.

The Hemakūṭa is mentioned in the *Kādambarī* in connection with the *digvijaya* or all-round conquest of the earth by Candrāpīḍa. Here the passage gives rise to a serious doubt in regard to the proposed identification of this mountain with the hills running in Kashmere. The reading concerned is as follows: "कैलाससमीपचारिणां हेमकूटधात्रां किराताना निवासस्थानम्' (Peterson's edition, p. 119). Here it is said that Suvarṇapura was the stronghold of the Kirātas whose permanent residence was on the Hemakūṭa and who used to move in the neighbourhood of Kailāsa. From this statement two inferences may be drawn. In the first place, we are told that the Hemakūṭa was the abode of the

5 For the detailed account of these Kinnaras see *Rasātala* by N. L. Dey, pp. 97 ff.

6 *Kādambarī*, Peterson's edition, p. 119.

Kirātas. This supports the view of the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* regarding the Hemakūṭa as the boundary line of the Kimpuruṣa Varṣa. The Kimpuruṣas are the Kinnaras as it has been told. The Kirātas of Suvarṇapura might be taken to have constituted some hilly tribe. The other inference from the text quoted above is, that the Kailāsa was different from the Hemakūṭa. But this view is exposed to a doubt, since some of the references in ancient writings run against the statement of the *Kādambarī* and prove the identity of these mountains. N. L. Dey, on the strength of a passage of the *Mahābhārata* (Bhīṣma P., Ch. 6) identifies these two mountains, and remarks:[7] "It (Hemakūṭa) is another name for the Kailāsa mountain." This discrepancy may be reconciled from the statement that the Kailāsa formed a portion of the Hemakūṭa. A justification of this view may be sought from the fact that the Hemakūṭa was a Varṣaparvata and hence it was probably described as comprising within itself the adjacent ranges, the Kailāsa being one of them; whereas in some works it was mentioned separate with a view to distinguish it from the adjacent hills. It has already been said that after a lapse of time the definite extent of the hills was forgotten and it is on account of this that their names seem to be used promiscuously for one another; and this might be the reason why the two mountains in question were taken to be identical in due course of time. Later on, when the identification of the Kailāsa with the Hemakūṭa had been established, both these words, originally indicating different ranges, came to be considered as mere synonyms as we find in many of the Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata*.[8]

The *Varāha Purāṇa* (Ch. 82) mentions three rivers originating from the Hemakūṭa mountain: the Ganges, the Yamunā and the Alakanandā. This account is also supported by the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (Ch. 41). All these rivers have sprung forth from the Bandarpuccha range of the Himalayas, the distance between their sources being very small. The rivers flowing from the Kailāsa mountain are four in number: The Indus, the Satadru (Sutlej), the Karuali and the Brahmaputrā (*JASB.*, 1848, p. 329). These rivers are quite different from

7 Dey's *Geographical Dictionary*, see under Kailāsa.

8 *Mbh.*, Bhīṣma Parva, ch. 6.

those that are said to have originated from the Hemakūṭa. This again inevitably leads us to the same conclusion that the Hemakūṭa was formerly different from the Kailāsa mountain.

In the *Vāyu Purāṇa* (Ch. 42), we have an interesting account of the source of the river Alakanandā with its fall and flow on different mountains. There we read that the river passed by the Hemakūṭa (verse 31), and then by the Pañcakūṭa mountain it went near the Kailāsa (verse 32). The separate mention of the Kailāsa from the Hemakūṭa here supports the aforesaid conclusion that both these mountains were different in ancient days.

The *Matsya* (Ch. 121, 1-2), the *Linga* (51, 20) and the *Vāyu Purāṇas* (47, 1) agree in mentioning the Kailāsa mountain as the abode of the Yakṣas; whereas the Hemakūṭa was the residing place of the Gandharvas (*Vāyu Purāṇa*, 46, 33). The Hemakūṭa, therefore, seems to have been formerly different from the Kailāsa. From its mention as the abode of the Gandharvas it may be suggested that the Hemakūṭa stretched as far as the residence of the Gandharvas i.e. Gandharvapura or the modern Kandahar. It is evident, from this, that the Hemakūṭa comprised the southern ranges of the Hindukush.

Among other rivers, the Satadru (Sutlej) is said to have sprung from the western side of the Kailāsa,[9] a spur of the Gaugri range, situated about 25 miles to the north of Mānassarovara (*JD.*, pp. 82 ff.). If we take the Kailāsa stretching as far as Kashmere to make it identical with the Hemakūṭa mountain, the statement that the Sutlej flowed down from its western spur becomes inaccurate. In that case it would have been mentioned as flowing down from the southern and not the western side of it. The upshot of all these arguments is that the extension of the Kailāsa towards the west was taken to be only so far as the source of the river Sutlej and not beyond it. But the Hemakūṭa is said to extend to the west even beyond that limit, i.e.; up to the western ocean.[10] The western ocean here probably refers to the Asiatic Mediterranean Sea, which presumably existed in the Ṛgvedic age.[11]

9 *JASB.*, 1848, p. 329.
10 *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, ch. 52.
11 A. C. Das's *Ṛgvedic India*, ch. 2.

The original name, I believe, was Himakūṭa;[12] and it was so called because of its being covered with heaps of snow and with a view to distinguish it from the near ranges of the Himalayas spreading in the immediate north of India. Later on, the real significance of its name seems to have been quite forgotten, and the name Himakūṭa was changed into Hemakūṭa probably because of 'the picturesque beauty' attributed to it as a logical sequence of its identification with the Kailāsa mountain.

We shall now proceed to examine the position of the Hemakūṭa mountain from the northern side and see whether it coincides with the position of the same as surveyed from the south. The Hemakūṭa was believed to lie to the south of the Niṣadha mountain and to run parallel to it as we have already seen. To ascertain its location, therefore, from the opposite side, we shall first have to locate the Niṣadha mountain. Mr. N. L. Dey correctly identifies the Niṣadha mountain with the Hindukush range,[13] and it probably included the range stretching in the northern part of Afghanistan towards the west so far as to form the northern boundary of Persia since it is said to have stretched up to the western ocean.

The view mentioned above may be substantiated by some other corroborative evidences. The *Mahābhārata* makes the Niṣadha mountain the abode of the Nāgas, the Sarpas and the Gandharvas (Bhīṣma P., Ch. 6). The Gandharvapura (the abode of the Gandharvas) or Gāndhāra, according to the ancient authorities, comprised the modern districts of Peshawar and Rawalpindi.[14] According to Rawlinson the Gandharvas held Kabul and the mountain-tract on both the sides of the river Kabul as far as the upper courses of the Indus.[15] The Niṣadha mountain, therefore, must have included the ranges of the Hindukush, which stretch to the north of Afghanistan, pass by the city of Kabul and extend so far as Persia.

12 That the change of Hima to Hema was not impossible in those days may be proved by the mention of the word, Hemavata given as a synonysm of the Himalayas in the *Liṅga Purāṇa* (49, 22).

13 See *Rasātala* by N. L. Dey, p. 85.

14 Dey's *Geog. Dic. of Anc. and Med. India*, see under Gāndhāra.

15 *Rasātala*, pp. 96, 97.

The Sarpas and the Nāgas represent two of the ancient nomadic tribes and they received this appellation on account of their constant itinerary habits as is indicated by their origin. The *Rasātala* makes them reside in the region watered by the Kabul. If our assumptions are true, the statement of the *Mahābhārata*, which makes the Sarpas and the Nāgas reside on the Niṣadha mountain, holds a firm ground and thus the Niṣadha mountain can be no other than the Hindukush. This again leads us to the same conclusion that the Hemakūṭa, which is stated to have situated on the south of the Niṣadha, was used as a generic term denoting the whole range of hills running approximately from the Mānasa lake on the east to the far western part of Kashmere and probably beyond it.

This identification of the Hemakūṭa with the northern ranges of the Himalayas is confirmed by many other works. In the *Kādambarī*, it is said that Candrāpīḍa, while on his conquest of the world as Yuvarāja, directs his course northwards (p. 119). He captures Suvarṇapura,[16] where he encamps and resolves to pass a few days to make it easier for his fatigued army to enjoy rest. In pursuit of a pair of Kinnaras; one day, while hunting, he unknowingly crosses a long distance and finds himself lost in a dense forest unapproached by a human being (pp. 120-121).[17] Emerging, he goes on to the Kailāsa mountain. In quest of water, subsequently, he directs his march to the north-eastern direction along the foot of the Kailāsa and wandering there he arrives at the Acchoda Sarovara (p. 124), on the northern bank of which he sees a maiden, Mahāśvetā, performing penance (p. 131). Pursuing his course by the west of the lake, he reached the Siddhāyatana, built by the Gandharva emperor.

The conquest account recorded in the *Kādambarī*, though greatly mixed up with fiction, is of great interest, since it preserves, in its

16 The location of this Suvarṇapura is not known. Nor the route followed by the prince helps us to ascertain it. This, however, is not the Hiraṇyapura identified with Hyrcania (*Rasātala*, p. 16), the capital of the Daityas and the Dānavas (*Mbh.*, Udyoga P., ch. 97 and *Padma Purāṇa*, ch. 6), for the simple reason that it is far off in the north.

17 If the geographical account of the *Kādambarī* is correct, the use of the epithet 'Nirmānuṣa' may suggest that in Bāṇa's days intercourse between that land and India was rare.

legendary garb, some geographical details regarding the Hemakūṭa mountain. As regards the lake Acchoda, it is in Kashmere, its modern name being Acchāvata.[18] About six miles to the north east of Islamabad, the ancient capital of Kashmere, on the Jhelum, there is a town known as Matan or Martan, evidently a corruption of Mārtaṇḍa and has been identified with Bhavan or Bhavana.[19] From this place, at a distance of about six miles is situated the lake Acchoda of the *Kādambarī*.[20] There it is said that the prince reached this lake after a short wandering in the east from the Kailāsa. This is noteworthy, since it suggests that some of these hills were also included in the Kailāsa *i.e.* in the Hemakūṭa. Bāṇabhaṭṭa seems to have been acquainted with the statement of the Purāṇas that the Hemakūṭa formed the boundary line of the Kimpuruṣa Varṣa. That the Hemakūṭa, on which stood Kādambarī's palace, did not exceed a few hours' march from the Acchoda lake is also known to him.[21] All the foregoing arguments lead us to the conclusion that towards the west the Hemakūṭa was supposed to stretch up to the far western part of Kashmere.

H. V. TRIVEDI

18 Dey's *Geographical Dictionary*, see under Acchoda.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 127.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 1.

21 The author says that Taralikā reached Kādambarī's palace on the Hemakūṭa and returned to the Siddhāyatana the next day. Cf. Peterson's edition, pp. 178 ff.; also Mahāśvetā's words: *Śvobhūte pratyāgamiṣyasi*, p. 181.

REVIEWS

UTTARARĀMACARITA, drame de Bhavabhūti. Traduit et annoté par Nadine Stchoupak (Collection Émile Senart) Paris 1935. size 8″ × 5·2″, pp. LXIX + 167 (35 *francs*).

For its intrinsic merit Bhavabhūti's *Uttararāmacarita* has been one of the most favourite works among Indian Sanskritists. Hence it is indeed gratifying to see it included in the series of books named after the great French Indologist Émile Senart. This work was already accessible to western scholars in its English and French translations. But they did not serve the purpose of the volume under review. About the aim in preparing the present edition of the *Uttāracarita* (*Uc.*), which according to her admission is not a critical one the editor says, "........notre principle préoccupation a été de faciliter la tâche aux étudiants qui, après une première initiation, abordent des textes relativement difficiles........." (p. VII). Apart from the translation which seems to be most carefully done, her notes testify to her excellent judgment and a commendable acquaintance with works dealing in certain phases of Indian culture. These notes meant principally for beginners may at times prove useful to a specialist as well. Besides these in a brief but well written introduction the editor has dealt with almost all the important questions relating to Bhavabhūti and his works esp. the *Uc.* Three indices esp. II and III dealing with proper names and words have added to the value of the volume as a book of reference. Another important aspect of this volume, is that in it as in other works of the 'Collection Senart' the Sanskrit text has been printed in Roman character facing the page containing the translation, and necessary notes have been added to the bottom of pages. These are in brief the important features of the present edition of the *Uc.* We would now draw attention of the readers to the following points:

(a) *Pratiyogātiśaya* should be corrected to *prayogātiśaya* in p. 6 notes.

(b) *Muhamaṇḍaaa* should not be translated as 'visage tout rond'; 'visage' would be enough. In this matter the editor seems to have

been misled by Apte's *Skt. Dictionary*. *Maṇḍala* in this compound means 'region', or rather the 'surrounding region' as in *Colamaṇḍala*. *Mukhamaṇḍala* (p. 11) means the 'region surrounding the mouth' or 'face'.

(c) On the authority of Woolner (p. 52, *not* 51 *as printed*) the editor has considered *ruṇṇa* (p. 18) as an exclusively Māhārāṣtrī form, and on the authority of Pischel she has taken *palitta* (p. 62 notes) as a form belonging only to M. and Ardhamagādhī. On this point the reviewer would like to draw attention of readers to his paper 'Mahārāṣtrī, a late phase of Sauraseni' (see *Journal of the Dept. of Letters*, Calcutta University, Vol. XXII, 1932). The editor's remark that, 'la Çaurasenī parlée par les femmes a *rudida*' is liable to create a confusion. For no different varieties of S. for men and women have been recognized by any grammarian.

(d) *Ujjhia* is from *ujjihīya*. As a result of syncopation due to the loss of *i* we have *ujjhia*. The editor has correctly considered *ujjh* as 'une fausse racine simple' (p. 27). The Skt. root *ud-hā* gives rise to the Pkt. root *ujjh*.

(e) In str. 6 of Act III (p. 50) *so'yam anyena darpād* has been printed as *so'yaṃ darpād*.

(f) In p. 51 *Haddhi hadhi* should be read as *haddhī haddhī*. *Ussāvedi* (line 13) has its *chāyā* as *ucchvāsayati*. This is evidently due to a mistake. *Ussāvedi* should be corrected to *ussāsedi*. But a better reading seems to be *ussuāvedi* (=*utsukāpayati*).

(g) In p. 53 *telaüassa* (in *chāyā*, *trailokasya*) seems to be a wrong reading. The usual word is *trailokya* and not *trailoka*. Hence the Pkt. word would *telokka* or *tellokka*. The forms like *telloa* and *teloa* are however available and these presuppose the existence of a form like *trailoka* but even this does not give *telaüa*.

(h) *Jiṇṇakuccha* in p. 75 is a wrong reading for *jiṇṇakucca*. The Nirnayasagar ed. of the *Uc.* with Vīrarāghava's commentary seems to be the source of this mistake. Vīrarāghava's commentary is apparently responsible for the translation of *kucca* as 'sourcils pendants'. *Kucca* in this connexion can mean only 'beard and moustache', and *jiṇṇakuccāṇaṃ* means 'of those who have grey beard and moustache' and not 'les vieux aux sourcils pendants'.

(i) For further information about the meaning of sūtra (p. 89) and the supposed sūtra text of Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* see the *Abhinaya-drapaṇa* edited by the reviewer (Introduction pp. xxxviii f.).

(j) *Rājapaṭṭa* in p. 103 is not 'diament de qualité inferior'. The editor has rightly entertained a doubt about the accuracy of the Petersburg Lexicon on this point. The commentator Vīrarāghava seems to give a clue to the right interpretation of the term. *Rājapaṭṭa* appears to be a compound of the words *rājan* and *paṭṭa* (silk) and should mean 'the best of kind of silk fabric'. Ths term *Paṭṭavastra* in Bengali means 'silken cloth'. The glossy and yellowish surface of the best kind of silk has been compared to the glossy surface of the body of Lava and Candraketu, who were supposed to have a yellowish or fair complexion according to Indian standard.

(k) *Añjali* (in p. 135) lacks proper definition. For the definition see the *Abhinayadarpaṇam* (śl. 176).

In the introduction (pp. XI-XII) the editor writes that Yaśovarman the patron of Bhavābhūti sent an embassy to the emperor of China because the latter exercised a sort of suzerainty over the kingdoms of the north-west India. This is highly conjectural. Vincent Smith however thinks that the embassy was sent probably to invoke the assistance of the emperor against Yaśovarman's enemies (The Oxford History of India, London 1923, p. 182).

These are the points on which one may differ from the editor or suggest correction. Apart from them the present edition of the *Uc.* has been very excellent. The editor can be sincerely congratulated on her work.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

YUGAPRADHĀNA ŚRĪ JINACANDRA SŪRI by Agarchand Nahata and Bhanwarlal Nahata (Śrī Abhaya Jain Granthamālā, No. 7). Published by Shankardan Subharaj Nahata, Calcutta. Pp. 82+370+9 illustrations.

About sixteen years back Muni Vidyavijayaji published his excellent biography of Śrī Hīravijaya Sūri and showed to the world for almost the first time the great influence exercised by Jain teachers on the religion and religious practice of Akbar, the great Mughal emperor. Śrī Hīravijaya Sūri was an *ācārya* of the Tapā-gaccha. His biography, therefore, naturally contains full details about the influence of this *gaccha* only. The book under review is the life-story of another great Jain teacher, Śrī Jinacandra Sūri who exercised almost as great an influence on the religious ideals of Akbar. He was an *ācārya* of the Kharataragaccha, and received from Akbar the title of 'Yugapradhāna' or the chief teacher of the period. According to an Imperial farman published by the authors, he persuaded the Emperor to prohibit the slaughter of animals from the 9th day of the bright half of Āṣāḍha to the 15th day of that very fortnight. He is said to have been instrumental also in the abolition of the tax on the pilgrimage to the Śatruñjaya tīrtha, and the prohibition of cow-slaughter throughout the Mughal empire. In 1611 A.D. when Jahangir turned against the Jains, and persecuted them badly, he saw the new Emperor and induced him to rescind his orders against the community. These were really great services to the cause of humanity in general and Jainism in particular, and we must be thankful to the authors of the book for having brought these to our notice by going through a large mass of unpublished materials accessible to the Jains only.

The value of the book is further increased by the short biographies of the followers of the Sūri, published herein for the first time. Of these some occupied very good positions. Karmacandra Bacchāwat was, for instance, the prime minister of Bikaner for many years. His life has been, on the whole, judiciously treated. But I wish the authors had not relied on such a second-rate source as the 'Jain Heroes of Rajputana' in stating that Karmacandra helped Rāi Singhji of Bikaner in repelling the invassion of Mahārājā Abhayasinghjī of Jaipur. History does not know of any such Mahārājā in Karma-

candra's, time. A similar mistake has been committed in dealing with the life of Śrī Jinasiṃha Sūri. The author's statement that the Sūri was invited to Delhi in 1617 A.D. by the Emperor who was extremely eager to see him is not an historical fact though based on a Rāsa composed in 1624 A.D. We know from the *Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri*, that in 1617 A.D., the Emperor was displeased with the Sūri for certain reasons which need not be specified here, and wished to punish him severely. Fortunately the Sūri died on the way to Delhi.

But these are rather minor blemishes in an otherwise meritorious production, the value of which has been recognized by eminent scholars like Pandit Gaurīshankar Hirachand Ojha and Mr. M. D. Desai, the latter of whom contributes a learned introduction of 41 pages.

DASARATHA SARMA

ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY OF SANSKRIT LANGUAGE by W. Wüst. Heidelberg 1936.

The first fascicule of the long expected Etymological Dictionary of the Sanskrit Language, on which Prof. Walther Wüst of Munich has been engaged all his life, has at last appeared. After Wackernagel's *Altindische Grammatik*, the third volume of which appeared in 1929, this is undoubtedly the most important publication in the field of Vedic and Sanskrit Philology. Without the least danger of exaggeration it may be said that the future development of Sanskrit Philology in all its branches will be largely, if not wholly, based on Wackernagel's *Altindische Grammatik* on the one hand, and Wüst's *Etymological Dictionary* on the other. These two, in fact, make up one organic whole, for a linguistic grammar, of the type of Wackernagel's, pre-supposes a large body of etymologies. It would have been more logical therefore if Wackernagel's Grammar had been preceded by Wüst's Dictionary and not followed by it—after such a long interval --an interval of no less than forty years in the case of Phonology, which is naturally most immediately affected by the new etymological dictionary. Mediately, also Sanskrit morphology and syntax, not to

speak of semasiology, which is rightly becoming more and more an integral part of all historical linguistic grammars. It is certainly no disparagement of Wackernagel's splendid achievement to say that his volume on Phonology will now perhaps have to be recast in the light of the etymologies, proved, examined and established in Wüst's Etymological Dictionary. Prof. Wüst himself meditates bringing out as a sequel to his dictionary a volume exclusively dealing with Sanskrit phonology. It is to be hoped that he will not give up this idea. For it will leave Prof. Wackernagel free to go ahead with his *Grammatik*, three more volumes of which are still to appear.

The first 124 pages consist of a Vorrede which may be safely recommended as the best available hand-book on linguistic methodology. The author shows here how the science of etymology has slowly but surely grown up,—its first faint gropings in the dark, followed immediately by an over-confident and uncareful ardour, which in its present maturity has gradually conformed to the dictates of sobriety and circumspection,—only the Scandinavian etymologists (Persson, Johansson, Petersson) proving impervious to the dawn of this new light. The contribution of every important worker has been reviewed, appraised and criticised where necessary. Even the most insignificant fact and perfunctory remarks, made by anybody anywhere, have been recorded here, if the remarks were to the point. It is easy to predict that many will consider this to be too extravagant. But Prof. Wüst has disarmed all such future critics by quoting Frederick the Great: "Aimez donc les détails, ils ne sont pas sans gloire: c'est là le premier pas, qui mène à la victoire." Not the least valuable part of this first facicule is the exhaustive classified bibliography extending over 60 pages.

We accord a hearty welcome to this most important publication and hope that the Indian public will give it the hearty *accueil* that it deserves.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH

THE GREAT TEMPLE AT TANJORE by F. M. Somasundaram pp. viii + 89 + 25. illustrations.

The Rājarājeśvara, otherwise called the Bṛhadīśvara, temple at Tanjore, is admittedly the *chef-d'oeuvre* of Cola (if not, of South Indian) architecture and the greatest monument of the Cola Rājarāja I. But, strangely enough, it has yet remained without a guide-book for the needs of ordinary visitors. It is precisely to fill this want that the author has written the interesting and useful monograph under notice.

The present work consists, apart from a short Preface and Foreword, of a general account of the temple and its adjuncts, which is followed by eight Appendices, a concise bibliography and an Index. In the general account the author begins properly by mentioning the geographical situation of Tanjore, its traditional origin and its history down to British times. Then follow descriptions of the main shrine with its five (actually six) divisions, the exquisite Subrahmanya shrine reputed to be of 'the Nāyaka period', the shrine of Bṛhannāyakī probably of the late Pāṇḍya times and many other temples. We are then introduced to a clearly imperfect account of Cola and other sculptures of the group and a fairly good summary of the now famous Cola frescoes adorning the corridor of the Ardhamaṇḍapa of the main shrine. Finally, we have interesting and instructive accounts of the magnificent endowments known to have been made to the main shrine by the founder and his relatives, of the images of Śaiva saints set up by Rājarāja and his successors, of the principal Māhātmyas connected with the main temple and of the principal festivals relating thereto.

The above summary is sufficient to show the usefulness of the work under notice. It must, however, be admitted that it suffers somewhat from redundancy and want of proportion. Appendix A (on the Tanjore Palace Devasthanams), Appendix D (on Rājā Sarafoji II) and Appendix G (on genealogical tables) should have been largely condensed or even omitted altogether. The lengthy quotations from inscriptions, State-papers etc. and, above all, the Tamil extracts (including the whole of Appendix F) are singularly out of place in a guide-book. On the other hand the portions relating to the architecture and sculpture require a fuller treatment. Thus a short account of the Early Cola style of art (of which the Bṛhadīśvara temple is one of the most important speci-

mens) and its leading features such as the decorative pilasters between the niches and the circular glory (Tiruvāsi) would have been very welcome.

The work is enriched with 25 illustrations, including a ground plan and views of the main shrine and select sculptures. But some of the illustrations, *e.g.* Nos. 18, 22 and 25, seem to be superfluous, while in other cases, *e.g.* Nos. 10 and 12, the selection leaves much to be desired. We cannot conclude this review without wishing for similar guide-books in respect of the other great shrines with which Southern India abounds.

U. N. Ghoshal

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE MYSORE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT for the year 1932, Bangalore, 1935.

This publication maintains the high level of scholarship and technical execution that we have learnt to associate with Dr. M. H. Krishna, the present Director of Archæological researches in Mysore.

The work consists of five parts bearing the titles,—Administrative, Study of Ancient Monuments, Numismatics, Manuscripts and Inscriptions.

In the First Part, the author laments the restriction of collection of inscriptions and the stoppage of excavations at Candravalli and Brahmagiri for lack of funds, and his lament will be fully shared by all those who are interested in the subject. It is, however, a relief to learn the coming appearance of the author's monograph on monuments of the Calukyan style in the Mysore State.

Part II is devoted to a detailed study of a number of select monuments. Of these special mention may be made of the Kīrtinārāyaṇa temple at Talkāḍ built by Viṣṇuvardhana Hoysala (1117 A.D.), the noble Keśava temple at Somanāthapur (built by a Hoysala Governor of Narasiṃha III Hoysala, *c.* 1268 A.D.), the Aghoreśvara Temple at Ikkeri (built about 1520 A.D. by the Nāyakas who were vassals of Vijayanagara and said to be "the largest and finest example of the Ikkheri school of Architecture") and the group of monuments at the Nandī Hill.

Part III contains a valuable study (with illustrative plates) of the coins of the Saṅgama dynasty of Vijayanagara from Harihara I to Mallikārjuna, arranged in fifty-two types and sub-types.

Part IV is devoted to a critical anlysis of an important Sanskrit MS. called Vidyāraṇyakālajñāna, which, in a series of detached narratives, couched in the form of prophecies, gives the history of the Vijayanagara kings apparently down to the commencement of the reign of Veṅkaṭapatirāya I (1586-1615 A.D.).

Part V is devoted to the examination of about sixty inscriptions which are arranged according to dynasties and dates in a separate list. The oldest inscription is a copperplate grant of the Gaṅga king Kṛṣṇavarma, which the author dates in the arranged list of inscription as *c.* 461 A.D., (but in Part I the inscriptions published are said to range from the 6th to the 19th century A.D.) The inscriptions are studied with proper care, as the author gives the text with Roman (and sometimes Devanāgarī) transliteration, plates and notes. It may, however, be doubted whether any useful purpose is served by the publication of inscriptions of the 18th and 19th centuries.

We have noticed a few slips: *e.g.* on p. 18, 1279 (l. 4) and 1268 (l. 7) are apparently misprints for 1269 A.D.

U. N. GHOSHAL

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Acta Orientalia, vol. XIV, pars. IV.

H. W. BAILY.—*An Itinerary in Khotanese Saka.* A short document in Khotanese Saka giving an account of travel from the north through Gilgit and Chilas into Kashmir in the time of Abhimanyu-gupta in the 10th century A.C. has been edited with notes.

HANS JÖRGENSEN.—*Linguistic Remarks on the Verb in Newary.*

Ibid., vol. XV, pars. I.

H. H. JOHNSTON.—*The Buddha's Mission and last Journey: Buddhacarita, XV to XXVIII.* The second half of Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* is not available in its original Sanskrit An English translation of that part of the work is being executed by Mr. Johnston on the basis of its Tibetan and Chinese versions.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,
vol. XVII, pt. III (April 1936)

BIMALA CHURN LAW.—*Countries and Peoples of India.* Divisions of countries and names of peoples as mentioned in the Purāṇas or similar literature are discussed.

HAR DUTT SHARMA.—*The Poet Bhānukara.* Bhānukara has been identified with the well-known author Bhānudatta specially on the ground that verses known to have been composed by the latter are assigned in some anthologies to the former. The poet came from Vidarbha and lived in the courts Vīrabhānu and Nizām Khān (Sikandar Lodi) in the beginning of the 16th century.

ABEL BERGAIGNE.—*Some Observations on the Figures of Speech in the Ṛgveda.* This paper dealing with some figures of speech in the *Ṛgveda* has been translated from German into English by A. Venkatasubbiah.

H. R. KAPADIA.—*A Note on Kṣa and Jña.* Features of *kṣa* and *jña* written in Devanāgarī characters are discussed.

Archiv Orientální, vol. VII, no. iii.

M. Winternitz.—*Indien und Westen*. A popular lecture dealing with India's relations with the West from the Mohenjo-daro civilisation to the present day, a large portion of which is devoted to the 'discovery' of Sanskrit and Sanskritic culture in the west.

St. Schayer.—*A note on the Old Russian variant of the Puruṣa-sūkta.* After pointing out an Old Russian story which truly bears a resemblance to the Puruṣa-sūkta, the author suggests that both are derived from a very old legend which was the ultimate source of these and similar stories both in Indo-European and non-Indo-European languages.

V. Lesny.—*Zur Frage nach dem Wert des Pālikanons für die Lehre des Buddha.* In this article, the author echoes the view expressed by various scholars in recent years that hitherto undue importance has been attached to the Pāli Canon. The Pāli texts have been regarded as the authentic source of Buddhism mainly because, according to the Ceylonese Chronicles, the Pāli Canon had been fixed in writing already in the days of Vaṭṭagāmaṇī. But Lesny here shows that the crucial passages in the Chronicles are probably interpolations.

O. Pertold.—*Can we trace any remains of the Indian Trading caste among the Sinhalese of Ceylon?* The writer's answer is in the negative.

Pavel Poucha.—*Vedische Volksetymologie und das Nirukta.* The writer seeks to establish in this article that Yāska has only collected the popular etymologies current in the older Vedic literature. All the fifty etymologies of Yāska dealt with in this paper have been showed by the author to have been directly or indirectly suggested by significant passages in the older Vedic literature.

O. Stein.—*Arthaśāstra and Śilpaśāstra.* After a detailed and meticulous comparison between the building chapters of Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra with the extant Śilpaśāstra literature, the writer suggests that, although the latter is later in date, it might have in an older form contributed to the shaping of Kauṭilya's building chapters. B.K.G.

Ibid., vol. VIII, no. i.

O. Stein.—*Arthaśāstra and Śilpaśāstra.* Continuation of the article in *Archiv Orientální*, vol. VII, no. 3.

Aryan Path, June 1936.

R. K. Mookerji.—*India's Triśūla in the Last Century.* The paper appraises the character of the religious movements started in India by Rammohan Ray, Dayānanda Sarasvatī and Rāmakṛṣṇa Paramahaṃsa.

Dacca University Studies, vol. I, no. 2 (April 1936).

Karunakana Gupta.—*Political condition of India during c. 220-320 A.D.* An account of the political condition of the different parts of India during the hundred years from the fall of the Andhras and the Kuṣāṇas to the rise of the Imperial Guptas is compiled from the Purāṇas, inscriptions, coins, and references in Indian and foreign writings.

S. K. De.—*Sanskrit Poetics as a Study of Aesthetics.*

R. C. Majumdar.—*The Revolt of Divvoka against Mahīpāla II, and other Revolts in Bengal.* The weakness of the Pāla rule in Bengal in the 11th century A.C. was due to various causes including the continuous invasions from outside. Divvoka or Divya holding an important position in the time of Mahīpāla II took advantage of the situation and prompted by personal ambition rose against the king's authority. There is no evidence to show that the king was particularly tyrannical or that any oppressive act on his part was responsible for a rebellion.

K. R. Qanungo.—*Origin of the Bahmani Sultans of the Deccan.*

P. C. Lahiri.—*The Negative Construction in Indo-Aryan.* This study of the negative construction traverses the field from the oldest period of the Indo-Aryan language up to the present day.

H. D. Bhattacharyya.—*The Polite Atheism of Indian Philosophy.* The writer analyses the trends of the different philosophical systems of India and shows that God was not to them indispensable

for spiritual perfection. They have emphasised the necessity of a thorough knowledge of the self.

Eastern Buddhist, vol. VII, no. 1 (May 1936).

BEATRICE LANE SUZUKI.—*The Shingon School of Mahāyāna Buddhism, part II: The Mandara.*

L. DE HOYER.—*Meditations on Plato and Buddha.*

Epigraphia Indica, vol. XXII, pt. 4

N. G. MAJUMDAR.—*Irdā Copper-plate of the Kāmboja king Nayapāladeva.* The document assigned to the second half of the 10th century records the gift of a village within the Daṇḍabhukti maṇḍala of the Vardhamānabhukti by Nayapāla belonging to a new line of kings.

A. S. ALTEKAR.—*Two Bhor State Museum Copper-plates.*

Ibid., vol. XXII, pt. 5.

VISHESWAR NATH REU.—*Ropi Plates of Paramaradevarāja: Vikrama-Saṃvat 1059.*

D. R. BHANDARKAR.—*Hathi-Bada Brāhmī Inscription of Nagri.*

K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI.—*A Chola Inscription from Uttiramerura.*

D. R. BHANDARKAR.—*A List of Inscriptions of Northern India written in Brāhmī and its derivative Scripts from about A.C. 300.*

Ibid., July 1935.

D. R. SAHNI.—*A Sarada Inscription from Hunl.*

D. R. BHANDARKAR.—*Jethwai Plates of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Queen Śīlamahādevī, Saka-Saṃvat 708.*

V. VENKATASUBBIAH AIYAR.—*Kuddilikki Inscription of Vijaya Nandīśvara Varman.*

R. D. BANERJI.—*The Jesar Plates of Śīlāditya III: Valabhi Saṃvat 357.*

—.—*The Bayana Inscription of Citralekha: V.S. 1012.*

—.—*The Gurji Inscription of Prabadhaśiva.*

L. P. PANDEYA.—*The Mahākośala Historical Society's Plates of Mahābhava Guptarājadeva.*

K. V. SUBRAMANYA IYER.—*Drākṣārāmā Inscription of Kulottuṅga I.*

Indian Art and Letters, vol. X, no. 1 (1936)

MARGUERITE MILWARD.—*Some Ancient Monuments in Mysore.*

HERMANN GOETZ.—*Notes on a Collection of Historical Portraits from Golconda.*

D. H. GORDON.—*The Rock Paintings of the Mahadeo Hills.*

H. G. RAWLISON.—*India Greece.* A passage in Eusebius (Præparatio Evangelii XI. 3) shows that there is "contemporary evidence of the presence in Athens as early as the fourth century of Indians who knew Greek and actually discussed philosophy with Socrates." On hearing from Socrates that the scope of his philosophy was an enquiry into "Human Phenomena," an Indian is said to have burst out laughing "how can a man enquire into human phenomena, when he is ignorant of divine ones."

Indian Culture, vol. III, no. 1 (July 1936).

STEN KONOW.—*Professor Poussin on Śakayavanam.* In opposition to Poussin's opinion, the writer maintains that the dvandva compound *Śakayavanam* occurring in the *Mahābhāṣya* bears reference to the Śakas and Yavanas in Bactria.

KSHETRESA CHANDRA CHATTOPADHYAYA.—*Winternitz and Raichowdhuri on the Antiquity of the Ṛgvedasaṃhitā.* According to Winternitz, the vast Vedic literature from the Saṃhitās to the Sūtras took much time to develop, and could not have ranged over six centuries only. Even the later Vedic works do not indicate that the Indo-Aryan people have moved far from their north-western settlement. But by the 3rd century B.C., the Aryan culture had already penetrated into South India. As such penetration could not have been effected rapidly, the early Vedic literature must be held to have been of high antiquity. Against these arguments, Raichowdhuri is of opinion that the Aryanisation of the country was an accomplished fact in the time of the early Vedic works containing traces of the penetration of the Aryans into Behar, Central India, and the Deccan. So it cannot be inferred that there was any long interval between the earliest and the latest Vedic work. The present paper supports Winternitz in his view that the Aryans took a long time to spread over the whole of Hindustan, because

the alleged references in the Vedas to the interior places are not convincing.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.—*Rebirth and Omniscience in Pāli Buddhism.* The writer holds that in early Buddhism the doctrine of transmigration is taught, the propositions of *atta* and *anatta* is simultaneously maintained and the omniscience of the Buddha is preached.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.—*Ṛg-Vedic Orthoepy.* That many of the words in the Ṛgveda have lost their original form and are now pronounced differently is shown. In most cases, the original texts can be restored by a reference to the nature of the Ṛgvedic metre. The influence of the rhythmic law of the original Indo-European is perceived in the Vedic language and it helps to ascertain where *y* and *v* are to be dissolved in *iy* and *uv*.

KARUNAKANA GUPTA.—*Some Recent Views on the Gupta Era.* Fleets' theory that the year 319-20 A.C. as the starting point of the Gupta Era has been recently challenged by some scholars who have proposed the years 200-201 A.C., 272-73 A.C. and 57-58 B.C. instead. The writer of this paper opposes the new theories.

P. K. ACHARYA.—*The Royal Crowns of Indian Kings.* The types and shapes of the royal crowns of India are described.

GIRIJA PRASANNA MAJUMDAR.—*Hearth and Home.* The paper deals with the descriptions of the dwelling houses found in Sanskrit literature with special reference to their sites, plans, building materials and decorations with trees.

B. C. LAW.—*Distinguished Men and Women in Jainism.* Anecdotes are recorded touching the lives of Khemā Dedrāṇi, Pethaḍakumāra, Amarakumāra, Vimala Śāh, Śrīpāla and Dṛḍhaprahārin associated with the history of Jainism.

SATKARI MUKHERJI.—*The Concept of Ajñāna in Vedānta Philosophy.*

K. K. BASU.—*Career of Yusuf 'Ādil Shāh of Bijapur.*

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR AND JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.—*Three Liṅgarāja Temple Inscriptions.* The three records discussed are found at the Bhuvaneśvara temple in Orissa. They belonged to three kings of the 12th century A. C.: the Gaṅga king Narasiṃha I, king Vīravarakeśarin and the Gaṅga king Narasiṃha II.

B. C. Law.—*Aśvaghoṣa the Poet.*

—.—*Aśvaghoṣa the Philosopher.*

C. L. Fábri.—*A New Branch of Knowledge in India.* This is a summary and discussion of an article in Spanish by the Rev. H. Heras on Indian Heraldry dealing with the distinctive emblems of ancient India. In a digression Mr. Fábri sounds a warning that the similarity between the cultural elements of the prehistoric Indus Valley and the culture of later India should not be taken as a proof of racial connection.

Ishwar Sahai.—*The Crime of Thagi and its Suppression under Lord W. C. Bentinck.*

Nalini Nath Das Gupta.—*The Vaidyaka Literature of Bengal in the Early Mediæval Period.*

K. L. Barua.—*Alpines in Eastern India.*

Manilal Patel.—*The Gāthās of Zarathuśtra: Yasna Hā 29.*

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Letters), vol. I, 1935, no. 3.

S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar.—*The Kalabhra: What it means in South Indian History.* The Kalabhras, identified with the Kaḷvar or Kaḷavar, are referred to in the epigraphical records as having caused an interruption in the rule of the Pāṇḍyas in the Tamil country. Due to the pressure of the Pallavas in the country of Toṇḍamaṇḍalam, they migrated to the Tamil land and established their authority over the region before the 5th century A.C. and continued to maintain it for more than three hundred years. The upsetting of the Sangam order in South India was due to the migration of the Kaḷvars.

K. P. Chattopadhyaya.—*History of Indian Social Organisation.*

—.—*The Caḍak Festival in Bengal.*

N. K. Bhattasali.—*Location of the Land granted by the Nidhanpur Grant of Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa (early 7th century A.D.).* The land is located in Pañcakhaṇḍa in the district of Sylhet, the findspot of the grant.

Chintaharan Chakravarti.—*The Cult of Kālārkarudra (Caḍakapūjā).*

Ibid., vol. II, 1936, no. 1.

SARASI KUMAR SARASWATI.—*Notes on a Fourth Tour in the District of Dinajpur.* Some places and images of antiquity in the district have been noticed.

S. N. CHAKRAVARTI.—*Two Inscriptions from Barakar.* Two inscriptions found on the doors of a Gaṇeśa temple at Barakar in the district of Burdwan dated 1461 and 1546 A.C. record the erection and restoration of the temple.

N. L. BOR.—*The Daflas and their Oaths.*

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.—*Ekānaṃśā and Subhadrā.* Ekānaṃśā mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* as a daughter of Aṅgiras is in the *Harivaṃśa* the goddess Yogakanyā who took her birth as the daughter of Yaśodā to save Kṛṣṇa by deceiving Kaṃsa. The image, as laid down in the *Brahmasaṃhitā*, is constructed along with her brothers Kṛṣṇa and Baladeva. This Ekānaṃśā was later on turned into Subhadrā, as in the Jagannātha temple at Purī, because the former being a Śākta deity was not agreeable to the Vaiṣṇava conception.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,

vol. XXII, part. II (June 1936).

K. P. JAYASWAL.—*On Some Hindu Coins of Pre-Christian Centuries.*

—.—*New Coins of Nāga-Vākāṭaka Period.*

—.—*Rājgir (Maniar Math) Stone Image Inscription* The writings inscribed in the characters of the 1st century A.C. contain names of Mt. Vipula and King Śreṇika.

—.—*An Unrecorded Muhammadan Invasion of Nepal.* It is gathered from an inscription found at Svayambhūnāth in Nepal that the country was invaded by Shamsuddīn Iliyās of Bengal in the middle of the 14th century A.C. but could not be occupied for long.

K. K. BASU.—*An Account of Firoz Shāh Tughlaq.* This is an English translation of a portion of the *Sīrāt-i-Fīrozshāhī*, a contemporary Persian record of the reign of Firoz Shāh, the third Tughlaq Sultan of Delhi.

Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. XII, nos. 1-2 (1936).

P. V. KANE.—*Kalivarjya.* In Purāṇas and Smṛti works certain practices are forbidden in the Kali age. They are discussed in the paper.

W. IVANOW.—*The Sect of Imam Shah in Gujrat.*

H. HERAS.—*The Origin of the so-called Greco-Buddhist School of Sculpture of Gandhāra.*

S. V. VISWANATHA.—*Indian Eras and their Significance.*

Journal of Indian History, vol. XV, part 1 (April 1936).

S. N. PRADHAN.—*Vājasaneya Yājñavalka and his Times.* The writer puts forward arguments in support of his previous thesis that Vājasaneya Yājñavalkya, a contemporary of Janaka, belonged to the period of Janamejaya Pārīkṣita, grandson of Abhimanyu.

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.—*The Raṭṭa Queen Śrīdevī.*

D. D. BHARADVAJ.—*The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and the Gahaḍavālas.*

P. SREENIVASACHARI.—*Madras Museum Plates of the Colas of Renāḍu.*

W. H. MORELAND.—*Monserrate on Akbar's Army.*

BANKEY BEHARI MISRA.—*The Incident of Javli.* The author of the paper believes that Sivaji acquired Javli and Raigarh from Candra Rao as a result of regular battles under political exigency and not by treacherous means.

ISHWAR SAHAI.—*The Educational Reform of Lord William Bentinck.*

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.—*Vedic Monotheism.*

KSHETRESACHANDRA CHATTOPADHYAYA.—*Kālidāsa and the Hūṇas.* The paper points out that Kālidāsa's mention of the Hūṇas in the *Raghuvaṃśa* does not prove that the poet could not have lived before the 5th century A.C. because the Hiung-nu, as the Hūṇas were known in China, had occupied the banks of the Oxus in the first century B.C.

S. HANUMANTA RAO.—*Hindu Religious Movements in Medieval Deccan.*

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GORAKH PRASAD.—*On the Age of the Baudhāyana-śrautasūtra.* An interpretation is suggested for a rule in the *Baudhāyana-śrauta-*

sūtra referring to the rising of the Kṛttikā, Śroṇa, Svātī and Citrā to show that the position of the constellations points to a time in 1330 B.C.

GIUSEPPI TUCCI.—*The Ratnāvalī of Nāgārjuna.* This instalment of the paper contains an English translation of Nāgārjuna's *Ratnāvalī*, a Buddhist work in Sanskrit in the form of a discourse to a king on *dharma* (mystic and spiritual laws).

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VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA.—*Mathurā Terracottas.* The paper deals with the Terracotta figurines at Mathurā divided according to the periods—Primitive, Pre-Maurya, Late Pre-Maurya, Maurya, Suṅga, Kuṣāṇa and Gupta.

NANDALAL CHATTERJI.—*The 'Nawabi' Architecture of Lucknow.*

NITYANANDA MISRA.—*A Note on the Dhikuli and Ujhain Ruins.* Situated 50 miles north-east of Muradabad, Dhikuli is a village containing ruins of an ancient city locally identified with Vairāṭa-pattana. Ujhain is another village containing an old fortress associated with Droṇācārya. It stands one mile to the east of Kashipur.

NANDALAL CHATTERJI.—*Wazir Ali's Conspiracy against the English.*

VASUDEVA S. AGRAWALA.—*A Sanskrit Inscription of the Reign of Sikandar Shah Lodhi.* The inscription records the construction of bridge by Budhana, a Muslim officer of a prominent noble at the time of Sikandar Shah in 1491 A.C.

S. K. BANERJI.—*Babur and the Hindus.* The paper shows that Babur maintained a cordial relation with the Hindus.

BIMALA CHURN LAW.—*Sacred Places of the Jains.*

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NARADA.—*Anatta and Soul.*

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NARAYAN TRIPATHI.—*A few Fasts, Festivals and Observances in Orissa.*

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ABDUL GHAFOOR.—*A Sidelight on Akbar's Genius.* Akbar's breadth of vision and interest in education and invention have been shown by references to the *Ā'ịn-i-Akbarī* and other works.

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G. R. HUNTER.—*The Riddle of Mohenjodaro.* It is inferred that the Brahui lived in Mohenjodaro and the script found there was borrowed from their Austric predecessors.

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S. N. RAY.—*The Problem of Error in Sāṃkhya.*

P. T. RAJU.—*The Nature Vitaṇḍā and its Relation to the Methodology of Advaita.*

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P. K. GODE.—*Ānandabodha's Authorship of Nyāyadīpikā and Limits for his Date.* The purpose of the note is to establish Ānandabodha's authorship of both the *Nyāyamakaranda* and the *Nyāyadīpikā* and to assign him a date between 1050 and 1100 A.C.

K. R. PISHAROTI.—*Bālacaritam.* This instalment of the English translation of Bhāsa's *Bālacarita* contains its concluding part, Acts IV and V.

L. V. RAMASWAMY AIYAR.—*Dravidic Sandhi.*

S. SRIKANTA.—*Foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire and Vidyāraṇya's Part therein.*

C. HAYAVADANA RAO.—*Anthropological Research in India.*

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P. C. MAHALANOBIS.—*A New Theory of Ancient Indian Chronology.* This is a summary of the leading arguments put forward by Girindrashekhar Bose in his Bengali work *Purāṇapraveśa* for establishing his theory that the Purāṇas represent an authentic historical chronicle. The writer of the paper appreciates the statistical calculations made in Bose's work and points out the importance of the new theory.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI.—*A Note on Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis's Paper on "A New Theory of Ancient Indian Chronology."* Doubts are entertained regarding the soundness of the theory propounded in the *Purāṇapraveśa.*

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M. WINTERNITZ.—*Problems of Buddhism.* The question whether the Buddhist scriptures represent the original Buddhism or Gotama Buddha's views regarding the monkish ideal, the four noble truths, the eightfold path and the problems of karman, ātman, nirvāṇa, etc. is discussed in the paper. Admitting that changes have taken place, the writer sees no possibility of all the original doctrines being totally different from those preached in the Buddhist literature, and asserts that from its beginning, Buddhism has been a religion of love.

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Aryan Names in Early Asiatic Records

I

In view of the interesting effort made by N. D. Mironov[1] to determine with some precision the Aryan, Indian, or Iranian character of the Indo-European names found, or believed to be found, in records of Asian affairs in the second millennium B.C., it seems worth while once more to consider in some detail the available evidence. There has been much flux of opinion, and changes of view among scholars, nor is certainty likely soon to be attained.

The Kassite period (1756-1170 B.C.) notoriously yields little. There is Šuriaš, which the Kassite-Babylonian vocabulary equates with the Babylonian Šamaš, and which has long been regarded as equivalent to Sūryas in Sanskrit. Delitzsch and Hüsing do not accept this explanation. The matter is far from certain. The same remark applies to Marutaš with the variant Marattaš, which is equated with the Babylonian En-urta, the War-god. It is certainly possible to compare Marut with the former form of the name, but the termination is curious. In Šuryaš we can imagine the nominative taken over from the original; in Marutaš the form would be nominative plural, which would be in accord with the regular use of the plural in Sanskrit; but contrary to the equation with Babylonian En-urta. In this case there is room for even more doubt than in the case of Šuriaš.

1 *Acta Orientalia*, XI, 141-217. The dates given are always open to dispute.

Doubt is much stronger in the case of Šumalia, the goddess of mountains, found in an inscription of Nebukadnezar I (*c.* 1150 B.C.), with a variant Šimalia. Hommel's connection of the word with Avestan *zima*, Sanskrit *hima*, and 'Himālaya' ignores the fact that the last word is late, and offers no parallel for Šumalia. Mironov's suggestion is to find a parallel in *sumālī*, archaic *sumāliā*, *sumālyā*, as an epithet, 'having a beautiful wreath, garland,' but that is very unconvincing; there is no obvious reason why so colourless an epithet should become the style of the mountain goddess. Even less convincing is the idea that Šugamuna, equated with Babylonian Nergal, the plague god, and found in an inscription as Šuqamuna, is Vedic *śúcamāna* or *śócamāna*, the participle of *śuc*, 'shine,' 'burn.' The Kassite vocabulary actually gives Šu-ga-ab as equivalent to Nergal, which fully justifies Pinches[2] in explaining Šugamuna as *šuga* plus *muna*, destroying the probability of the participal form, which in any case is open to grave question. Whether *g* or *q* is read, there is divergence from *śúcamāna*, and *-muna* is quite un-Vedic. No more convincing is the suggestion that the name of the fifth king of the first Kassite dynasty, Abirattaš, is to be equated to a possible Sanskrit Abhiratha, comparable with Vedic *adhiratha*, 'charioteer.' It is argued in favour of this view that it was this dynasty which introduced the horse into Babylonia, but that is clearly an error. There seems no doubt that the animal was known there under the son of Hammurabi long before the advent of the Kassites.[3] It must also be remembered, as Wolf[4] has pointed out, that the horse is mentioned in the Cappadocian tablets of the second half of the third millennium B.C.

Mironov's further suggestion that the Babylonian and Assyrian word for 'horse,' *sisū*, is derived from Sanskrit *śiśu*, child, through specialization to mean 'foal, colt,' and then generalization, is rendered very improbable *inter alia* by the absence of any evidence of early use of *śiśu* in this way.

There are some further suggestions which are no less unattractive. The term *Bugaš* is said in compounds to mean 'god,' whether generally

2 *JRAS.*, 1917, p. 109.

3 Keith, *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, p. 83.

4 *ZDMG.*, 1929, p. 72.

or as some specific deity is uncertain. Naturally we are asked to compare the Vedic *Bhaga*, Old Persian *baga*, Slav. *bogu*, 'god,' but the vowel is wrong, the Russian Tungus have *buga*, 'supreme,' and the comparison is most unconvincing. A byname of the king Nazibugaš is given as Šuzigaš, which Scheftelowitz compares with a hypothetic Sanskrit *sujigaṣ*, 'victorious.' Everything about this is unattractive; the form is not used in Sanskrit, and the supposed *a* is quite wrong. His comparison of Kara, found in several names of kings but without a Babylonian interpretation, with Old Persian *kara*, 'army,' lacks any probability, as does his further explanation of the royal name Karaburiaš as *karabhara*, 'lord of the host.' Hommel prefers comparison with Greek Boreas, the north wind, while the element *yas* can be compared with the Kassite *yašu*, 'land,' which Delitzsch finds also in Šuriaš. The first part may be connected with Kassite *burna*, which appears in the royal name Burnaburiaš rendered in Babylonian as 'protected by the lord of the lands.' Scheftelowitz makes this mean 'lord of the subjects,' comparing Lithuanian *bernas*, servant, but the suggestion seems quite unacceptable.

The language of the Kassites is otherwise free from elements of European character, being rather of Asianic affinities and having much in common with Elamite. The words alleged to be Aryan are found compounded with Kassite words, as in Šagarakti-šuriaš, Nazimarutaš, and it is very difficult to feel any assurance that there are any true Aryan elements in the terms preserved. There is, of course, no historical reason to object to the presence of such elements, but the facts are suggestive that, if there were Aryan elements in the ruling family, they were early submerged.

II

There is more novelty in the suggestions of Mironov regarding Aryan elements in the records of the Hyksos kings in Egypt whom he assigned to 1675-1575 B.C., though other authorities give 1800-1600 and the question is admittedly at present beyond certainty. There are of course current views which favour the presence among the Hyksos, in the main Semitic, of Hittite and Aryan elements; thus Ed. Meyer[5]

5 *Geschichte des Altertums* (ed. 1928), II i. 41, 42.

treated them as ruled by the same elements as were later dominant in Palestine and Syria, Harrians or Aryans. This view stresses the evidence of cultural points, the introduction of the horse and of iron, treated as specifically Indo-European and Aryan, but this view has not gone without criticism; thus Wolf[6] stresses the Semitic character of the Hyksos, and, admitting a foreign admixture, will not admit that it was Aryan or even, as Götze holds, Mitannian. The evidence of languge would thus be important if it were at all clear. Unhappily this is far from being the case. Thus Mironov sees in Manetho's Apakhnan Sanskrit *apaghnan*, 'repelling,' 'destroying,' but as usual there is no evidence of the use of such a name in Vedic or later; Amitraghāta or Amitrakhāda, whence Amitrokhates in Greek, is a very different thing. Bnon is compared with a hypothetical Sanskrit *vanána*, 'conquering,' Avestan *vanana*, 'conqueror,' 'victor.' It is no more plausible than Aseth equated with Sanskrit *vaśitā*, 'one who dominates,' and Kertos with *kartā*, 'he who does,' where the *s* is the Greek nominative, and *o* is equal to *ā*; in Bnon it is made equivalent to *á*.

The Egyptianised names give even more scope for guess work. Thus Apophis in Josephus is Apopi, and is equated by Mironov with *apabhid*, 'one who repels (the enemy)'. The *d* is disposed of by the theory that in the dialect whence the word was borrowed it might have dropped out, as in Old Persian, or there might have been an Aryan *apabhis*, *d* dropped before *s*. But *apāpī*, sinless, is also conceivable, and there is the Greek Akakios to support the use as a proper name. There is far more than is attractive in the comparison of the name of the Hyksos capital Auaris with Sanskrit *āvāra*, rendered 'shelter'. Unluckily for this guess we have the name on a Hyksos monument as He-w'r and on another monument giving the list of names of Ramses it appears as He-w'r-t, and it is really impossible to accept the *āvāra* comparison in face of these forms, which are plainly more primitive than the Greek.

Even more hopeless are the Hyksos names which are preserved in Egyptian, which as is well-known presents most uncertain renderings.

6 *ZDMG.*, 1929, pp. 67 ff.

The chief Semqen is rendered by the possible *sumaghān* which is certainly unattractive; Spiegelberg's Śumukīn is far more plausible. Qar is related to the Sanskrit root *kṛ*, or Old Persian *kara*, already resorted to for Kassite names and, most implausible of all, the alleged name of a queen Tauti is Sanskrit Tavatī, 'powerful'. Sutekh, the name of the Hyksos' god, becomes Sutik, nominative of *sutij*, a possible form, with the sense *sutejas*. There are added three suggestions of the Aryan character of words found in Egyptian, but not shown to the Hyksos terms. The first is *ssmt*, 'horse,' supposed to be from *śiśu*; the second *wrrjt*, 'battle-chariot,' supposed to be *vara-ratha*; the last *tu-t-k-n*, some medicine used as an eye ointment, which is referred to the Sanskrit *tutthaka*,[7] 'blue vitriol,' 'collyrium,' and more specially to *tutthakaṃ* with nasalized vowel to explain the nasal. *tutthaka* itself is asserted to be a Prākrit form of *tūrta*, so that we would have in the 16th century B.C., the probable date of the Papyrus Ebers, evidence of the existence of Prākritic forms. Unfortunately the whole suggestion seems without value.

The net result seems frankly negative. There is nothing in the Hyksos material which has any cogency or attractiveness. There may have been Aryan rulers; all that language shows is that these rulers are not revealed by this form of evidence.

III

We are on much firmer ground when we come to the names in the Amarna letters (*c.* 1380-1350 B.C.) Artamanya certainly suggests possible Iranian *artamanya* and Sanskrit *ṛtamanya*, and we have the Persian name in Greek form as Artamenes, or Artamnes. Arzawiya is less clear; Sanskrit *ārjava*, *ṛju*, 'honest', Avestan *arəzwa*, *ərəzu* are possible sources, but Meyer compares Avestan *arəza* 'battle', while Hittite has also been invoked. Biriamaza, name of an Egyptian officer, is put as Sanskrit *vīryavāja*, 'one who owns the prize of prowess', Iranian being ruled out as it has not the equivalent of *vāja*. Biridaśwa is explained as *bṛhadaśva*, or *pṛdaśva*, or *vṛddhāśva*, with Sanskrit *aśva*, not Iranian *aspa* or *asa*; but it is also claimed as Mitannian or

7 *Uṇādisūtra*, ii, 7.

Hittite. Iranian affinity is clear in Biridiya, for we have Bardiya, younger son of Cyrus; whatever the sense may be the *d* points to Old Persian affinities. Much less plausible is the derivation of Višitanu, a man in Šumur, from Avestan *peśotanū*, 'he whose body is polluted,' which occurs as a proper name. Dašru, a Syrian chief, cannot reasonably be derived from Sanskrit *daśra*, 'wonderworking', still less from an imaginary *daśru*, the source of *aśru*, 'tear', supposed to mean 'biting'. Nor is Etagama, ruler of Kinza, naturally derived from Sanskrit *etagama*, 'quickly going,' a purely hypothetic compound. Indarūta, chief of Akšapa, is made out by Sieg to be Indrota, a name found in the *Ṛgveda* and later. It must be noted, however, that the original forms are *en-dar-u-ta* or *in-tar-u-da*. We have also the Hittite name Endarwa, which has been held by Forrer to include Indra with a Harri gentive ending *wa*.

Pharao's messenger Irimayaš(š)a is explained as a hypothetical Old Persian *arimai-asa*, 'one who owns a quiet horse', but this is wholly unlikely. Herodotus' Arimaspoi are rather 'possessors of wild horses', Tomaschek believes. The chief Mayarzana is possible Māhvarzāna, 'protected by the moon god', clearly Iranian; we have Iranian *varzāna*, with Greek Barzanes. Mironov believes Namyawaza to be *nāmyavāja*, 'one who owns a glorious prize,' but *nāmya* in this sense is not common in Indian as he states, and *nāmya*, 'flexible', certainly does not make much sense; *nāmya*, 'to be honoured' is conceivable. Rušmanya may be the possible Sanskrit *rucimanya*, 'honouring light'. Šatiya may be *satya*, 'true', though that is not Vedic as a proper name. Vedic Subandhu gives plausibility to Šubandu as Indian. Šumitta may rather be Sumitra than Sumedha, Šutarna may be *sutaraṇa*, 'helping well', rather than the conceivable *sudharṇi*, connected with Vedic *dharṇi*. Šutatna, on the other hand, has variants Zatatna, Zitatna, and neither Mironov's *sūtatana*, 'to whom a son has been born', nor Scheftelowitz's *sūtatana*, 'son of a charioteer', is plausible.

We are on firmer ground in the case of Šuwardata, which can justly be equated with Svardāta, 'given by the sun'. On the other hand Taḫmaš(š)i is clearly Egyptian, not the theoretic Old Persian Taxmās(s)a, 'one who owns strong horses.' Teuwatti is not likely to

be *dyavātta*, 'given by heaven,' with instrumental prior member, nor *dyav-ātta*, but rather Mitannian. Turbazu is uncertain; *turabāzu*, 'of strong arms,' would be an Iranian word, the loss of *a* being compared with Rušmanya, itself dubious; if equivalent to Turvasu, epic variant of Vedic Turvaśa, it would be Indian, but neither derivation is cogent. That Widya, chief of Askalon, is Sanskrit *vedya*, 'to be known,' seems very strange and most unlikely. Yašdata is more promising, but *yaśodatta*, 'given by the glory,' as taken by Scheftelowitz,[8] involves the loss of *o*, as well as an unexpected use of *yaśas;* a theoretic Avestan *yazadāta*, 'given by the sacrifice' is conceivable, while haplology for *yazdadāta*, itself for *yazata*, is unlikely. Middle Persian has, of course, *yazdāt*, and the possibility of far evolved forms is supported by the analogy of the forms Kundašpi and Kuštašpi found in Commagene in the 9th and 8th centuries B.C., provided of course that these are really for Vindāspa and Vištāspa, and are not to be explained as Asianic. But the name is not wholly cleared up. Nor is Zirdamyašda, which is thought to be Iranian *zṛdamyasda*, 'one who offers the heart', but is also variously divided, Meyer finding *yazda* in it. Zurata, brother of Biridiya, may be *suratha*, 'having a good chariot; if so, we have brothers of Iranian and Indian name forms respectively. We need not take seriously Zurašar, as *surāṣṭra*, or Zitrayara as Iranian *cithprayāra*, 'one who own multifarious crops,' or Benamāya as son of Amāya, Sanskrit *amāya*, 'free from guile'.

Of place names two are offered, Šunama in Palestine is made out to be *sunāmā*, 'the glorious (city)', Akšapa, ruled by Indarūta, *akṣāpā*, 'the indestructible'; neither has any plausibility.

The net result is to diminish greatly the alleged Indo-European words to be found in the Amarna letters, but to leave a reasonable certainty of the existence of such elements.

IV

The Mitanni evidence from 1475-1280 B.C. is interesting. Artašumara, the king, suggests the Aryan prototype of a possible Sanskrit *ṛtasmara*, 'mindful of right'. In that case the *u* is graphic

8 *KZ.*, xxxviii, 271.

rather than Prākritic, that is, the original did not include it, but in Mitanni it was pronounced or at least written. Artatāma may be the Aryan equivalent of Vedic *ṛtadhāman*, 'one who abides in righteousness'; Mitanni has surds in its own words, and therefore can easily confuse sonant and surd. Scheftelowitz's explanation as the superlative of *ṛta* founders on the *tāma*, while Konow's adduction of the Dhātupāṭha root *tam*, 'desire,' is unconvincing. The derivation of Dāšartī from the hypothetical *dāsartī*, 'enemy of barbarians,' the long final being due to the stress[9] of the accent, seems far-fetched and unlikely. Artatāma's grandson Dušratta may have an Aryan name, but it is not easy to explain with certainty. It is difficult to suppose *dužratha*, 'one who owns a bad chariot,' is meant; *duśraddha*, 'hard to overcome,' is suggested by Scheftelowitz, and *duśśratha*, 'difficult to disable,' by Mironov, making the word definitely Indian. Mattiuaza is far from clear, Konow takes it as Sanskrit *mātivāja*, 'meting out prizes,' comparing *dātivāra;* Mironov thinks *mathivāja* could mean 'possessing a power destroying (the enemy),' which is impossible.[10] An Asianic etymology is by no means impossible. Saušsatar, king of Harri, is held by Konow to be equivalent to Sanskrit Saukṣatra, 'descendant of Sukṣatra'; but, while *su* is Indian, the latter part of the compound is rather Iranian in form. On the other hand, Šuttarna is uncertain; *sudharṇa*, 'very strong,' is hypothetic, though the double *t* is comparable with Dušratta, if that is really Duśśratha, but that is dubious.

The Mitanni gods Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Nāsatya, though they present many difficulties are undoubtedly Indian, if not Aryan. Mitra and Varuṇa, it is said, must be understood not as individuals but as groups. This is very curious, for the obvious explanation that Mitra stands for Mitra and Varuṇa is rendered difficult, when Varuṇa occurs, presumably for Varuṇa and Mitra. Nāsatya again appears with the Harri plural ending, though in Vedic there are two Nāsatyas; *maria*, warrior, is naturally compared with Vedic *marya*, though a Subarean and an Austro-Asiatic etymology have been put forward.

9 The Vedic accent was not a stress accent as this argument seems to assume.

10 Mativāja, 'whose strength is prayer' is a variant.

All else is of no value. Mitanni *šarmu* is of uncertain meaning so that comparison with *śarman* leads nowhere. *Paratitinu* is not much clearer, so that to compare *paritatnu*, 'surrounding,' is unconvincing, *urukmānnu*, part of a shield, is only vaguely like Vedic *rukma*, and *wirat*, ruler, is far from likely to be the nominative of *virāj* stereotyped. The capital of the kingdom Waššugganni only vaguely resembles *vasuka*, from the root *vas*.

It will be seen how hypothetical much of all this is, partly because of the extreme variation of spelling by the scribes who may have been specially confused by foreign words. It is thus very difficult to pronounce whether the forms are Aryan, Iranian or Indian. The question is complicated by the fact that the forms may be proto-Iranian without being Aryan, and certainty is really impossible. This is of special importance in the case of words with *s* in place of Iranian *h*. Did early Iranian preserve *s*? Bloomfield[11] thought that Median did, and *Šutirna* is a dubious reading in Sargon's list of Median chiefs. Konow[12] cited Bashgali as an Iranian dialect preserving *s*, but that may be due to Indian influence. Stephanus of Byzantium gives Daai and Dasai as variant names of a Scythian tribe.

There are certain names which are without significant character as Iranian or Indian, while they seem Indo-European or Aryan. These include, for Amarna, Artamanya, Rušmanya, Turbazu and Yašdata; for Mitanni, Artašumara, Artatāma and Mitra. Definitely Indian forms are hard to find. Mironov sees Indian monophthongs as opposed to Aryan and Iranian diphthongs in Widya and Šumitta, believed to be Vedya and Sumedha,[13] but there is no certainty in these comparisons. But the script does not let us discriminate between Indian palatals and Iranian sibilants, or Indian aspirates and Iranian spirants, so that all that can be said that Šuwardata seems more Indian than Aryan, as *sv* is *hv* in Avestan and *f* in Old Persian. But this seems frankly untenable; no reason is given for denying that *suwardāta* would be a good Aryan form. Mironov sees Indian innovations in Šumitta as *sumedha*,

11 *American Journal of Philology*, XXVI, 1 ff.
12 *JRAS.*, 1911, pp. 1 ff.
13 There is some confusion here; Mironov really thinks *e*=*az*.

with *e* for Aryan *az*, and in *wirat* for *virāṭ*, but neither example has any cogency. So far as the proof goes, we have nothing certainly Indian as opposed to Aryan, though we may interpret certain forms as Indian if we find other evidence of Indian speech proper.

Of clear Iranian forms Mironov stresses Biridiya, on the score of the *d* corresponding to an original *gh*, distinctive of Persian. It must be noted that he assigns the origin of his brother's name Zurata, to Indian *suratha* and his son Šutatna to Indian *sūtatana*, which makes a curious mixture of names in one family and seems improbable. He finds the non-Persian dialect in Zirdamyašda, but that is a very dubious word, and certainly proof is lacking. Mayarzana may be Iranian but that is uncertain, and Zitrayara is quite unlikely, as are the Persian forms alleged in Irimayašši and Tahmašši. Certainly we cannot be sure even of distinctive Iranian forms, and the differentiation into dialects is clearly not proved.

V

From the Hittite period (1400-1200 B.C.) Mironov can adduce but a few names, most quite dubious. Endarwa, a court dignitary of king Hattušil, may possibly have Indra as first element, but this is far from proved. Lupaka, a general, is surely not *lopāka* or *lopāśa*, 'jackal'; Šuwara, a mountain, cannot be *svar*, 'heaven', nor Abimadraš *abhimarda*, 'oppression', even if he was a king of the Amurru. Summittaraš as the name of a prince reminds us of Šumitta above; it may be Sumitra, but it is to be noted that the princes regularly have non-Aryan names, and some other explanation may be due.

Much more important is the evidence from the Boghazkeui treatise on horses. We have the numerals *aika*, *tera* in *teravartanna* or *teortana*, *panza*, *šatta* and *nava*, presumably in *navartanni* by haplology or clerical error. Mironov conjectures *winiselL(a)* and *wiyeš(a)* denoting two, but this may be ruled out. In *auzamewa* or *auzameša* he sees an original infinitive *ávājam eva* with *samprasāraṇa*, most improbably, and his comparison of *ganza*, 'horse fodder,' with *gañja* 'a plant with bitter berries,' will not do; nor is *uzuhri*, another fodder, likely to be *cukrā*, a sour herb. *Šittanna*, 'drive,' is not likely to be *sedhana*, for *sidh* means 'repel,' nor *nišuwanui* to come from *niṣuvaṇa*. *tapaššaš*

'plague,' certainly seems to be *tapas*, despite the curious form. *Vaśanna* 'track,' has a genetive written *vaśannaśaya*, which is probably graphic for *-sya*, and so Aryan or Indian, though there is no corresponding word in use in Sanskrit. *Vartanna*, 'round,' suggests the root *vṛt*. *Terortanna*, if that be meant, is a curious form; Mironov suggests *tṛvartana* as primitive, but that explains nothing, nor can we say if we are to suppose that *o* was really *au;* compare *aika*.

It is very difficult to draw any useful conclusions from these scanty data. We may say that they strengthen the view that Indian speech proper may have existed in the lands in question, but it is very difficult to stress this point. *aika* certainly is older than our records;[14] the Prātiśākhyas and Pāṇini alike know *e* as a monophthong. *Satta* with its Prākritic appearance cannot be seriously pressed. Still less can we devise any effective argument in favour of the view[15] that the extension of Indo-Aryan civilization into Mesopotamia took place after the bulk of the *Ṛgveda* came into existence, or that the oldest parts of the collection would have to be considered considerably older than the Mitanni treaty, where the names of the gods are found. We are quite unable to prove that the gods were Indian gods and not those of an outlying branch of the Aryan family. We must recognise that that division of the Indo-European race must have been scattered over a wide area, and that only in certain cases have we records of their speech. The process of differentiation must have been working steadily, and it is probably best to recognise the limits of our knowledge as based on our evidence. To assume that Indian and Iranian were clearly distinguished and that we find Indians and Iranians inter-mingling,[16] as in Mironov's treatment of the names Biridiya, Šutatna and Zurata is decidedly confusing, and rather implausible. To hold that in an area of speech, which definitely can be marked out as Aryan compared to other branches of Indo-European speech, there were dialectical variations, of which are preserved to us the Indian and the Iranian, is much simpler.[17] But

14 *Aiṭugama* is an Amarnan variant of *Etagama*, but its Indo-European character is very speculative.

15 Konow, *The Aryan Gods of the Mitanni People*, p. 39.

16 Cf. Meyer, *op. cit.*, II. i: 37, 38.

17 Cf. Keith, *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume*, pp. 80-83.

consideration of the arguments on this issue must be reserved for another occasion. All that need be said is that it is quite illegitimate to ignore the possibility of the existence of dialects within Aryan, one of which may easily have shown traits common to the later Indian and Iranian respectively, if its speakers were in touch with the areas in which, on the one hand, Indian and, on the other, Iranian varieties of Aryan were being evolved.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH

The Administrative System of Sher Shah

Sher Shah left behind him many traditions of his achievements. Even in the days of Akbar, the Mughal historians writing purposely for the imperial eye were willing to praise him and talk of his reign as a golden age. When we remember that he had founded his dynasty by expelling Akbar's father from India, we shall have to admit that these praises of his government cannot but be based on truth. It is unfortunate therefore that no thorough attempt has been made hitherto to describe his administrative machinery in detail. It is the purpose of this article to make such an attempt.

When Sher Shah came to the throne, he inherited the Pathan system of administration as modified by Babar and Humayun. His historians have told us much about his own modifications of this system but we can get a true picture of it only if we try to remember that Sher Shah was successor to a system already shaped and moulded by centuries of development. The pivot of this system was the emperor himself. But even a Sher Shah could not do all the work of the state himself. He was served well by a band of secretaries who were permanent heads of different departments. There were three civilian secretaries. The Vakil was the chief secretary who seems to have been in the general charge of the secretariat establishment and probably dealt with such problems as were not definitely assigned to any other department. The Wazir was the financial secretary. He was in charge of the revenue department and looked after accounts and audit as well. The third department was mainly concerned with the correct drafting of imperial orders and may have looked after the records of the government. A military secretary helped the emperor in carrying out his military policy particularly the question of assignments for salaries. These four secretaries completed the secular side of the state activities. We find them functioning under the palmy days of the Sultanate and we find them working under Humayun as well. There is no reason to believe that, despite the fact that his historians credit him with almost super-human activities in supervising the work of the state, Sher Shah dis-

pensed with the services of these officials whom he found quietly carrying on the work of the government.[1]

The Mughals had brought with them artillery as an effective weapon of warfare. Under Babar and Humayun, the artillery was under a Mir-i-Atish. Sher Shah frequently made use of the artillery, and must have continued this Mughal addition to the military command.

On the ecclesiastical side, Sher Shah continued unabated the high position of the Muslim theologians in the state. The highest church dignitary was the Sadr who, besides dispensing royal charity, acted as the highest judicial officer under the emperor. The Sadr enjoyed great power as the spiritual guide of the monarch. As the recognized exponent of the Muslim Law and tradition, he was the repository of the faith as much for the king, as for his subjects. He was the only institution that could lawfully challenge the acts of the king. Sher Shah paid great respect to his Sadr and was even prepared to perform menial personal services for him in public. Priest ridden as the pre-Akbar Muslim state in India was, the position of the Sadr cannot be exaggerated.

The Chief Qazi constituted the highest criminal court in the realm. Even the emperor could not override his interpretation of the law, though he could question and even upset his findings on facts in any case. The Quranic law and the Muslim tradition formed the criminal public law of the land and as the Qazi was its chief interpreter, his authority could only be challenged by finding another exponent of the law who would publicly question the chief Qazi's interpretation. Such a contingency carried dismissal from office with it. Thus as long as a Qazi was in office his authority was unchallenged.

The chief Muhtsib was the religious censor on the one hand and a supervisor of markets on the other. As a censor he reported the transgressions against the Muslim Law to the appropriate authorities and secured the observance of restrictions and restraints put upon

1 High Officials, Vakil, and Wazir are referred to by 'Abbās as existing under Sher Shah. *Public Library MS.*, p. 143; cf. Humayun's organization of government in Khawand Mīr in Elliot, V, pp. 121, 124.

the followers of other religions. He must have supervised the collection of the Jizya on the non-Muslims.[2]

These eight officers formed the central government under the general supervision and control of the king. Sher Shah kept all the strings of government in his own hands. He had no ministers but kept secretaries. He had no governors as such and kept tight control over all that happened even in the most distant parts of his empire. He rose early, bathed and said his prayers. Early in the morning he started his day by giving audience to his secretaries and other great officials. Then he received the reports of his spies and reporters. This enabled him to issue his orders of the day before it was time again to say his prayers a second time. Then after breakfast would begin the ceremonious business of the day. The great nobles and famous army leaders would be first admitted to royal audience after which the king would hold his court. There Sher Shah would dispense justice without fear or favour. All were equally confident of securing justice at his hands. No criminal howsoever high could shelter himself behind his rank and office. The later generations have handed down marvellous stories of his ingenuity and impartiality.[3] It would be too much to believe in all of them but the general impression cannot be resisted that Sher Shah had carved out a name for himself for even-handed justice. This would be followed by his holding a review of troops. His chroniclers would have us believed that he branded every horse himself.[4] We think this would have been too much even for a Sher Shah. He may have however supervised the branding operations and thus secured due observance of his orders. This done, treasury would claim his attention. The cash in hand in different Hakumats and the money remitted therefrom would be reported and commented upon. Then the accounts of the collectors of land revenue of crown lands would be looked into. The applicants for several high posts would then be examined and posted.

2 Sadr and Muhtsib are spoken of as some of the officers serving under Salim Shah, Firishta, 356. Dāudī, 204, refers to Qazis under Sher Shah.

3 *Khulāsat-ut-Tawārīkh*, p. 322.

4 Dāudī, 190; 'Abbās, MS., 144; Mushtāqī (in E. & D., vol. V, p. 550), mentions Inspectors of branding.

to their various jobs. After thus working for most of the time, Sher Shah would call it a day and retire to rest to face another equally ardous day.[5]

This routine was interrupted by the frequent warfare in which Sher Shah passed his life. Humayun was defeated in the battle of Qanauj in May, 1540. Sher Shah died on 22 May, 1545. In these five years he packed the conquests of a life time. He captured Delhi in 1540, conquered the Punjab, defeated the Gakkhars, plotted to overthrow Mirza Haider in Kashmir, and hurried back to Bengal to put down rebellion in 1541. He conquered Malwa, and threatened Jodhpur in 1542. In 1543 he conquered Raisin and built New Delhi. The year 1544, saw the conquest of Jodhpur, Chitor, and Ajmir. The whole of the year 1545 to his death was spent in the siege of Kalinjar. All these expeditions claimed his personal attention and it is difficult to imagine his being able to devote as much attention to the details of administration as his daily time-table shows. What seems to have happened is that Sher Shah succeeded in infusing his spirit in the routine work of the administration which was carried on as usual by the much maligned secretariat officials at the headquarters.

There was one task, however, which the emperor alone could perform. There were no scales of pay, and there was no system of examination for public services. Naturally all appointments in the imperial ranks were made by the emperor. He fixed the salary of every candidate for office.[6] We are told that officers were transferred every third year with a view to give every one of them equal opportunities for making money.[7] But as his reign did not extend beyond five years and as the larger part of the country was annexed during the last three years it is difficult to be sure that this rule had much chance of being applied in practice.

As we have already seen, Sher Shah did not favour devolution of authority. Thus the empire was not divided into provinces except in Bengal to begin with. Fifty garrison towns were made the seats of

5 'Abbās, MS. 141, 142; Dāudī, MS. 189-192.

6 Dāudī, 192. 7 'Abbās, 146.

military commanders who kept the surrounding country in awe by their show of military force.[8] For fiscal purposes the country was divided into Parganahs and though the Parganahs were grouped together into larger units, these never became real units of administration. They resembled the modern divisions under the commissioners in mostly acting as an official channels of communication—and that not always—between the local authorities in the Parganah and the imperial secretariat.[9] Sher Shah tried for some time to keep Bengal as an independent administrative unit. But he soon discovered that this let loose disruptive tendencies remaining the local officials of the once independent kingdom of Bengal. It was subdivided therefore and though an official was given the charge of the province as a whole, care was taken by appointing a theologian, Qazi Fasih, to the task to see that such disruptive tendencies did not occur again.[10] The most famous of his commander-governors was Khwas Khan who was posted in the North West Frontier in Rohtas.

The absence of any effective intermediaries between the king and his officers in the Parganah rendered a development of the postal system necessary. He did not introduce the system as an innovation. He improved upon the existing machinery. Every Hakim, every leader of the expedition, and every collector of land revenue were expected to keep the emperor daily posted about important administrative and military problems. The postal runners used all means of conveyance and wonderful stories have been told of their endurance and long and swift journeys.[11] Thus whatever happened and wherever it happened was at once reported to the emperor. No commander could present the emperor with an accomplished fact and leave him with no option but to follow his official's lead. No leader of the expedition could leave the emperor in the dark about his difficulties and then leave his work un-

8 *Akbar Nāmā*, I, p. 196; Dāudī, 193, 'Abbās, 146-7. The following garrison towns are mentioned.

Rohtas, Dipalpur, Multan, Malot, Delhi, Sambhal, Qanoj, Gwalior, Biana, Ranthamber, Chittor, Mandu, Raisen, Chunar, Dhandhera, Jodhpur, Ajmer, Nagore, Lucknow, Kalpi and Bajwara.

9 Dāudī, 192.

10 'Abbās, 121-22.

11 'Abbās, 155-56.

done and slink away. Besides these despatches sent by his own officials, Sher Shah seems to have employed his own secret agents as well who kept him informed of what was happening in and around his dominions. The rebellious desires of his governor of Bengal were at once reported to him to enable him to nip the evil in the bud. Humayun's negotiations with Maldev at once found an echo in Sher Shah's court and he was able to scotch the planned combination of the Rathors and the Mughals at once. When Shajat Khan in Malwa misappropriated the lands meant for his soldiers to his own use, Sher Shah learnt of it without much delay. Thus the postal arrangements and the spy system enabled Sher Shah to face his difficulties before they were ripe for mischief.

The spy system and postal arrangements depended for their success on efficient means of communication. Sher Shah paid full heed to this aspect of the problem. As in the Roman empire all roads led to Rome, similarly under Sher Shah all roads converged at Agra. The Grand Trunk Road led from Agra to Rothas on one side and the extremities of Bengal on the other thus traversing some 1500 *koses*. Another road led from Agra to Burhanpur outside Suri dominions. Jodhpur and Agra were connected through Ajmer by the third. The road between Agra and Delhi was made safer and more convenient. The only road outside the Agra system was the one connecting Lahore and Multan. Mile pillars indicated the distance travelled. Fruit trees were planted on both the sides of the roads and vegetable gardens seem to have been set up at least in the vicinity of post houses. He had intended to depopulate both the sides of the road between Lahore and the frontier and set up villiages of Afghans in order to safeguard against future Mughal invasions. He had, however, no time for putting this into practice.[12]

Post houses on every stage formed another remarkable feature of the system. Here two horses were always kept ready to be placed at the disposal of any postal messenger carrying royal post. There were seventeen hundred Serais spread all over the Suri dominions. Here a

12 'Abbās, 149-50; Dāudī, 187 to 189.

manager looked after the whole establishment which included a separate royal rest house, a mosque with a caller to prayers and a copy of the Quran for the religiously minded, separate resting places for the Hindu and Muslim travellers, free kitchens for the Hindu and the Muslim poor, and Hindu and Muslim cooks at the service of those who wanted to avail themselves thereof. A porter looked after the weary travellers when they slept.[13] He closed the doors of the Serai at prescribed hours every evening. When the morning came, he roused them and requested them to look after their belongings and when every one had been satisfied that every thing was safe, he opened the doors. It is doubtful how far the Hindus availed themselves of the free royal kitchens that were a part of the system. Nor is it possible to ascertain how far the services of the Hindu cooks were utilized. Their rigid caste system must have made any frequent use of these two institutions very improbable. They seem to have been meant probably for the convenience of the postal messengers many of whom must have been Hindus. The free kitchens formed a part of the royal charities. Fodder for the horses and the oxen of the travellers was also procurable here and a weary traveller could always look with pleasant anticipation to the end of his day's journey. The land revenue of the surrounding territory was set apart for the maintenance of the Serais.

It is customary to credit Sher Shah with the construction of all these roads. Government, much less civilized existence, would have been impossible without some sort of roads in mediæval India. Babar had planned a road from Agra to Kabul with mile post at every mile, towers every 9 miles, and post houses every eighteen miles. In Babar's scheme these were to be maintained by the state if situated in crown lands and by the Jagirdars if in the Jagirdar's lands.[14] Babar must have carried out a part of his programme. Sidi Ali Rais travelling earlier in Humayun's reign had complained of lack of ferries and bridges on the roads.[15] The road to Burhanpur could not have been all made by Sher Shah as part of it passed outside his territories. It is

13 A. *Ibid.*

14 *Babur Nāmā*, 413.

15 Vembery, 69.

thus doubtful whether all that Sher Shah reorganized was really built up by him. Seventeen hundred Serais two koses apart would have covered a distance of about 34,00 koses or 68,00 miles. Their maintenance must have cost the state a large amount. Serais two *koses* apart would have been an unjustifiable luxury and no account of later times bears out their existence at such short distances.[16]

Making reservation for all kinds of exaggeration, we will have to admit that if Sher Shah over-centralized administration, he took adequate measures for the purpose of meeting some of its dangers. The postal system, the existence of secret agents, the efficient means of communication and the foundation of these Serais-*cum*-post houses served the purpose of minimizing some of the dangers born of this centralization.

It is necessary to warn the reader against anticipating modern postal development in Sher Shah's reign. His postal agency was exclusively for the purpose of serving the ends of the state. It served no other customer except the emperor. As we find later on under the Mughals, even the officials could not use it for any but imperial purposes.

Sher Shah's fame rests chiefly on his revenue system. Yet when modern description of his revenue administration are taken into account, one again has the feeling of being left in the air. Unfortunately contemporary accounts of Ābbās and Nizām-ud-Dīn do not contain any very lucid description of the system itself as it prevailed when Sher Shah became the ruler of the country. We have, however, a rather wordy description of the method which Sher Shah followed as an agent of his father who was a jagidar under the Lodhis. There are stray references to his practices in the *Āin* as well. Piecing them together it is possible to form a just estimate of the results obtained though less practicable to understand his actual administrative practices. That Sher Shah's assessment was so just as to form an ideal towards which Akbar's officers were striving is a striking

16 We are told by Firishta that Salim Shah added 17 serais more. In 990 A.H. Akbar gave orders for more serais to be built—*Akbar Nama*, III, 300.

testimony to Sher Shah's handiwork.[17] But we have to remember that even William the Conqueror, claimed to rule with the help of the laws of Edward, the Confessor. The *Āīn-i-Ākabarī's* praise of Sher Shah's achievement, therefore, can be as much an apology for new methods adopted by Akbar as was the statement of William's chroniclers. It would be surprising otherwise to explain why Akbar needed so much experimentation before he could reach that method of assessment which has been called Todar Mal's assessment and for which after-ages praised Todar Mal so much. It is however possible to agree with the *Āīn* when it tells us that Sher Shah took a step in advance of the existing practices by introducing measurement in place of the system of sharing the crop.[18] Elsewhere we are told that the Muqudam collected ⅓ of the produce (for the state) and left two thirds to the cultivator.[19] This is all that we have been specifically told by Sher Shah's historians about his revenue system.

But all this needs elucidation. To begin with just as one cannot talk of one system of revenue assessment under the British administration today, similarly it is difficult to talk of one prevailing all over the country under Sher Shah. A Dastār-ul-'Amal of the seventeenth century talks of six systems of land revenue assessment prevailing in Mughal India.[20] We know from the *Āīn* that in Sindh the system of sharing the crop prevailed even when the *Āīn* was compiled and that no record of any survey and measurement operations therein is to be found in any contemporary records. For Kumaon division of the Mughal province of Delhi no figures of land revenue assessment are available in the *Āīn*. When Multan was newly conquered Sher Shah made exceptional provisions for assessment of land revenue therein. No complete measurement and survey of all land under cultivation has been found possible in Jodhpur and Udaipur even today and it is useless to expect complete survey of land in these areas under Sher Shah. Thus the first thing that we have to record is the absence of a uniform system all over the empire.

17 *Āīn*, I, 297.

18 *Āīn*, I, 347. *Akbar Nāmā*, II, 117, 282, 381, 404, 457.

19 'Abbās, 145.

20 *Dastār-ul-'Amal*, *MS*. of 32b to 35a.

But just as we can speak of Zabṭī as the main system of land revenue assessment under Akbar, we can talk of a system of land revenue assessment based on measurement as the main system prevalent, or aimed at, in Sher Shah's time. This involved the survey, measurement and record of the holdings of different cultivators. When these were once ready, it was possible at the time of the seasonal inspection of cultivation then, as now, to record the extent of land under different crops in possession of one cultivator.[21] The unit of measurement was Gaz of Sikandar Lodhi, 32 digits long. Sixty yards make a jarib and 3600 square yards a bigha. Land was measured by a rope. This must have created some difficulties in practice. A rope loose and a rope stretched are different measures. Ends could get frayed. Akbar found it necessary to introduce a bamboo with rings in both ends. The area of different fields was recorded at the time of the survey. Every harvest all that had usually to be recorded consisted in noticing the different fields under cultivation and the different crops they were producing. When this record was available, the Schedule of Demand given in the *Āīn* was applied in order to find out the demand of the state from the different cultivators. This schedule shows the demand in maunds per bigha of different crops. Thus when the area under cultivation and the crops cultivated were known, it was possible to estimate the demand of the state in kind. This was the system prevalent in many parts of country under Sher Shah.

But the Schedule of Demands raises some fundamental questions. How was it arrived at? When was it introduced? Did the state restrict its demand in kind or was any attempt made to convert it in cash as well? Some information is available on some of these question but it is tantalizingly inadequate. We are told that the schedule of demand represented ⅓ of the average produce of three different kinds of lands. The whole process has been well described in the *Āīn*. Land, we are told, was divided into three classes, good, middling and bad. The produce of a *bigha* of each land under different crops was estimated and an average of the total produce was struck.[22] We have been left abso-

21 'Abbās, 17.

22 *Āīn*, I.

lutely in the dark as to the areas selected for the purpose of striking this average of produce. Good, middling, and bad lands would certainly differ in their yields in different parts of the country. What may have been regarded as good land in Delhi, may have been only the middling in Agra or *vice versa.* Thus when land in any particular area—most probably somewhere near the capital--was chosen for the purpose of fixing the average produce of each bigha, a highly speculative operation was performed. But when was this done? No specific answer to this question is available but it must have been some times in the year 1541. Now the crop of the year 1541 need not have been a normal one in that particular area. Thus when the average produce of a single year in a single selected area was made the basis of the estimate of the produce and with it that of the state demand in kind, two very speculative operations were involved in this attempt at fixing the land revenue. It seems that the schedule adopted was a permanent one. It must have been introduced in such areas as had been conquered by then in 1541 and in other areas on their conquest. Those who have some acquaintance with the work and time involved in the revenue settlement operation even under modern conditions in British India today, can well understand that it would have been impossible to have introduced this system in the areas conquered towards the end of the year 1543 and thereafter.

We know nothing at all about conversion to cash of this demand in kind. Of course the king could have very well received all the land revenue in kind, store it, and by moving from one place to another consumed it. But the needs of the state had to be met in cash as well and some method of converting part of this demand in cash must have been current. As there is no other information available on the question, it is reasonable to suppose that conversion, if any must have taken place at the current market rates. But markets then were few and far between farming was mostly for subsistence purposes and such conversions could have been conveniently possible only in the areas surrounding important towns.

To sum up them, the normal system aimed at by Sher Shah settled the land revenue with the cultivators direct. The state demanded one third of the estimated produce. The demand was usually in kind but

payment could have been made in cash as well in rates prevailing in the local markets. The state demand varied with the area under actual cultivation and the crops cultivated. The demand per bigha of different crops seems to have been settled early in his reign. The estimate of produce of each bigha under different crops was arrived at by taking the average of the actual produce of a bigha of three classes of land of varying fertility in some specially selected area probably near the capital. It must have been speculative and with it the demand resting thereon as well.

The system, however, did not prevail all over the Suri dominions. Rajputana must have continued the system of sharing the actual produce and so must have Multan where land was not measured and one-fourth of the produce was taken as the land revenue.[22a] Certain parts of Bengal as well that remained unmeasured even in Akbar's days would have been hardly measured in Sher Shah's times.

But what about Jagirs? The jagirdars of Udaipur do not permit the state even today to measure their lands and the Afghans would not have been tamer then. It is customary to suppose that Sher Shah did away with the Zamindars and therefore with the jagirdars as well. But the two terms are not synonymous now nor were they then so. Zamindars meant Rajas or overlords of different area claiming some rights over the cultivators. Even if we admit that Sher Shah extended the system that he had tried in his own jagir in the Lodhi times to his whole empire, the question of jagirdars is still left undecided. Sher Shah himself was a jagirdar who found chiefs and zamindars in the jagir alloted to his father. Apart from this negative evidence we know positively that large parts of the Suri dominions had been given in jagir to the officials, civil and military. Khwas Khan held one-tenth of the whole land. Haji Khan, Shujat Khan and other great commanders are known to have been holding extensive jagirs.[23] It seems the usual method of making payment to the Hakims of different garrison commands was that of giving them lands as jagirs within their own commands. Thus the jagirs continued under Sher Shah and

22 (a) 'Abbās, 129-30. 23 'Abbās, 131, 142, 147, 148.

his successors. The settlement of land revenue in the jagir lands must have followed one of the several practices prevailing in different parts of India. Sharing of the produce was the normal method of payment of land revenue before Sher Shah changed it and it is likely it continued unaffected in the jagir lands. It could not have been less favourable to the cultivators than the system involving measurement and could have thus remained in existence. Between the jagirdars bent upon keeping out the officials of the state and the cultivators averse to adopting new methods of making payments, Ghalla Qismi must have continued in the jagirs. Thus the normal system could have been introduced in the crown lands alone. The same is true of the lands granted to scholars and theologians for their maintenance.

We have been dealing so far with the assessment of land revenue alone. The method of collection also provides a very important problem for the cultivators. Unfortunately all our authorities are silent about Sher Shah's method of collection as a ruler. The information that Abbas gives about the method of collection followed by Sher Shah when he was the agent of a jagirdar, has been usually used to fill in this picture. There is no reason to doubt that Sher Shah forgot his earlier experience and thus we may with justice assume that he introduced a part, at least, of his earlier method of revenue collection in his imperial administration. This is borne out by certain stray references. The cultivator was given a demand slip presumably in the local vernacular setting out the state's claim. Now this must have ordinarily referred to the demand in kind unless the cultivator had previously agreed to pay in cash at an agreed upon rate of conversion. He paid not only the land revenue but certain additional cesses as well. Thus a measurement fee had to be paid, the actual collector of the land revenue, the Muqqadam got his percentage and the land revenue officials visiting the village boarded at the expense of the villagers. Of course these were old customary dues, Sher Shah claims to have fixed their amount only.[24] To these we may trace the payments even today made by the landlords in addition to the land revenue. Panchotra paid to the village headman represents the collection fees,

24 'Abbās, 17, 147.

the Malba again retained by him represents the expenses of boarding the revenue officials, and the measurement fees long survived as a cess for defraying the salary of the Patwari, though it has now disappeared. Sher Shah threw upon the village headmen the responsibility of collecting the land revenue and he was expected to execute a bond and furnish securities for the due discharge of his duties.[25] Herein again his system resembles British revenue practices of today. The Muqqadam was to give a receipt to the cultivator. The revenue demand was to be rigorously enforced. If a cultivator failed to pay, probably the usual methods of extorting the money from him were restored. He must have been imprisoned, probably tortured as well till he managed to have the requisite amount in kind or cash.

The cultivators were granted some remission in case of some damage to crops. The only remission mentioned in the records relates to the compensation paid for the trampling of standing crops under the feet of soldiers on march or encamping.[26] Every care was taken to minimize the damage done but in case this was not successful compensation was paid for the loss sustained.

Unlike the present practice in British India, the revenue received by the state depended upon the area under cultivation and the crops cultivated. Thus an extension of crops area immediately brought in a larger amount of revenue. So did the introduction of better crops. It was therefore self-interest which led the state to adopt various measures for the purpose of encouraging agriculture. Only one of these measures, the grant of advances to the cultivators finds a mention in the contemporary records. These advances bore no interest which was forbidden by the Muslim law. If we are to judge from later Mughal practices they were to be returned within a year.

The rights of the cultivators in the land were well recognized. The land under cultivation was theirs. They could sell it, mortgage it and give it as a bequest. It was inheritable. The rights of the state were confined to the demand for land revenue alone. Unoccupied, unclaimed, or barren land belonged either to the village community or

25 *Ibid.*

26 'Abbās, 152-53.

the state. The cultivators had certain common rights therein but if a cultivator offered to break new land, the state that stood to gain thereby an increased land revenue, secured the newcomer a peaceful entry upon his newly acquired right.[27] In the subsistence economy of the day, however, there were not many competitors for new land.

In certain parts of the country, however, there seems, to have been in existence a class of person enjoying—lawfully or otherwise—certain rights in the land. These zamindars were usually farmers of land revenues and could be easily dislodged as Sher Shah proved in his own jagir.[28] In some cases, however, they embodied certain traditional rights which made them resemble the superior proprietors—Mālik-i-A'la—of today.

For carrying out the work of revenue assessment and collection successfully Sher Shah employed a large number of revenue officials. In villages—there were some 11,60,00 of them in all—the Muqqadam collected the land revenue and the Patwari supervised the work of assessment on behalf of the villagers. He kept the records of seasonal cultivation, the crops cultivated, and the area under cultivation. In the Parganah, the Shiqdar performed the duties of the Muqqadam in generally supervising the work of collection and the Qanungo was the Patwari *writ* large. The state maintained Hindi knowing clerks for the purpose of preparing writs of demands to be supplied to the cultivators every season. They also issued receipts to the cultivators as well. The Persian knowing clerks prepared the Persian set of papers to be transmitted to the emperor. The treasurer received the money collected and was responsible for transmitting it to the emperor. At the head of the revenue establishment stood the Amin supervising everything and directing all operations.[29] The collection of land revenue was always a troublesome task and the Amin had to call upon his police and military colleagues for helping him occasionally in order to collect land revenue from some refractory village.

27 This is based on the contemporary documents of the Mughal period. No original authority of Sher Shah's reign mentions such a trifling matter!

28 'Abbās, 18, 20.

29 'Abbās, 12-18, 146.

The work of these revenue officials was not as simple as that of their modern successors. They had not only to collect the land revenue but to assess it as well on every individual every season. The principles of assessment had been settled, but the actual demand depended upon the crop area and the crops cultivated, it had to be assessed every time. Of course the Indian cultivator was as conservative then as now. Usually the same fields would be brought under cultivation every season, almost the same crops sown. Still there were certain crops which took more than a season to mature e.g., cotton and sugar-canes. The vegetables as well presented some similar problems. Thus the revenue officials had to record the season's crops and the area and then assess the land revenue.

There were several other sources of income besides the land revenue. The customs levied on the imports into the kingdom must have provided a considerable sum of money. Sher Shah is said to have forbidden the realization of any transit duties or *octroi*. But it is doubtful how far this prohibition was made effective. Sher Shah's government was cut up into so many Jagirs that it is doubtful whether the Jagirdars gave up this lucrative source of income. We know in the palmiest days of the Mughal empire Aurangzeb could not enforce the remission of several duties which he considered unlawful. The trouble lay in the custom that when Jagirs were assigned all sorts of local taxes were also taken in account in estimating the income from the Jagir. Unless the Jagirdars was compensated for by an additional grant, he felt himself justified in levying traditional taxes even if they were prohibited. The prohibition, however, must have been enforced in the crownlands. When articles were exhibited for sales, probably in the markets, a sale tax was realized after the article had been sold. The tax included even the smallest articles of daily use. Sale of property also brought in some money to the state. Some money was also collected as the ground rent from the vendors in the markets for the stalls they occupied. An excise tax on the manufacture of sugar was curiously regulated by the number of the iron boiling pots in which mollasses were converted into sugar. A ferry tax was collected from those who used the boats for crossing rivers and is still collected in many parts of British India. A grazing tax, variously assessed,

seems to have been levied. A profession tax was collected from artificers, butchers, sugarcane crusher, cotton dressers, thatchers, cloth printers, fishers, sawers, manufacturers of lime and of intoxicating liquors, dyers, tanners, and several other classes of artisans. A cattle tax was also imposed. Manufacture of hemp and blankets was taxed. Forced labour became another source of revenue. Presents to the emperor that played such an important part under the Mughals do not seem to have been resorted to by Sher Shah, but it is likely that the state was, then as now, the reversionary of all the property of persons who died without heirs. Working of the mines and the exploitation of certain monopolies must have brought in a pretty sum. Besides the Jizya, the Hindus paid a pilgrimage tax as well. Some amusements were also taxed, e.g. gambling.[30]

This list forms an interesting document. Most of the taxes are paid by the masses and the middle class. The Government officials seem to have been exempt from the payment of taxes except what they paid as presents, offerings, and an investiture money. The traders who formed the middle classes paid the various sorts of taxes but it is more than probable that they shifted a part of their burden to the consumers. On their own incomes they paid not much except what was levied by the state for stamping their weights and measures or what they paid as ground rent if they happened to occupy a stall in the public markets. Of course the payment of the customs, the demand of transit dues, the realization of the sales tax from them must have made it necessary for them to 'please' the officials many times over.

The question of corruption and illegal exactions has sometimes been raised and an attempt made to assess it. Human nature does not seem to have changed very much in India even by now and in a relative estimate of the demands of Sher Shah and the present day system of taxation in India we simply confuse the issue if we try to take into consideration the illegal payments exacted from the peasants and others under Sher Shah.

Judicial fines have sometimes been reckoned as forming a source of income in India in the sixteenth century. Fines were mostly paid

30 *Akbar Nāmā*, III, 693, 749. 30 (b) Dāudī, 204.

to the aggrieved parties except when they were realized from the defaulters in state demands in which case they should be accounted for as the cost of collection.

Not all this money was, however, paid into the state treasury. The larger part of the land revenue was set apart for the payment of military commanders and their commands. Cash salaries were very uncommon and most of the Jagirdars were paid by assignment of land revenue and other local taxes in areas assigned to them. Mines and monopolies seem to have been farmed rather then directly exploited. The income was mostly spent for the personal expenses of the emperor, the cost of military expeditions, the buildings of new cities and the raising of new forts, the construction and maintenance of roads and Serais, the payment to state spies, clerks, and Secretaries and such other public servants as did not receive Jagirs. Costly displays, public festivities and the marriage of king's sons and daughters must also have been responsible for spending some more of the state's money. The scholars, the theologians, Muslim Judicial officers, and saints also received public endowments in the form of Jagirs and so did probably most of the officers attached to the offices of the Sadr, Muhtsib, and the Qazi.

Administration of Justice under Sher Shah was even-handed. The Amin in the Parganah heard suits about rights in land. The Mir-i-Adal and the Qazi disposed of other cases, mostly criminal.[30a] They decided cases according to the Muslim law. Naturally only cases between Muslims must have been brought before them or such criminal cases in which the state was a party—cases involving blasphemy, heresy, sacrilige, and apostacy. Several Parganahs had a Munsif-i-Munsifan, the chief judge who heard civil cases. The Shiqdar in the Parganah and the Shiqdar-i-Shiqdaran in the higher unit which later came to be called Sarkar were executive officers and as such performed preventive duties. But it is possible that some cases might have been brought before them by way of complaint against the judicial officers. At the capital sat the Chief Qazi, the imperial Sadr and above them all the emperor.[31] Of course appeals in the modern sense of the term were

31 'Abbās, 145-46.

unknown. But cases could travel into the emperor's court through various stages as complaints against various officials. At present an appeal implies the incapacity of the lower court in fact finding or correctly interpreting the law. In mediæval times it involved unwillingness to do justice for various reasons. Sher Shah had a reputation for justice which must have kept many of his judicial officers straight. He left behind him many stories illustrating both his zeal for being just whosoever the contending parties and his capacity for arriving at truth which defeated the ends of many evil doers.

But the imperial machinery for administering justice only touched the fringe of the problem. For the huge majority of the Hindus, their caste or village Pañcāyats served as the judicial bodies ordinarily. Here the Hindu law and the customary law were applied and as the aggrieved party could take the case to the public courts, the Pañcāyats usually functioned as just tribunals for fear of getting their powers invaded.[32]

We have to remember that there could not have been so much litigation then nor so lengthy a process of deciding cases. The Pañcāyats decided the cases from their own knowledge of the facts. They were not concerned with the modern problem; whether the plaintiff or the complainant had proved his case. They decided a more vital issue, truth of the matter in dispute. Religion served as a great helper in keeping down litigation. An oath could easily prove or disprove a case; because for the individual false swearing carried religious penalties of which he was terribly afraid.

The judiciary exists for the punishment of crime if and when committed as well as for the settlement of disputes. Sher Shah paid a good deal of attention to the prevention of crime. He reverted to the old Hindu custom of enforcing liability for keeping peace on the localities. Wheresoever a theft occured, or a crime was committed, the locality had either to apprehend the criminal or make good the loss. Various stories have been preserved in order to prove how strict Sher Shah was in enforcing this liability. He gained his end. Travel became safe, and crime of violence rare.[33]

32 *Janam Sakhi*, Trump, p. ii.

33 'Abbās, 151-52.

We have only a glimpse here and there of the criminal Code prevailing. Theft was punished with the death penalty.[34] Criminals sentenced for life were sent to Piyashori,[35] one kos from Gaur, where they died of brackish water. Certain places were recognised as sanctuaries wherefrom offenders could not be apprehended.[36]

Sher Shah's religious policy remained narrow. The Jizya was collected from the Hindus. All classes paid it including the Brahmans. The helpless, the disabled, the women and children, and the propertyless classes were exempted from payment. A lump sum was fixed as the demand for Jizya dividing the payers into three classes. It bore no relation to income but varied with the property possessed. Those who had property worth above 10,50,00 Dirhams paid 48 Dirhams. The second class consisted of those whose property was worth from Rs. 52 to Rs. 25,00. They paid Rs. 6¼ a year. The poorest class consisting of persons worth at least Rs. 52 was hit hardest as it had to pay annually Rs. 3⅛.[37]

Sher Shah followed in the footsteps of his predecessors and proclaimed the victory of the Muslim arms over the Hindus by converting temples into mosques in the territories conquered. The temple in the fort at Jodhpur was thus converted.

His attitude towards the Hindus is best illustrated in his treatment of Puran Mal of Raisen. The expedition itself was inspired by religious motives and Sher Shah seems to have vowed vengeance on his head. When Puran Mal surrendered, he was allowed to leave the fort in safety. While he was peacefully encamping near the fort, Sher Shah's soldiers fell upon him. The Rajput, though tricked and taken unwares, fought to the last and all died fighting. Sher Shah's treatment of Puran Mal is of course not much different radically from his treatment of Humayun. But even his Muslim chroniclers felt the need for justifying it. Two versions have been handed down to us. One makes Sher Shah an instrument of theologians who gave out as their opinion that words

34 Elliot, IV, p. 421. 35 *Āin*, II, 123.

36 Elliot, IV, 385.

37 Cf. the present writer's Imposition and Collection of the Jizya, in the *Calcutta Review*, September, 1933.

given to an infidel need not be kept. We are told, however, that Sher Shah asked for their opinions and was not thus an unwilling agent. The second version makes out that Sher Shah was moved by the complaints of the Muslim women alleged to have been confined in the fort. Here again it is difficult for us to accept the story as Sher Shah had stipulated with Puran Mal that he would allow him to go unmolested only if there were no Muslim women confined in the fort. That Puran Mal was allowed to leave the fort proves that there were no women prisoners in the fort. We are left with one alternative alone, to accept the version as given in *Tārīkh-i-Dāudī* which makes it an act of calculated treachery. Nor need we be surprised at that. Guile was Sher Shah's strong point and he never struck a straight blow where he could gain his end otherwise. It was in keeping with his tactics against Humayun as well as Maldev.[38]

As a good Muslim, Sher Shah made large grants for charitable purposes. He is said to have spent 500 Tolchas of gold daily through his Qazis and Mir-i-Adals. Subsistence grants to scholars and theologians were also made. But Sher Shah distrusted the theologians so much that he would not hand over the royal Farman making a grant to a scholar for fear that he would tamper with it. The recipient was told that it would be sent through the royal post and he would get it locally through the royal officials.[39]

Sher Shah had assured a prosperous trade in the country by the measures he took for the purpose of maintaining law and order in the

38 'Abbās, 132, 133; Dāudī, 229 to 232; Yādgār, 74, 75a, 83a, 85a.

The story told by 'Abbās is confusing. Puran Mal surrendered. 'Some days after,' women of Chanderi complained to Sher Shah. He was moved by their appeal, consulted his theologian, who decided that words given to a non-Muslim need not be kept. Then did the Muslim soldiers fall upon the unsuspecting Rajputs. It is difficult to explain why Puran Mal's soldiers were still there several days after the surrender of the fort. *Tārīkh-i-Dāudī* (228 to 238), however, makes Sher Shah's action a deliberate one and makes the massacre follow the surrender of the fort the next morning. Ahmad Yādgār (75a, 83a to 85a) tells substantially the same tale.

39 Sher Shah resumed several grants of his predecessors and issued new orders for those that were continued. 'Abbās, 154; Dāudī, 187; Mushtāqī in Elliot, V, 549.

country. His improved means of communication further made transport cheaper and less inconvenient. The Serais assured the merchants safe places for the deposit of their valuable goods if they happened to be travelling individually. To encourage commerce still further he abolished the vexatious transit duties charged as commerce passed from city to city.[40] Customs dues were to be paid on the frontiers, taxes on sales were collected when an article had been actually sold. To help trade and industry and encourage sales he reformed the coinage.[41] A standard weight and a uniform fineness were adopted for all coins issued so that these could be easily accepted without any fear of any discount being charged later on. Gold, silver and copper coins were issued from various mint towns. They were bilingual, Hindi sharing with the Arabic script, the honour of being included in the inscriptions.

Sher Shah was a great builder as well. He founded Sher Shah's Delhi beides building forts at Rohtas on the Indus, Patna, Sher Kot and Meher Kundal. To commemorate his victory over Humayun he demolished Kanauj and built a new city in its place.[41a] He also built Rasulpur by moving the city of Shamsabad thereto.[41b]

The peace and order that Sher Shah gave the country depended on the existence of a strong army. Sher Shah kept a large army including 1,50,000 horse, 300 elephants, 20,000 bowmen, and artillery under his own commend. Besides this, spread over some fifty garrison towns another force, 113,000 strong, was maintained.[42]

These 2,83,000 soldiers did not represent a miscellaneous collection indifferently mounted, oddly clad and ill at ease in a moment of crisis. Sher Shah, founder of a new dynasty that he was, took great pains in keeping an effective military organisation together. Their horses were branded so that only useful horses could be brought to the field.[43] Descriptive rolls of soldiers are also said to have been taken. Though we are asked to believe that all soliders were per-

40 Elliot, IV, 421.

41 Wright, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta 84 to 109.

41a 'Abbās, 150. 41b Badāyūnī, I, 427.

42 'Abbās, 146. 43 *Ibid.*, 144.

sonally recruited by him,[44] it is improbable that Sher Shah was able so to reproduce himself so as to be present at the time of the recruitment of soliders in all parts of the country under all the fifty commanders. Of course he must have fixed the salary of all those who were recruited to serve in his own standing army.[45] Outside, the soldiers were paid for and maintained by the great nobles out of the income of the jagirs granted to them and their contingents. It is likely that branding was introduced among the troops on garrison duty as well. Branding of horses was occasionally excused to favoured captains.[46] We are assured that Sher Shah wanted to charge the duties of the soldiers frequently, to send the members of his personal army to spells of garrison duty and to ask the garrisons to come and serve as his personal army as well. It is difficult to say, however, with any certainty whether these plans of his were ever put into practice on account of his short reign. The soldiers are said to have been all paid in his presence.[47] This can, however, refer to only such soldiers as were present at the capital or accompanied him in his expedition.

Sher Shah always insisted on his great commanders keeping their own places. He would not allow them even to marry according to their own ambition. He ruthlessly put down those who tried to assume royal air though only to the extent of sitting on a raised platform.[48]

Taken all in all Sher Shah assured peace in a country torn by the ambitions of its petty rulers. His strong government succeeded in keeping law and order with the help of his efficient army, an improved means of communications, an excellent system of keeping in touch with the outskirts of his empire through his secret agents and daily official reports. His insistence on local responsibility for tracing crime made it rarer. His personal attention to business saved the country from the evils both of over-strict government and imperial neglect. His land revenue system took the earlier experiments in this direction a step further and made possible the evolution of Akbar's

44 Dāudī, 192.
45 *Ibid.*
46 'Abbās, 138.
47 Dāudī, 186.
48 'Abbās, 121, 122.

more systematised plan of the assessment and collection possible. His currency reform encouraged trade and industry and assured easier sale of commodities. The abolition of petty transit duties at frequent intervals made it possible for the merchants to embark on extensive trade operations with an easy mind in the assurance that the things they brought would only cost to them what they paid to the sellers.

This is a creditable account for any ruler and much more for a ruler of the times in which he lived. His even-handed justice, his strong government, and his efficient administration of the land revenue department all assures for him a place of honour among the rulers of India.

But he had not a clean slate to write upon. Much of the administrative system in its details can be traced to some of his predecessors particularly Ala-ud-Din Khilji and Sikandar Lodhi. But he had not the former's vanity or the latter's religious bigotry. He used whatever he found best in the earlier traditions of government in this country and moulded it to his own advantage after his own light.

This is much more than can be said of many of the greatest rulers of mankind. But as if it was not enough extravagant claims have been made on his behalf. He has been called a nation builder.[49] The idea of a nation state had not yet taken root in Europe; to apply it to India of Sher Shah is unjust both to his times and himself. The ruler who went on levying the Jizya, who did not think it necessary to keep faith with a Hindu chief, and who proclaimed his victories by converting a temple into a mosque had yet to learn the elements of secularising the state. The zeal of his biographer seems to have outrun his discretion when in order to justify Sher Shah he falls foul of Akbar's attempts at secularising the state.[50] That Sher Shah followed the beaten path in his religious policy only proves that he had his limitations. His fame rests not on secularising the state or welding the Hindus and Muslims into a nation but on the solid ground of giving peace and efficient government.

49 Qanungo, 421.

50 Ibid., 421 to 424.

Attempts have been made frequently to institute comparisons between Akbar and Sher Shah. Here we are concerned only with evaluating their administrative system. Akbar's greatest contribution to the history of India—nay of the world—is that he secularised the state at a time when rival religious sects were fighting among themselves. This was beyond Sher Shah's ken. Akbar of course added to the efficiency of the administrative machinery by his improved system of land revenue assessment, by instituting provincial governments, by the military organization of the mansibdars, and by resorting to cash payments in place of the usual Jagirs. Sher Shah had not attempted any one of these things. That Akbar built his land revenue system on Sher Shah's foundations and that he kept the system of branding horses must be admitted. But these were not all Sher Shah's own contributions to the administrative system. Others before him had used them. His original contribution was the introduction, in some parts of the country, of the system of land revenue assessment by measurement rather than by division of the crop ripened. But he left even this in a very experimental form. Had it been as perfected a measure as his admirers are wont to make it to be, it would not have necessitated so many years of experimentation in Akbar's reign. He left the land revenue assessment still in kind. Akbar's schedule of per bigha rates of land revenue demand for different crops in cash formed as great a step in advance of Sher Shah's system as Sher Shah's measurement was on the previous system of division.

But everything apart Sher Shah gave to India a strong and just government. This is high praise for any ruler but all the more creditable to one who was a great soldier, a successful tactician, an inspiring leader of men and a great conqueror.

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Origin of the Varman and the Sena Dynasties

The Varman dynasty, which ruled East Bengal in the eleventh century A.D., is associated with a place called Siṃhapura. Dr. R. G. Basak suggests that Siṃhapura was "the same place as Sīhapura, which is mentioned in the *Mahāvaṃśa*, VI, 35 ff., as situated in Lālaraṭṭha, i.e., Rāḍhā."[1] According to Mr. R. D. Banerji[2] this place is to be identified with the place of the same name, which was situated in the Punjab, and where a Yādava dynasty was ruling from about A.D. 300 to A.D. 600. I suggested[3] previously that the place in question is identical with Siṃhapura, which was situated in Kaliṅga, and which according to Hultzsch is probably represented by the modern Singupuram between Chicacole and Narasannapeta.[4] I further suggested that Vajravarman, earliest known member of the Varman dynasty, joined Rājendra-Cola I in his northern expeditions, and founded a kingdom in East Bengal, having overthrown Govindacandra, apparently the last king of the Caṇḍra dynasty. Mr. N. G. Majumdar[5] and Dr. H. C. Ray[6] are inclined to subscribe to the view that Siṃhapura in Kaliṅga was the original home of the Varmans.

Mr. Pramode Lal Paul has recently criticised my above suggestions, and has put forward an ingenious theory on the subject.[7] An inscription[8] from Rewa, in Baghelkhand, reports that there was one Jāṭa, who helped (Kalacuri) Karṇa in battles. Jāṭa's son was Yakṣapāla, his grandson was Malayasiṃha, and his great grandson was Padmasiṃha. Mr. Paul thinks that this Jāṭa was none other than Jātavarman, son of Vajravarman, of the Varman dynasty of East Bengal. Jāṭa, an inhabitant of Siṃhapur, in Kaliṅga, marched with the Kalacuri Karṇa against Bengal and founded there a kingdom. It is good of Mr. Paul to realise that Jāṭa and Jāta are not identical.

1 *EI.*, vol. XII, p. 37. 2 *Bāṅglār Itihās*, p. 275.
3 *Origin of the Varman dynasty in East Bengal*, *IHQ.*, 1929, p. 225.
4 *EI.*, vol. XII, p. 4.
5 *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. III, p. 16.
6 *Dynastic History*, pp. 333-334. 7 *IHQ.*, September, 1936, p. 469.
8 *Memoirs ASB.*, no. 23, p. 133.

But he only discloses the weakness of his theory when he makes a suggestion that either Mr. R. D. Banerji has misread Jāṭa for Jāta or the engraver of the inscription has committed this error. Finally his theory is shorn of much of its value when an attempt has been made, without good reasons, to prove that it was Jātavarman and not his father Vajravarman, who founded the Varman dynasty in East Bengal.

Now on close examination I do not find anything in the Belava inscription to suggest that the Varman dynasty migrated to East Bengal from any place outside Bengal.

The Belava inscription[9] reports that "(the knowledge of) the three Vedas is a covering for men, and those who are devoid of it, are certainly naked, (thinking) so the kinsmen of Hari, the Varmans, mailing themselves with their hairs standing on end in their enthusiasm for the three Vedas and for marvellous fights, and wearing the very solemn name and possessing noble arms, occupied[10] Siṃhapura, which may be likened to the cave of lions." "Once upon a time there was living Vajravarman, a good-luck (itself) of the victorious military expedition of the soldiers of the Yādavīs, (who was) like the god of Death to the enemies, like the moon to the friends, a poet among poets, a scholar among scholars." "Jātavarman was born from him (i.e. Vajravarman), just as Bhīṣma (the son of Gaṅgā) was born of Śāntanu, mercy was his (life's) vow, battle his pastime, and charity his chief delight." "Seizing the (great) glory of Pṛthu, son of Veṇa, espousing Vīraśrī (the daughter) of Karṇa, extending his supremacy among the Aṅgas, conquering the fortunes of Kāmarūpa (Assam), putting to shame the strength of the arms of Divya, crippling the dignity of Govardhana, and giving away all his wealth to Brāhmaṇas, he (Jātavarman) extended his own paramount suzerainty." Jātavarman was followed in succession by Sāmalavarman and Bhojavarman.

9 Puṃsām āvaraṇaṃ trayī na ca tayā hīnā na nagnā iti trayyā(ṃ) c ādbhutasaṅgareṣu ca va(ra)sād romodgamair varmmiṇaḥ (1) Varmmāṇo 'tigabhīra-nāma dadhataḥ ślāghyau bhujau vi(bi)bhrato bhejuḥ Siṃhapuraṃ guhām iva mṛgendrāṇāṃ Harer vā(bā)ndhavāḥ (11511) Abhavad atha kadācid Yādavīnāṃ camūnāṃ samara-vijaya-yātrā-maṅgalaṃ Vajravarmmā (1) Śamana iva ripūṇāṃ somavad vā(bā)ndhavānāṃ kavir api ca kavīṇāṃ paṇḍitaḥ (pa)ṇḍitānām (1161) Jātavarmmā tato jāto etc. *EI.*, vol. XII, pp. 39, 40-42.

10 The root *bhaj* also means—to enjoy, to possess etc.

Here there is no indication that Siṃhapura was situated somewhere outside the kingdom of the Varmans of East Bengal. The Naihati plate of Vallālasena (*Ins. Beng.*, p. 76, vs. 3, 4) reports that "in his (Moon's) prosperous family was born princes, who adorned Rāḍhā," etc. "In their family was born the mighty Sāmantasena" etc. Rāḍhā was within the kingdom of the Senas when the Naihati plate was issued. Similarly nothing militates if Siṃhapura is considered to have been a city, which was situated within the kingdom of the Varmans of East Bengal at the time when the Belava inscription was issued.

One may even be inclined to think that the Varmans, mentioned in the above verse, refer to Bhojavarman and his predecessors. As against this assertion an objection may apparently be raised. The verb *bhejuḥ* (in *Varmmāṇo...bhejuḥ Siṃhapuraṃ*) is in *liṭ* signifying remote past. In the normal sense it is to be understood that the Varmans, who occupied Siṃhapura, were the predecessors of Vajravarman. But in view of the fact that the poet Puruṣottama has taken freedom in using *laṅg*, *luṅg*, and *liṭ* without maintaining any difference between them in the Belava inscription, this objection may not be taken to be of great weight. As for example *abhavad*, in *abhavad—Vajravarmmā*, is in *laṅg; ajani* in *Vīraśriyām ajani Sāmalavarmmadevaḥ* (v. 9) is in *luṅg*. Sometimes the verb is transformed into the past tense by adding *sma* to the present form. (v. 10). Finally Puruṣottama uses *liṭ* while speaking of himself—(*tuṣṭāva*, in *iti yaṃ guṇa-gāthābhis tuṣṭāva Puruṣottamah*—v. 15). If these considerations have any value, it may be maintained that Siṃhapura was not only situated in the kingdom of the Varmans of East Bengal, it might have been the capital of the dynasty. Consequently it should no longer be held that the Varman dynasty came to East Bengal either from the Punjab or from Kaliṅga or from any other place outside Bengal. Siṃhapura should not be taken as identical with Sīhapura, which according to Mahāvaṃśa was situated in Rāḍhā, till it is proved that the Varmans held sway over that country.

Mr. Paul[11] subscribes to the view of Dr. R. C. Majumdar in regard to the origin of the Sena dynasty of Bengal. The history of the origin

11 *IHQ.*, September, 1936, p. 476.

of this Sena dynasty has been tentatively traced by Dr. Majumdar in the following way.[12]

A number of inscriptions prove the existence of a line of Jaina teachers in the Dharwar District, Bombay Presidency, in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh century A.D. These Jaina teachers belonged to the Sena family.[13] The original home of the Sena dynasty of Bengal was Karṇāṭa. Sāmantasena, the founder of that dynasty was closely connected with that line of Jaina teachers in the Dharwar District, and in the early part of his life, was himself a Jaina teacher. Later on, he changed his religion from Jainism to Brāhmaṇism, and took up the profession of a soldier. He defeated the Cola Rājendradeva, who burned the Jaina temples in the Dharwar District. This was the turning point in the fortunes of his family. He accompanied the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI in his invasion of Bengal, and carved out a principality for his family there.

Dr. Majumdar is right in stating that the original home of the Sena dynasty was Karṇāṭa. But his other conclusions do not find support in the inscriptions of the Sena dynasty, which give a different history of its origin.

The Deopara inscription[14] of Vijayasena reports that "In the line of that Witness of the continuous amorous wiles of the wives of the gods, there were born Vīrasena and others, who were kings of the Deccan,[15] having all pervading fame. The honey-stream of beautiful stanzas, which the son of Parāśara (i.e. Vyāsa) had caused to flow to please the ears of mankind, was made pure coming in contact with the memory of their achievements." V.4.

"In that Sena family was born that head-garland of the Brahma-kṣatriya (caste), Sāmantasena who was versed in the mystic lore of the extermination of all opposing soldiers, and whose war-ballads were sung, rivalling (those of) the son of Daśaratha, by heavenly nymphs, along the borders of the bridge cooled by the dancing of the waters of the ocean." V. 5.

12 *Proc. Second Or. Con., Calcutta*, pp. 343 ff.

13 *Sen-ānvaya, Sena-gana, EI.*, vol. XIII, p. 193; *IA.*, vol. XIX, p. 271.

14 *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. III, pp. 50-51.

15 *Dākṣiṇātya-kṣauṇīndrair Vīrasena-prabhṛtibhirabhitaḥ*, etc.

It follows from the above verses that the forefathers of Sāmantasena were royal personages in the Deccan. That the predecessors of Sāmantasena were ruling princes is also supported by the Barrackpur inscription of Vijayasena, and the Naihati copperplate of Vallālasena.[16]

The Naihati copperplate[17] of Vallālasena states that "in his (Moon's) prosperous family were born princes, who adorned Rāḍhā, that was famous as being given to righteous acts, with such dignities as were unprecedented. They were known for their benevolence in constantly granting protection to the universe and the firmament was bathed in the waves of their fame." V.3.

"In their family was born the mighty Sāmantasena, who was to the ocean of the soldiers of his enemies." etc. V.4.

The above two verses clearly point out that it was not Sāmantasena but his remote predecessors, who settled in Rāḍhā, and founded a kingdom there.

The verse 8 of the Deopara inscription[18] of Vijayasena lays down that "this hero (Sāmantasena) who resembled Viṣṇu slaughtered to such an extent the wicked despoilers of the Lakṣmī (i.e. wealth) of Karṇāṭa, assailed by bands of enemies, that the lord of goblins, whose citizens are delighted, does not even to this day leave the southern quarter where the excellent supply of marrow, flesh and fat remains yet undiminished."

The above verse does not indicate that the fight between Sāmantasena and 'the despoiler of the Lakṣmī of the Karṇāṭa country' took place in the Karṇāṭa country. It simply means that Sāmantasena vanquished a king or a freebooter, who had already plundered the Karṇāṭa country. The statements of this nature are available in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records. The Alas plates[19] of Govinda II states that "with a handful of followers he (Dantidurga) suddenly vanquished the countless forces of Karṇāṭaka which were invincible to others, (and) which had proved their efficacy by inflicting crushing defeats on the lord of Kāñcī, the king of Kerala, the Cola, the Pāṇḍya, Srīharṣa, and Vajraṭa." The Radhanpur plate[20] of Govinda III reports that "by his

16 *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. III, pp. 64, v.3; p. 76, v.3.
17 *Ibid.*, p. 76. 18 *Ibid.*, p. 51. 19 *EI.*, vol. VI, p. 212.
20 *Ibid.*, p. 248.

(Dhruva III's) matchless armies having quickly driven into the trackless desert Vatsarāja who boasted of having with ease appropriated the fortune of royalty of the Gauḍa, he in a moment took away from him, not merely the Gauḍa's two umbrellas of state like the rays of the autumn moon, but also his own fame that had spread to the confines of the regions."

These verses do not indicate that Dantidurga fought with the Karṇāṭakas in Kāñcī, Kerala or other places, or Dhruva III defeated Vatsarāja in the Gauḍa country. Hence the verse 8 of the Deopara inscription, referred to above, may be taken to signify that a certain king or a freebooter, having plundered the Karnāṭa country, invaded the southern part of the kingdom of Sāmantasena. Sāmantasena won a victory over him.

The adversary of Sāmantasena cannot be easily identified. I can only hazard a conjecture. It is known from the Tirumalai Rock inscription[21] of the thirteenth year of Rājendra-Cola I (A.D. 1025) that the king defeated Jayasiṃha (king of Karṇāṭa, 1018-1042 A.D.) at Muśaṅgi, and took from him Raṭṭa-pāḍi (Mahārāṣṭra). He then having conquered many other countries reached Bengal. He carried successful military operations in Southern and Northern Rāḍhā, and also in Vaṅgāla-deśa. It is not unlikely that Sāmantasena repulsed an attack of Rajendra-Cola I somewhere in Northern Rāḍhā, in which was situated his small kingdom. There will not arise any chronological difficulty in accepting the above view, considering the fact that Sāmantasena lived up to old age.[22]

The inscriptions of the Sena dynasty thus allow us to trace the history of its origin in the following line.—There was a line of kings in the Deccan, who belonged to the Sena family. A prince of that dynasty migrated to Bengal and carved out a petty principality for his family somewhere in Rāḍhā near the Bank of the Ganges. He was followed by a number of princes. In their family was born Sāmantasena, who earned distinction by repulsing an attack of a southern king, who may be identified with Rājendra-Cola I.

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21 *EI.*, vol. IX, p. 233. 22 *Inscriptions of Bengal*, vol. III, p. 47, v.9.

Relations of the Pālas and Senas of Bengal with the other Provinces

The great political change with the break-up of the Gupta empire was the fall of Magadha and rise of Kanauj, henceforth destined to be the imperial city of northern India. If the centre of political gravity had shifted westward to Kanauj, it is also clear that in the east Gauḍa was rising into great political importance. When after the fall of the imperial Guptas independent dynasties were rising in different parts of the empire, the Gauḍa king Śaśāṅka tried to found an empire by breaking up the alliance of the Maukharis of Kanauj and the Vardhanas of Sthāneśvara. His alliance with Devagupta of Malwa and seizure of Kanauj were the outcome of that policy. But the launching of an aggressive campaign by Harṣavardhana and his diplomatic success in winning over Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa to his side against Śaśāṅka foiled the plans and ambitions of the Gauḍa king and in the end it seems to have proved disastrous for Bengal. Yuan Chwang about the middle of the seventh century saw Bengal politically divided into five divisions: Kājaṅgala, Puṇḍravardhana, Samataṭa, Tāmralipti and Karṇasuvarṇa. The sudden rise of Gauḍa under Śaśāṅka into an empire was perhaps premature and excited the jealousy and fears of the neighbouring kingdoms. No power could lay claim to political suzerainty without a successful military expedition in the plains of Bengal whose opposition to any aspirant for imperial overlordship was taken almost to be an accepted fact. Henceforward Bengal became the objective of the great conquerors and political adventurers who carrried on raids in her rich plains on every opportune occasion. The Nidhanpur plates of Bhāskaravarman were issued from the victorious camp at Karṇasuvarṇa and it has generally been concluded that the Kāmarūpa king was in possession of the capital of Śaśāṅka at that time.[1] It is known from the Ragholi plates of

1 A different view of this has been taken by the present writer, see *IHQ.*, XII, pp. 73-4.

Jayavardhana II that a prince of the Śaila family killed a king of Puṇḍra and usurped the throne and from palæographical considerations he is to be placed in the first half of the eighth century.[2] The *Gauḍavaho* of Vākpati narrates that Yaśovarman of Kanauj undertook a *digvijaya,* defeated and killed the king of Gauḍa in action who was also the king of Magadha. The very fact, that the court-poet regards this victory over the Gauḍa king as the supreme achievement of his patron and styles his immortal work as *Gauḍavaho,* clearly shows the political importance of Bengal to the contemporaries and danger therefrom to Kanauj. The power of Yaśovarman was challenged and crushed by the Kāśmīra monarch Lalitāditya who also in course of his victorious expedition advanced as far as Bengal.[3] Nor was the eastern neighbour Kāmarūpa sitting idle. It is recorded in an inscription of the Licchavi Jayadeva, dated in 759 A.D., that his material grandfather Harṣadeva of the Bhagadatta dynasty conquered Gauḍa, Oḍra, Kaliṅga and Kośala.[4]

The repeated invasions and want of any powerful central authority made the chiefs and people of Bengal realize the seriousness of the situation to an exasperating degree. They took the supreme and memorable decision of electing a monarch[5] under whose leadership the deplorable political condition could be improved. Man of the hour was Gopāla, son of Vapyaṭa, on whom fell the choice. Gopāla might have come into prominence by playing an important part in warding off one of the invasions, but his first and foremost concern was to have a consolidated and strongly united kingdom which was essential to achieve anything great in the political field. His military marches and conquests up to the sea described in the Monghyr plate of his

2 *EI.,* IX, p. 41.

3 Some scholars have doubted the genuineness of Kalhaṇa's description of the conquest of Gauḍa by Lalitāditya. But Dr. R. C. Majumdar has rightly pointed out that "that the conquest at Gauḍa was an historical fact is proved by two incidental incidents—a spoil of conquest from Magadha and the invitation to the Gauḍa king to Kāśmīra capital." Dr. Majumdar, *Early History of Bengal,* pp. 25-6).

4 *IA.,* IX, p. 178.

5 Khālimpur plate, *Gauḍalekhamālā.*

grandson Devapāla seems to have that object in view. The task of launching an aggressive policy was reserved for his son and successor Dharmapāla while the requisite preparations were perhaps made by Gopāla.

The outstanding political fact of the period from 750 to 950 A.D. was the tripartite struggle for imperial suzerainty of northern India among the three great powers—the Pratihāras, the Pālas and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, and the possession of Kanauj, the imperial city of the time. Dharmapāla inherited a consolidated kingdom and it seems that his ambition was to make Bengal the suzerain power in northern India. Naturally he turned to the west. It is not known which were the powers with whom he had to fight at first for the westward expansion of his kingdom. The Gwalior praśasti[6] informs that Pratihāra Vatsarāja wrested the sovereignty of Kanauj from Bhaṇḍīkula. Dharmapāla must have regarded him as a rival but in the encounter the Pāla king was defeated. We know from the Wani and Radhanpur plates[7] that Rāṣṭrakūṭa Dhruva defeated Vatsarāja who had inflicted defeat on the Gauḍa king. But though defeated in his first attempt, Dharmapāla did not give up his imperial ambition and made further attempts to occupy Kanauj because not long after this we find him in the possession of the Ganges-Yamuna Doab. The Sanjan plates of Amoghavarṣa record that the Gauḍa king was defeated by Dhruva in the Ganges-Yamuna valley and this is confirmed by the Baroda and Surat plates of Karkarāja.[9] Chronologically it stands thus that in the westward expansion of his kingdom Dharmapāla received two checks—first from Vatsarāja and next from Dhruva. Dhruva attacked Vatsarāja in *c.* 789 A.D. and therefore Dharmapāla was defeated by Vatsarāja before that. Dhruva died before May, 794 A.D.,[10] and he must have defeated the Pāla king before that date.

But nothing could arrest the political expansion of Bengal, reinvigorated and regenerated as it was from the political turmoil after the election of Gopāla. The Pālas were determined to assert

6 *EI.*, XVIII, p. 101. 7 *Ibid.*, VI, p. 244; *IA.*, XI, p. 157.
8 *EI.*, XVIII, p. 250 9 *IA.*, XII, p. 160; *EI.*, XXI, p. 145.
10 Dr. Altekar, *The Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their times*, p. 56.

themselves in north Indian politics and make Bengal a first class political power. The Pratihāra king was driven into the desert by Dhruva and the next Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Govinda III was engaged in a fractricidal war for succession with his brother Stambha[11] and thus the time was opportune for Dharmapāla. The 7th verse of the Monghyr plate of Devapāla states that his (Dharmapāla's) army in course of *digvijaya* visited Kedāra and Gokarṇa (in the Himalayas and Bombay Presidency respectively). The 12th verse of the Khālimpur plate enumerates the countries that actually acknowledged his overlordship. It is told that "with a sign of his gracefully moved eyebrows he installed the illustrious king of Kānyakubja, who readily was accepted by the Bhoja, Matsya, Madra, Kuru, Yadu, Yavana, Avantī, Gāndhāra and Kīra kings, bowing down respectfully with their diadems trembling and for whom his own golden coronation jar was lifted by the delighted elders of Pāñcāla."[12] Further light on the whole situation is thrown by the 3rd verse of the Bhāgalpur plate of Nārāyaṇapāla. It is known therefrom that Dharmapāla took possession of Kanauj from Indrarāja[13] and installed his own protégé Cakrāyudha on its throne

11 *Ibid.*, p. 61.

12 According to the topographical list of the *Bṛhat-Saṃhitā* Kurus and Matsyas are in the middle country, (the former near modern Delhi and its vicinities, and the latter in the Patiala state), Yadus in the Punjab, in the south of the Yamuna were the Yavanas. Avantī is modern Ujjain in Malwa and the Gandharas in N. W. provinces. The Kīra country has been identified with Kiragrāma or Baijnath in the Kangra district by Dr. R. C. Majumdar (*IHQ.*, IX, p. 11).

13 Dr. R. C. Majumdar identified Indrarāja with Indraraja, younger brother of Govinda III, who was in charge of Lāṭeśvaramaṇḍala which denotes, according to him, the whole northern possession of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (*Journal of the Department of Letters*, IX, 1923). But some scholars identify Indrarāja with Indrāyudha of Jaina Harivaṃśa, the ruler of the north who was ruling contemporaneously with Vatsarāja. (*Bāṅglār Itihās*, I, p. 180; Dr. H. C. Ray, *Dynastic History*, I, p. 285). If this identification is to be accepted, it may be conjectured that Indrāyudha and Cakrāyudha were of the same family and the case of the latter was probably championed by Dharmapāla. Cakrāyudha has been described as one "whose lowly demeanour is manifest because of his dependence on others" in the Gwalior praśasti and as "begging of Dharmapāla the crown of Kanauj" in the Bhāgalpur plate. Is it because of his seeking the throne of Kanauj from Indrāyudha with the help and support of Dharmapāla?

by calling an imperial assembly. His overlordship was acknowledged and the war of *digvijaya* he had to undertake for this purpose speaks of the stupendousness of the task. This supreme political achievement was sanctified by holding the imperial assembly at Kanauj.

This undisputed sovereignty of Dharmapāla over northern India and his handling of the situation according to his pleasure did not go unchallenged. The invasion of Dhruva did not crush the Pratihāra power but only gave a temporary blow to its vigorous rise. Nāgabhaṭa II, son and successor of Vatsarāja, once more tried to consolidate the Pratihāra power in order to make another trial of strength with the Pālas. Before actually taking the field, he came to a close understanding with the kings of Sindhu, Andhra, Vidarbha and Kaliṅga[14] —thus making a strong confederacy of states which, as Dr. Majumdar points out, "formed a central belt right across the country bounded in the east by the empire of the Pālas and on the south by that of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas." Thus strengthing his position, Nāgabhaṭa II most probably first directed his attention to his eastern rival and defeated Cakrāyudha, Dharmapāla's nominee on the throne of Kanauj. This was nothing but a challenge to the suzeranity of Dharmapāla and necessarily brought him on the field.

This fight between Nāgabhaṭa II and Dharmapāla for the overlordship of northern India was one of the most fiercely contested battles of the period and in all probability both the parties were equally matched. The epigraphic records of the vassals of the Pratihāras claim victories over the Gauḍa emperor, implying that they followed Nāgabhaṭa in his campaign. In an inscription of Avantivarman II, great grandson of Vāhukadhavala and a feudatory of Mahendrapāla, it has been claimed that Vāhukadhavala defeated in battle[15] king Dharma who may be identified with Dharmapāla. Again from the Catsu inscription of Bālāditya, it is known that Saṅkaragaṇa, the Guhilot prince, conquered Bhaṭa, king of the Gauḍa country and

14 *EI.*, XVIII, pp. 101 ff.; *Journal of the Department of Letters*, X, p. 38.
15 *EI.*, IX, pp. 2 ff.

made a present of this kingdom to his overlord.[16] It is known from the Jodhpur inscription of Bauka that his father Kakka won distinction by fighting with the Gauḍas at Mudgagiri.[17]

Though no details regarding the preparations of Dharmapāla are known, yet from the nature of the vast and elaborate preparations of his rival from every possible quarters and from the description of the array of the mighty hosts of the lord of Vaṅga in the Gwalior praśasti it can be presumed that the Pāla emperor must have equipped himself fully well to meet the formidable enemy. If Kakka's fight with the Gauḍas refers to Nāgabhaṭa II's fight with Dharmapāla, the Pratihāras advanced as far as Monghyr and the victory of this severe battle was also on their side. But the victory, so strenuously and valliantly won, could not offer to the Pratihāra king the overlordship. Once more the Rāṣṭrakūṭas under Govinda III appeared on the scene and the Radhanpur plates record that the Pratihāra king "in fear vanished no body knew whither." Govinda III overran the Pratihāra territory and advanced as far as the Himalayas. The Sanjan plates inform that Dharmapāla and Cakrāyudha submitted to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monarch of their own accord. In the Nilgund inscription, it is mentioned that Govinda III fettered the people of Gauḍa.[18] Mr. R. D. Banerji suggested from

16 Dr. Majumdar has adduced good reasons to prove that Bhaṭa refers to Dharmapāla and the overlord to Nāgabhaṭa II. *Op cit.* Also see *IHQ.*, IX, pp. 479 ff.

17 It appears that the Jodhpur inscription of Bauka is Samvat 4 and it is dated in his regnal year and not in V.E. 894 as Drs. Bhandarkar and Majumdar read it (*EI.*, XVIII, p. 99). Kakka, father of Bauka, had another son named Kakkuka whose Ghaṭiyāla inscription is dated in V.S. 918=861 A.D. There is no reason to take, as Mr. R. D. Banerji does, the Jodhpur inscription later than the Ghaṭiyāla inscription, nor can we accept his opinion that Kakka, father of Bauka and Kakkuka, cannot be regarded as a contemporary of Nāgabhaṭa II and Dharmapāla. If it is not accepted that Kakka fought for Nāgabhaṭa II, he must have fought for Bhoja, as there is no evidence to show that Rāmabhadra, the immediate successor of Nāgabhaṭa II, could advance to Mudgagiri to fight with the Pālas. It is also not likely, as we shall presently see, that in the first part of the 9th century Bhoja could fight with Devapāla at Mudgagiri. Thus it is quite reasonable to hold that Kakka fought for Nāgabhaṭa II against Dharmapāla (*JBORS.*, 1928, pp. 489 ff.).

18 *EI.*, VI, p. 105.

these that Dharmapāla and Cakrāyudha invoked the assistance of Govinda III against Nāgabhaṭa II. Though it cannot be definitely ascertained, it seems quite probable that Dharmapāla after his defeat by Nāgabhaṭa II did not risk another encounter with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and thought it wise to submit to Govinda III.[19] From a comparison of the Wani and Radhanpur grants the northern invasion of Govinda III can be assigned to the period between 807 and 808 A.D. It is therefore clear that the reverses of Dharmapāla must have taken place before that date.

It cannot be clearly stated what was the result of the submission of Dharmapāla and Cakrāyudha. Most probably Cakrāyudha was reinstated on the throne of Kanauj. It remained for Devapāla to vindicate the honour of the Gauḍa empire. During the reign of Devapāla the Pāla arms were crowned with success everywhere. It is stated in the Monghyr plate that in course of his *digvijaya* he advanced as far as the Vindhyas and the Kamboja country. This is confirmed by the 13th verse of the Badal Pillar inscription where Devapāla's victories in the Vindhyas and Kamboja country have been alluded to. It seems that he fought with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas during the interregnum and the period of minority of Amoghavarṣa I. It is not precisely known

19 Mr. N. N. Das Gupta tried to prove with considerable force of arguments that (1) there was an actual encounter between Dharmapāla and Govinda III and (2) this was anterior to the defeat inflicted by Nāgabhaṭa II (*JBORS.*, XII, p. 361). As regards the first point, it may be said that in the Sanjan plates Dharmapāla and Cakrāyudha voluntarily submitted to Govinda III's prowess. The possession of the Ganges and the Yamuna alluded to in the Baroda plates of Karkarāja II does not seem to mean permanent occupation. In the course of his northern campaign up to the Himalayas he must have for the time being some portion of the Ganges valley. The relation between Dharmapāla and Govinda III may not have been one of amicability but it is likely that the former did not dare a battle with Rāṣṭrakūṭas (if we interpret in the light of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa records). If there have been any alliance between them against Nāgabhaṭa II, as has been suggested by R. D. Banerji, it seems from the evidence of the Nilgund inscription that the position of Dharmapāla was an inferior one. As regards the second point, Mr. Das Gupta's assertion is based on the 10th verse of the Gwalior praśasti. We prefer Dr. Majumdar's translation. It must be pointed out that in the Sanjan plates the submission of Dharma and Cakrāyudha has been mentioned after the defeat of Nāgabhaṭa II.

where the Kambojas lived at this time.[20] Thus the statement in the Badal Pillar inscription that by the wise counsel and policy of his minister the whole tract bounded by the Vindhyas and the Himalayas and the eastern and western seas paid tribute to Devapāla was not a mere poetical exaggeration but an actual fact.

These achievements in the said praśasti have been attributed to Darbhapāṇi but it is also stated therein that by the policy and counsel of Kedāramiśra (who also served Devapāla) the Gauḍa king "eradicated the race of the Utkalas, humbled the pride of the Hunas and shattered the conceit of Drāviḍa and Gurjara king." It seems that the victories and supremacy won during the first part of his reign was challenged and Devapāla had to undertake another expedition to curb their power and maintain Pāla supremacy. That the two rival powers, the Pratihāras and Rāṣṭrakūṭas tried to assert their power is also hinted at their own records, though they are scrupulously silent of their own defeats. The Gwalior inscription of Vaillabhaṭṭa indicates that Gwalior was the boundary of the Pratihāra kingdom at the time of Rāmabhadra and in the early part of the reign of Bhoja. The 12th verse of the Gwalior praśasti of Bhoja seems to imply that Rāmabhadra freed his country from the yoke of foreign soldiers and, as Dr. Majumdar points out, it seems likely that "band of foreign soldiers by driving whom Rāmabhadra got back the lost fame belonged to the Pālas, for the other rival power, viz., the Rāṣṭrakūṭas are not known to have advanced as far as the Gurjara kingdom at this period."[21] The evidences of Daulatpura plates and Ghatiyala inscription go to show that some time before 843 A.D. the Pratihāras under Bhoja made an attempt to reassert their power and though it was met with some initial success, his power was again checked some time before 861 A.D. This is in complete agreement with what we know from the Pāla records.

20 At the time of Aśoka the Kambojas were a Himalayan tribe in N. W. India. It is known from the Irda plate of king Nayapāladeva that there was a Kamboja ruling family in south-western Bengal in the 10th century. Did Devapāla fight with this family or a Himalayan tribe? (*EI.*, XXII, pp. 150 ff.).

21 Dr. Majumdar, '*The Gurjara-Pratihāras*,' *op. cit.*

Amoghavarṣa I was the Rāṣṭrakūṭa contemporary of Devapāla. During the period of his minority and anarchy Devapāla victoriously advanced as far as the Vindhyas in course of his first expedition. It is stated in the Sirur[22] and Nignud grants that the kings of Aṅga, Vaṅga and Magadha paid homage to Amoghavarṣa but there are reasons to hold that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas advanced through Orissa after the conquest of Veṅgi.[23] Amoghavarṣa finally crushed the power of the Veṅgi ruler Vijayāditya II some time before 866 A.D., the date of the issuing of the Sirur grants. It seems, therefore, that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion of Bengal should be placed after 850 A.D. and Devapāla defeated the Rāṣṭrakūṭas some time before 850 A.D. in course of his second expedition when Amoghavarṣa was perhaps engaged in wars with his Guzerat cousins and putting down risings of the rebellious chiefs.

It is not known who was the contemporary Utkala king defeated by Devapāla.[24] The conquest of the Utkalas is corroborated by the Bhāgalpur plate in which it is recorded that Jayapāla, cousin and general of Devapāla, drove away the Utkala king from the throne. The position of the Huṇas cannot be precisely determined at this period. The Bhāgalpur plate also records that Jayapāla defeated the king of Prāgjyotiṣa (Kāmarūpa).[25]

The Pāla power reached its high water-mark during the reign of Devapāla. His arms were successful against his enemies and the Pāla suzerainty was established everywhere. But it seems that the sun of the Pāla power reached the zenith and ere long it was to go down, never to rise in full splendour and glory, though it continued its existence more than three centuries more. Devapāla was succeeded by Vigrahapāla I or Śūrapāla who most probably ruled for a short period.

22 *EI.*, VII, pp. 104-5.

23 The *'Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their times,' op. cit.*, pp. 76, 84. A march through Bagelkhand and Bihar without coming into serious conflicts with the rising power of the Pratihāras under Bhoja does not seem likely. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa grants do not indicate that Amoghavarṣa I marched against Bhoja.

24 The king of Utkala may be a king of the Kara family.

25 *The Kāmarūpa king defeated by Jayapāla was most probably Hajara*varman whose Tezpur rock inscription is dated in 829 A.D. or his successor Vaṇamāla.

This short reign was not without political significance. The king of Aṅga, Vaṅga and Magadha who paid homage was very likely Vigrahapāla I, as it has already been pointed out that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion under Amoghavarṣa I took place after 850 A.D. The acceptance of an ascetic life by Vigrahapāla I by shirking all responsibilities to his son might have been due to defeats by the foreign invaders and humiliation consequent thereto. It cannot be clearly stated whether Vigrahapāla I suffered defeats in the hands of Bhoja, though the probability is strongly so. The Pāla records are significantly silent over the Prathihāra invasions of the time. But the gradual extension of the Pratihāra empire at the cost of the Pālas can no longer be doubted. The Gwalior praśasti records that Vaṅga felt the brunt of Bhoja's anger. Bhoja, like his grandfather, made extensive preparations in his Bengal campaigns and it seems that the two Cedi chiefs helped him. It is known from the Kalha plates of Sodhadeva that Kalacuri chief Guṇāmbodhideva who ruled in Kalañjara got some territories from Bhoja and took away the fortune of Gauḍa by a warlike expedition.[26] The evidence of the Benares and Bilhari inscriptions[27] taken along with that of the Amoda plates[28] goes to show that Bhoja was most probably assisted by the Kalacuri king Kokkaladeva against the Pālas.

Though no record has yet come to light to show the subjugation of Magadha and adjacent countries by Bhoja, the discovery of inscriptions of the early part of the reign of his son Mahendrapāla and the absence of Pāla records in that region indicate that the expansion of the Pratihāra power over Magadha might have taken place in the reign of Bhoja. In the 7th and 9th year of the reign of Nārāyaṇapāla, the Pāla sway was acknowledged in Gayā and his Bhāgalpur grant was issued in his 17th regnal year from Monghyr and it seems that Magadha was included in the Pāla empire in *c.* 880 A.D. Bhoja died in *c.* 890 A.D. The evidences of the Rām-Gayā, Guneria and Itkhauri inscriptions[29] go unmistakably to show that some portion of Magadha was included in the Pratihāra

26 *EI.*, VII, p. 86. 27 *Ibid.*, II, pp. 297, 302.
28 *Ibid.*, XIX, p. 7.
29 *The Pālas of Bengal*, plates have been published.

empire in the last decade of the 9th century. The discovery of the Pāhārpur Pillar inscription in the 5th year of the reign of Mahendrapāla[30] shows further expansion of the Pratihāra power. It is quite likely that the Pratihāras advanced along the northern bank of the Ganges and occupied the very citadel of the Pālas. Thus in the long struggle with the Pratihāras, the Pālas were ousted for the time being from their *janakabhū* Varendrī. There is nothing to be wondered at how the name of the Mahendrapāla is included by the Tibetan historian Tāranātha in the list of the kings of Magadha and Gauḍa. It is known from the Catsu inscription[31] that the Guhilot king Guhila II, son of Harṣarāja, defeated the Gauḍa king and levied tribute from princes in the east. Harṣarāja was a contemporary of Bhoja and his son therefore may be regarded to be the contemporary of Mahendrapāla. This Guhilot family was a loyal feudatory family and rendered valuable services to the Pratihāras. Another invasion that took place about this time was by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa II who, after defeating a Gurjara king, raided Gauḍa, Aṅga, Kaliṅga and Magadha.[32] Kṛṣṇa II ascended the throne in *c.* 880 A.D. and as he was engaged in the first part of his reign with the Veṅgi ruler and with the Pratihāra emperor Bhoja, his expedition in the east was probably undertaken towards the close the 9th or beginning of the 10th century.

It is not known how long the Pratihāra occupation of Magadha and northern Bengal lasted. In the 54th year of Nārāyaṇapāla (i.e., about the second decade of the 10th century) an image was set up at Nālandā which goes to show that south-eastern Magadha was under the Pālas. Inscriptions of Rājyapāla[33] and Gopāla II have been found in Nālandā and Bodh-Gayā. After the death of Mahendrapāla the Pratihāra empire began to break up. The relation between his sons Bhoja II and Mahīpāla was not friendly. The former could retain the throne for two years only and was ousted by Mahīpāla who was driven away from Kanauj by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Indra III. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa invasion took place in *c.* 916 A.D. and it is not unlikely that the Pālas might have attempted during this troublous time of the Prati-

30 *ASR.*, 1927-8, pp. 101 ff. 31 *EI.*, XII, p. 11.
32 *EI.*, V, p. 191, Deoli plates; *Ibid.*, IV, p. 287.
33 *IA.*, 1918, p. 111.

hāras to recover some of their lost possessions. It must be noted that no record of the Pālas from the time of Nārāyaṇapāla to Mahīpāla I (both exclusive) has yet been found in northern Magadha and Bengal. The Pāla kingdom was considerably reduced during the weak rules of Vigrahapāla I, Nārāyaṇapāla, Rājyapāla, Gopāla II and Vigrahapāla II. There was also trouble in the south-eastern and south-western Bengal and the Pāla authority was set at nought almost everywhere. A new dynasty was established in eastern Bengal in the 10th century by Trailokyacandra and it seems that the establishment of the Candra dynasty was at the cost of the Pālas.[34] The recently published Irda plate of the Kamboja king Nayapāla[35] introduces us to a new line of kings who should also be palæographically assigned to the same century and who ruled roughly speaking the southern portion of modern Burdwan Division. The circumstances that made Rājyapāla, the earliest known member of this family, ruler of this part of Bengal are not known. But that they were of considerable political importance seems to be clear from the assumption of the imperial titles by Nayapāladeva.

The important political fact in the 10th century was the decline of the Pālas, Pratihāras and Rāṣṭrakūṭas in northern India as great powers. There arose new powers like the Paramāras, Kalacuris and Candellas who held so long in check or figured as allies or vassals now raised their heads. They asserted their power on their own account and were bent on aggrandisement at the cost of their neighbours. The motive behind the wars and invasions of this and subsequent period were perhaps same as those great powers, i.e. the establishment of hegemony of northern India. But none of them, even the most powerful monarchs like the Paramāra Bhoja or Kalacuri Karṇa succeeded in establishing any permanent suzerainty. The invasions of this period should therefore be properly regarded as military raids.

It is known from the two Kalacuri inscriptions[36] that the Cedi king Yuvarāja I and his son Lakṣmaṇarāja invaded Gauḍa and Vaṅgāla respectively. Yuvarāja I was the father-in-law of Amoghavarṣa III,

34 *IHQ.*, XII, pp. 75-78. 35 *EI.*, XXII, pp. 150 ff.
36 *EI.*, II, p. 297, Bilhari and Goharwa plates; *Ibid.*, XI, p. 142.

the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, whose reign commenced in c. 935 A.D. Therefore Yuvarāja I and his son seem to have reigned in the first half of the 10th century whose Pāla contemporaries were probably Rājyapāla and Gopāla II. Yuvarāja I carried on raids on many countries far and near, viz, Gauḍa, Karṇāṭa, Lāṭa, Kāśmīra and Kaliṅga. Lakṣmaṇarāja defeated the Vaṅgālas,[37] king of Pāṇdya and of the Gurjara and the heroes of Kāśmīra. Nor the other central Indian power was sitting inactive. The Khajuraho inscription[38] of Candella Yaśovarman dated in 954 A.D. informs that he defeated the king of Gauḍa. Another Khajuraho inscription,[39] dated in 1001 A.D., records that the wives of the kings of Kāñcī, Andhra, Rāḍhā and Aṅga lingered in his prisons.

The Pālas must have passing their most critical days in the 10th century. The evidence of the Dinajpur Pillar inscription goes to show that they were dispossessed of northern Bengal by a Kamboja chief who styled himself as Gauḍādhipa.[40] Palæographically this record is to be assigned to the period 950-1050 A.D. It is now certain that a Kamboja family ruled in south-western Bengal in the 10th century and it is therefore quite likely, as Mr. N. G. Majumdar observes,[41] that the Kamboja king of the Dinajpur Pillar inscription and the princes whose names appear in the Irda copper-plate presumably represent one and the same family.[42] If this is to be accepted, Vigrahapāla II was ousted from northern Bengal by a prince of this family. The Bangaḍ grant records that Vigrahapāla II was roaming in many parts of the kingdom for seeking shelter and his son Mahīpāla I recovered his paternal throne which was occupied by a usurper who has generally been iden-

37 The Vaṅgāla king might be Trailokyacandra or Śrīcandra. For location of Vaṅgāla, see, *IHQ.*, XII, p. 522.

38 *EI.*, I, p. 123.

39 *Ibid.*, the king of Rāḍhā might be one of the family of the Kamboja king Nayapāla.

40 I agree with Dr. R. C. Majumdar that the expression *Kuñjaraghaṭāvarṣeṇa* of the inscription is to be taken as an epithet of the Gauḍapati and not as a cloropogram. *Vaṅgavāṇī*, 1330 B.S., p. 250.

41 *EI.*, XXII, p. 152.

42 Ray, *Dynastic History of Northern India*, vol. I, pp. 308-9. Dr. Raychowdhuri is of opinion that the Kambojas came to Bengal from the northwest, like the Gurjaras. *Ibid.*, p. 311, n. I.

tified with the Kamboja king of Gauḍa. The course of events that made the Kamboja king master of Gauḍa and how Mahīpāla I recovered the paternal throne still remain unknown.

With the accession of Mahīpāla I there seems to have been a revival of the Pāla power. The Baghaura image inscription shows that Samataṭa was included within his kingdom in his 3rd regnal year.[43] The Imadpur image inscription goes to show that northern Bihar was under his possession.[44] If the date saṃvat 1076 of the colophon of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is to be referred to the Vikrama era, it seems that Mahīpāla I came into conflict with Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva, though it has been doubted by some scholars.[45] It is stated in the Goharwa plates that Gāṅgeyadeva conquered as far as the sea of Utkala and vanquished the king of Aṅga. Most probably Aṅga was included within Mahīpāla's kingdom. The most formidable invasion during his reign was from the south. It is recorded in the Tirumulaya rock inscription of Rājendracola that in *c.* 1075 A.D. after taking Oḍḍaviṣaya and Kośala-nāḍu, his general defeated Dharmapāla of Ṭaṇḍabhukti, Raṇaśūra of Ṭakkaṇa-lāḍam, Govindacandra of Vaṅgāladeśa and Mahīpāla of Uttīra-lāḍam.[46] Dharmapāla of Daṇḍabhukti most probably belonged to the family of the Kamboja king Nayapāladeva of the Irda plates. It is quite likely, as R. D. Banerji suggested, that the Cola army passed through Orissa, Midnapur, Hoogly and Howrah and Vaṅga and then to Uttara-Rāḍhā.

43 *EI.*, XVII, p. 353.

44 *IA.*, XIV, p. 165.

45 The colophon was copied in Saṃvat 1076 when Tīrabhukti was ruled over by "Mahārājādhirāja Puṇyāvaloka Somavaṃśodbhava Gauḍdhvaja Śrīmad Gāṅgeyadeva." Bendall referred the date to the Vikrama era and identified the king with Kalacuri Gāṅgeyadeva. Objections have been raised by Sylvain Lévi and Mr. R. P. Chanda (summarised in *IHQ.*, 1931, pp. 679 ff.). But they do not seem to be very strong in view of the evidence of the Goharwa plates. Dr. R. C. Majumdar suggests that the date 1076 is to be referred to the Śaka era and the king is to be identified with Gāṅgeyadeva, successor of Nānyadeva on the throw of Mithilā. This solves all difficulties no doubt but it must be said that the fascimile has not been published and therefore cannot be palæographically examined. The date of the colophon rests on a statement of Bendall who examined it in Nepal. See *IHQ.*, XII, p. 469.

46 For location of the principalities, see *JBORS.*, 1928, pp. 489 ff.

Mahīpāla's foreign policy has been severely criticised by Messrs. R. P. Chanda[47] and R. D. Banerji[48] because he did not join the rulers of northern India against the Muslims. The learned author of *Gauḍarājamālā* observes that Mahīpāla, like the emperor Aśoka after the Kaliṅga war, sheathed his sword and devoted all his energies to pious and religious works after the recovery of northern Bengal from the Kamboja chiefs. Like all historical comparisons it is far from being exact and it is also a mis-statement of facts. With any stretch of historical imagination Mahīpāla I cannot be compared with the great Maurya emperor either in power and prestige or in religious and moral fervour. R. D. Banerji remarks that Mahīpāla could not make common cause with other kings because of his envy and religious bigotry. Mahīpāla, a devout Buddhist though he was, granted a village in the Puṇḍravardhana-bhukti to the excellent Brahmin Bhaṭṭaputra Kṛṣṇādityaśarman in the 9th year of his reign and many Brāhmaṇical gods and goddesses were installed in his reign. The charge of bigotry has no basis at all, as it is disproved both by official and private records. His reign cannot in any sense be called a period of military inactivity and religious asceticism. He was beset with great difficulties from the very beginning of his reign. He had to recover the paternal throne from a usurper. The Candras were carving out a kingdom in eastern Bengal and his suzeranity was acknowledged in that region. The Cedis under Gāṅgeyadeva were making great strides in the east and most probably Mahīpāla had to fight with him. He had not only to re-establish the Pāla power but also to consolidate it which was tottering during the reign of his father. It will be anachronism to judge the foreign policy of Mahīpāla in the light of later history or of modern times. If he did not entangle himself in the turmoil of northern Indian politics because of the unlimited liability involved in that course and adopted the policy of the 'safety first', it shows his foresight and political sagacity. His position was weak in his own territory and his kingdom was vulnerable from every quarter. When dangers came from unexpected quarters, his energy and resources were spent in repelling them. If his resources

47 *Gauḍarājamālā*, p. 41.

48 *Bāṅglār Itihās*, vol. I, p. 256.

were spent in checking the Muslim invasions, the Pāla kingdom might have ended with the shock of Rājendracola's invasion and anarchy and disorder, previous to the rise of the Pālas, might have been the result.

After the fall of the Pratihāras, the Kalacuris were the most active enemies of the Pālas. The invasions of Kokkala, Yuvarāja, Lakṣmaṇarāja and Gāṅgeyadeva have already been referred to. The Kalacuri power rose to its height under Karṇa, son of Gāṅgeyadeva and most of the contemporary northern Indian kings felt the brunt of his power. The Tibetan biographer[49] of Atīśa Śrījñāna Dīpaṅkara records the meditation of hostilities that ensued between Nayapāla and Karṇa. If the Tibetan account is to be believed in its entirety, the Kalacuri army was successful at first and besieged the holy city of Gayā but was ultimately defeated by the Pāla army. There is nothing improbable in the account that after hostilities a treaty was brought about through the good offices of the great Buddhist patriarch. With the exception of the articles of food that were destroyed at the time of war, all other things were either restored to or compensated for. The treaty concluded by Atīśa seems to have proved to be a truce. The evidences of the Paikore image inscription[50] and of the *Rāmacarita*[51] go to show that a second campaign against the Pālas was undertaken by Karṇa. In this expedition Karṇa advanced as far as Paikore (in the Birbhum district) and set up a column there perhaps as a mark of his victorious march, where an image was carved by a certain sculptor by the order of the Cedi king. Karṇa's invasion of Bengal has also been alluded to in the Bheraghat inscription of Ahlaṇādevī[52] and in Karanabel inscription[53] of Jayasiṃha. It is stated in the *Rāmacarita* that Vigrahapāla III, though defeated Karṇa, did not uproot him and that Karṇa's daughter Yauvanaśrī was married to him. It is difficult to believe that the Cedi king who carried extensive conquests far and wide was compelled to give his daughter in marriage with Vigrahapāla. In the height of his power he overran the whole of northern India but in the latter part of his reign he suffered many defeats. From various sources come the

49 *Journal of the Buddhist Text Society*, vol. I, p. 9.
50 *ASR.*, 1921-22, p. 78.
51 *Rāmacarita*, 1.9.
52 *EI.*, II, p. 11.
53 *IA.*, XVII, p. 217.

story of his defeats by Candella Kīrtivarman,[54] Paramāra Udayāditya[55] and Cālukya Sarveśvara I.[56] It is known from the *Prabodhacandrodaya* that Karṇa at first almost annexed the Candella kingdom during the weak rule of Devendravarman but the same drama records how his brother Kīrtivarman with the help of his Brahmin minister Gopāla restored the Candella kingdom after vanquishing Karṇa's power. Faced in the south and west by the Cālukyas and the Paramāras, the rising power of the Candellas was still more a greater danger to the power of Karṇa. It is therefore quite possible that the motive behind this matrimonial alliance with Vigrahapāla III was a lasting peace with the Pālas.

The *Vikramāṅkacarita* which narrates the exploits and military expeditions of Vikramāditya VI, son of Cālukya king Someśvara I, records that when a Yuvarāja, Vikramāditya made a cavalry raid of Gauḍa[57] and Kāmarūpa. It is stated in the inscriptions of the reigns of Someśvara I,[58] Someśvara II,[59] Vikramāditya VI[60] that the Cālukyas shattered the pride of many countries in which the names of Gauḍa and Vaṅga occur. The invasion of Someśvara I must have taken place before 1053 A.D. because his Mahāsāmanta Bhogadevarasa of the Kelwadi inscription[61] raided Vaṅga and seems to have followed him. As the invasion of Bengal is mentioned in the records of three consecutive Cālukya kings and in the *Vikramāṅkacarita*, it is quite probable that there was more than one Cālukya invasion in the eleventh century.

The unsteady political state of Bengal due to the *coup de tat* of the Kaivartas and the dislodgment of the Pālas from Varendrī in the latter half of the 11th century invited more foreign invasions and offered a fruitful field to the ambitious political adventurers. Sometime about the middle of the eleventh century an independent power was established by the Varmans in eastern Bengal.[62] Most probably the

54 *EI.*, I, p. 222; *Prabodhacandrodaya*, pp. 11, 12, 14.

55 *Ibid.*, II, p. 185.

56 *Uber das Lebender Jaina monchs Haracandra* by George Buhler, p. 69; *IA.*, V, p. 317, '*Vikramāṅkadevacarita.*'

57 *Ibid.*

58 *EI.*, XV, p. 86.

59 *Ibid.*, p. 97.

60 *Ibid.*, p. 104.

61 *EI.*, IV, p. 259.

62 *IHQ.*, XII, 78.

Varmans came in the train of a foreign invader and taking advantage of the political situation, Jātavarman founded the Varman dynasty. The relation between the Varmans and the Pālas at first is not known, though Vigrahapāla III and Jātavarman were sons-in-law of Kalacuri Karṇa. Jātavarman came into conflict with the Kaivarta chief Divvoka and this is also perhaps alluded to in the Nālandā inscription of Vipulaśrīmitra.[63] In the Nagpur praśasti of the Paramāra kings it is stated that the Paramāra king Lakṣmaṇadeva first proceeded to Hari's quarters and entered the town of the lord of Gauḍa. Hari's quarters has generally been taken to mean east but it may refer to the kingdom of Harivarman who, according to the evidence of the Vajrayogini plate,[64] ruled before Sāmalavarman, son of Jātavarman.

After the suppression of the Kaivarta revolt and recovery of Varendra by Rāmapāla there was another attempt to assert Pāla supremacy in eastern India. Towards the end of the chapter III of the *Rāmacarita*, a description of Rāmapāla's conquest has been given. The verse 42 refers to his march to the sea-coast of Orissa and in the next mention is made of the Nāgas. It is stated in verse 44 that a Varman king[65] of the east presented Rāmapāla an elephant and his chariot for his own safety. The next verse refers to Rāmapāla's favour to the vanquished king of Utkala who took the territory of a Bhavabhūṣaṇa-santati.[66] The verse 47 speaks of the conquest of Kāmarūpa by a Rāmapāla's sāmanta.[67]

Towards the close of the 11th and beginning of the 12th century the Gāhaḍavālas of Kanauj founded a strong kingdom in upper central

63 *Ibid.*

64 *Bhāratvarṣa*, 1340 B.S., p. 674; *EI.*, II, p. 193.

65 The Varman king who made his submission was either Harivarman or Sāmalavarman.

66 For the interpretation of this word and some interesting suggestions, see N. G. Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, pp. 29-30.

67 The Kāmarūpa king overthrown by Rāmapāla was, according to Pandit P. Bhattacharya, Dharmapāla of Brahmapāla's dynasty. According to K. L. Barua, he might have been Jayapāla of the Silimpur grant (see Intro., *Kāmarūpa-śāsanāvalī*; cf. on the dynasty of Brahmapāla, *Early History of Kāmarūpa*). It is also not improbable that Rāmapāla sent a general to subjugate the rebellious chief Iśvaraghoṣa who seems to have assumed an independent attitude to the central authority when Pālas were ousted from northern Bengal by the Kaivartas.

India and in their eastward expansion came into conflict with the Pālas. The Gāhaḍavāla Madanapāla's inscriptions are dated from *c.* 1104 to 1109 A.D. and in his Rahan grant[68] the victories over the Gauḍa elephants are said to have been achieved by the valour of his son Govindacandra. It is difficult to say whether the Gāhaḍvālas or the Pālas were the aggressors. It may be that the Pālas under Rāmapāla made an attempt to extend their sway in the west and it was checked by the rising powers of Gāhaḍvālas. Govindacandra married Kumāradevī, the grand-daughter of Mahana, who was maternal uncle of Rāmapāla and his right-hand man in the suppression of the Kaivarta revolt. But the eastward advance of the Gāhaḍavāla power during the period 1124-1146 A.D. is proved by the Maner and Lar plates and this probably took place during the reigns of the weak successors of Rāmapāla. The short reign of Kumārapāla was not without some political significance. The Kaumali plate vividly narrates how his general and minister Vaidyadeva put down a revolt in southern Bengal by winning a naval battle. It is possible that when the strong arm of Rāmapāla was no more, the Varmans tried to shake off the Pāla authority but was unsuccessful in the attempt. The same grant records that Vaidyadeva by quick marches surprised Timyagdeva of Kāmarūpa who also raised the standard of revolt against the Pālas and Vaidyadeva made himself master of the Kāmarūpa kingdom, though he did not fail to mention his services to, and relationship with, Kumārapāla.

In their relation with the eastern neighbour, Kāmarūpa, the Pālas were always aggressive. Perhaps Bengal learnt a lesson from the disastrous effect of the alliance between Harṣavardhana and Bhāskaravarman and the invasion of Harṣadeva of Kāmarūpa and never again allowed to repeat such an eventuality. No record after the Paśupati temple inscription of Licchavi Jayadeva makes any slight hint to an invasion of Bengal by a Kāmarūpa king. In Baragaon grant[69] of Ratnapāla it is stated that he built a fort with so strong walls that it would not be broken by the untamable elephants of Gauḍa. This clearly shows that the Kāmarūpa kings were in constant dread of attack by the

68 *IA.*, XVIII, p. 16.

69 *JASB.*, LXVII, pp. 115-118.

Pāla kings. The aggressive policy launched by the Pālas (Kāmarūpa invasions during the reigns of Devapāla, Rāmapāla and Kumārapāla) against Kāmarūpa was continued by the Senas. Even Jātavarman, who established the Varman power in eastern Bengal in the middle of the 11th century, made an expedition against Kāmarūpa. The Deopara and Madhainagar inscriptions allude to the victorious campaigns of Vijayasena and his grandson Lakṣmaṇasena against Kāmarūpa. Most probably Vijayasena came into hostile contact with Rāyarideva which has been perhaps alluded to in the Assam plates of Vallabhadeva. The name of Lakṣmaṇasena's contemporary on the Kāmarūpa throne is not known.

In the scramble for power that followed the break-up of the Pāla kingdom, Vijayasena came out successful. He had not only to fight with local chiefs but also with foreign potentates who were also bent on aggrandisement. Vijayasena came into conflict with the Gaṅga kings of Orissa. It is known that Anantavarma Coḍagaṅga forced the ruler of Mandāra to flee and levied tributes from territories near the Ganges.[71] Most probably in order to check the Gaṅga power in the west, Vijayasena fought with the Orissa king and made Rāghava a prisoner who has been identified with Coḍagaṅga's son[72] of that name. Another chief who attempted to reap a rich harvest in the uncertain political condition of Bengal was Nānyadeva of Mithilā and seems to have met with a similar fate.[73] The 22nd verse of the Deopara inscription also records that Vijayasena sent a navy to the west and it is not known against whom this was done. Another expedition against Kaliṅga was undertaken during the reign of Vallālasena by the crown prince Lakṣmaṇasena.[74] The Gauḍa king whose sovereignty was siezed by Lakṣmaṇasena was most probably a successor of Madanapāla, ruling in some part of Magadha.[75] The Sena power reached its zenith during the region of Lakṣmaṇasena. The Gāhaḍavālas under Govindacandra perhaps made another attempt to push their western boundary

70 *EI.*, V, p. 186.
71 *JASB.*, 1896, pt. I, pp. 239, 241.
72 *History of Orissa*, vol. I, p. 254.
73 *IHQ.*, 1931, p. 679.
74 Madhainagar plate of Lakṣmaṇasena.
75 *Indian Culture*, II, pp. 579 ff.

in Magadha and Aṅga, as it is proved by evidences of the Maner plates.[76] The erection of victorious pillars at Kāśī and Prayāga by Lakṣmaṇasena as recorded in the records of his sons suggests that the Gāhaḍvāla expansion was once more checked. Lakṣmaṇasena's expeditions in Kāmarūpa, Kaliṅga and erection of victorious pillars at Benares and Allahabad read along with the Dhoyi's *Pavanadūta* go to suggest that he undertook a *digvijaya*, though allowance must be made for court-poet's exaggeration. The war of *digvijaya* seems to have some historical background, though for the search of a suitable abode for a bride it has been as far south as the Malaya hills.[77] But Lakṣmaṇasena seems to have suffered a severe defeat in the hands of the Muslims and most probably northern Bengal passed in their possession during his reign. His sons and successors continued the struggle against the new enemy from eastern Bengal.[78]

Resumé

It has been shown elsewhere[79] that the conquests of Aṅga, Vaṅga and Kaliṅga have been mentioned in some records in very vague and general terms. They are poetic exaggerations in royal praśastis, and should be regarded as hollow statements. We can add three other inscriptions to the list. The Kalacuri king Vijjana of Kalyāṇa pretended to conquer Pāṇḍya, Cola and Vaṅga.[80] Again, his son Saṅkāmadeva's exploits are said to have extended over Gauḍa, Turuṣkas, Siṃhala, Cola, Magadha and Malaya. One of his known date is 1186 A.D. that year being the 5th year of his reign[81] In the Ekāmranātha inscription, dated in 1172 S.E., Gaṇapatideva claims to have defeated Siṃhana (a Yādava king), kings of Kaliṅga, Lāṭa and Gauḍa.[82] In the absence of any corroborative evidence these bold and wild claims should be doubted.

The Pālas were entangled in severe struggle with the Pratihāras and Rāṣṭrakūṭas from the very foundation of the empire. It seems that

76 *EI.*, VIII, App. I, p. 13, list no. 12; *Ibid.*, VII, p. 89.
77 *Pavanadūta*, edited by C. Chakravarty.
78 *IHQ.*, XII, p. 81.
79 *IHQ.*, XI, p. 769.
80 *IA.*, IV, p. 275.
81 *Ibid.*, V, p. 45.
82 *Ibid.*, XXI, p. 197.

the struggle was more keen and long-drawn with the Pratihāras than with the latter. A close study of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Pāla records tends to show that the Pālas were politically or matrimonially allied with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. It was held by some scholars that Dhruva Dhārāvarṣa undertook his campaign against Vatsarāja as an ally of Dharmapāla, but it is to be given up in view of the direct mention of his encounter with the Gauḍa king in the 14th verse of the Sañjān plates. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa help was perhaps sought by Dharmapāla when he was defeated by Nāgabhaṭa II. The 23rd verse of the same record which describes the northern campaign of Govinda III and his victory over Nāgabhaṭa II informs that Dharmapāla and Cakrāyudha submitted of their own accord. This conclusion becomes more probable because Dharmapāla married Raṇṇādevī, daughter of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince named Parabala.[83] Abhinanda, the famous author of the *Rāmacarita*, lived under the patronage of the crown prince Hārāvarṣa who is to be identified with Devapāla[84] and which also scents of Rāṣṭrakūṭa influence.

The sixth Pāla king Rājyapāla married Bhāgyadevī, daughter of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince named Tuṅga. The identification of this Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince is also far from being certain. Rājyapāla ruled during *c.* 915-940 A.D. and the Pāla power was passing through the most criti-

83 This Parabala has not been yet definitely identified. One Parabala is known from the Pathari Pillar inscription (*EI.*, IX, p. 249). Kielhorn read the date as 917 V.S.=861 A.D. which is in his opinion is clear. It is impossible to verify it from the facsimile. Dharmapāla's date cannot be pushed in any case beyond 815 A.D. and therefore it is difficult to believe that Parabala who lived in 861 A.D. could have been his father-in-law. It is to be noted that Parabala's date is dependent on that of Dharmapāla and not *vice versa*. Fleet expressed the opinion that Parabala is to be identified with Govinda III but no *birūda* of Govinda III as such is not known. Mr. R. D. Banerji was of opinion that Parabala of the Pathari inscription had a very long life and there is no difficulty to identify him with Dharmapāla's father-in-law. (*Bāṅglār Itihāsa*, p. 196).

84 *Rāmacarita*, published in the Gaekward's Oriental Series, vol. XLVI, see the very learned introduction by the editor. A very strong case has been made for Hārāvarṣa's identification with Devapāla. Hārāvarṣa was the son of Vikramaśila and of Dharmapāla. See all other references cited therein. Learned men of Bengal were also honoured by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings. (*IA.*, XII, p. 254; XIII, p. 135; *EI.*, XXI, p. 260).

cal days at this period, as the Pratihāras under Mahendrapāla occupied northern Bihar and Bengal. The strengthening of the Pāla power by a matrimonial alliance can be presumed. What is more important to notice is that in every official record of the Pālas after Rājyapāla this matrimonial alliance has been very prominently referred to, while Dharmapāla's marriage with Raṇṇādevī is known from the Monghyr and Nālandā grants of Devapāla. Vigrahapāla I's marriage with the Kalacuri princess Lajjādevī is known only from the Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla. But Rājyapāla's marriage with Bhāgyadevī has been repeated in the genealogical account of the Pālas in every grant. It is quite probable that this marriage was of great political importance to the Pālas. Kielhorn suggested that Rājyapāla's father-in-law was Jagattuṅga, son of Kṛṣṇa II.[85] Jagattuṅga predeceased his son Indra III and did not reign.[86] It cannot be ascertained whether the northern campaign of Indra III and his signal victory over the Pratihāra emperor Mahīpalā had something to do in connection with this matrimonial alliance. But it seems certain that this death-blow to the Pratihāras offered a good opportunity to the Pālas for the recovery of the lost possessions. Every Rāṣṭrakūṭa campaign against the Pratihāras, whether undertaken for their own sake or otherwise, was indirectly of great political advantage to the Pālas.

If the northern campaigns of Govinda III and Indra III are somewhat doubtful as direct help to the Pālas, the evidence of the *Rāmacarita* of Sandhyākaranandī is conclusive on the fact that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa branch of Magadha rendered incalculable service to the cause of the Pālas at one of the most critical juncture of their fortunes. Vigrahapāla III married a sister of Mathanadeva who was the right-hand man of Rāmapāla in his suppression of the Kaivarta revolt. The vanguard of Rāmapāla's army was led by Mathanadeva's nephew Mahāpratihāra Śivarāja and his own sons Mahāmaṇḍalika Kahṇuradeva

85 *IA.*, XLVII, p. 111. Mr. N. N. Vasu identified him with Kṛṣṇa II himself who had also the title Tuṅga (*Vaṅger Jātiya Itihāsa*, Rājanya Kāṇḍa, p. 128). Mr. R. D. Banerji remarks that he is perhaps to be identified with Tuṅgadharmāvaloka whose inscription has been found at Bodh-Gayā (R. L. Mitra, *Buddha Gayā*, p. 195, pl. XL).

86 Dr. Altekar, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

the Suvarṇadeva also took an important part in that war. Madanapāla, the last known Pāla king of northern Bengal, was helped in his succession by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince Candradeva.[87]

It seems therefore that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa alliance was the corner-stone of the Pāla foreign policy and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas directly or indirectly did great service to the Pāla empire from almost its foundation to the last day of its existence. But these intimate matrimonial and political relations did not prevent them from undertaking compaigns against Bengal or claiming suzerainty over the Pālas. The statement of the Muslim traveller Sulaiman[88] that the Rāṣṭrakūṭas compelled "every prince, though master in his own house, to pay homage to themselves" seems to be quite appropriate. Nor did the Pālas, if found a favourable opportunity, feel any scruples to invade the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kingdom. The defeat of a Drāviḍa king by Devapāla, who from his mother's side had Rāṣṭrakūṭa blood in him, most probably refers to a Rāṣṭrakūṭa king.

After the end of the triangular struggle among the Pālas, Pratihāras and Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the military raids carried on by the new powers were not sometimes without permanent effects. Certainly some of these raids were accompanied by loots and plunders. Political and military glory might have been one of the leading motives but the more material and economic motive was not also perhaps absent. Whoever might have been the victor, these incessant raids were a great strain on the treasury of the Pālas. In all probability the rise of the Varmans in eastern Bengal[89] and the Senas[90] were associated with some of these foreign invasions. It appears that they came in the train of foreign invaders and ultimately carved out kingdoms for themselves.

It will not be out of place to discuss some of the defence problems of ancient Bengal. From the western side Bengal was approachable by a foreign army from three routes. Firstly, an invader could proceed towards Gauḍa along the banks of the Ganges through the Rajmahal hills which route seems to have been followed by the Pratihāras under Mahendrapāla. Secondly, another possible route was through southern

87 *IHQ.*, V, p. 35.

88 Elliot, *History of India*, vol. I, p. 7.

89 *IHQ.*, V, p. 225; XII, p. 469.

90 *Proceedings of Second Oriental Conference*, p. 343.

Bihar, the objective being Birbhum in which the capital of Rāḍhā was probably situated. This route was followed by Cedi Karṇa. Thirdly, the other route was through Orissa and Midnapore and this was followed by the Cola army. In the glorious days of the Pālas, their *jayaskandhāvāra* was at Pāṭaliputra or Mudgagiri (Monghyr) as mentioned in the Khalimpur, Monghyr and Bhagalpur grants. This would prevent the passage of the invading army by the first route and possibly served a great check on the second route also. No invading army would deem it prudent to advance into the heart of Bengal through southern Bihar without trying its strength with the ready army in the rear because ingress by rapid marches might have been possible but egress was very difficult. The Senas, who may be regarded roughly as kings of Bengal proper from the geographical point, took the most cautions steps to check such foreign invasions by establishing three headquarters in three parts, viz. Lakṣaṇāvatī, Nudiah and Vikramapura.

The Pāla power was weakest in Rāḍhā and Vaṅga. No record of the Pālas alluding to their suzeranity has yet been found in Rāḍhā. Most probably Dharmapāla of Daṇḍabhukti and Raṇaśūra of Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā fought for their own sake against the invading Cola army of Rājendra Cola I. Mahīpāla of the Trimulaya inscription, described as king of Uttara-Rāḍhā has generally been identified with Mahīpāla I and if this is to be accepted, it is implied that Uttara-Rāḍhā was within his kingdom. Only one record (the Baghaura image inscription) has been discovered in eastern Bengal, proving Mahīpāla I's overlordship in that region. Rāḍhā and Vaṅga gave much trouble to the Pālas. If the Kamboja king of the Dinajpur pillar belonged to the family of the Kamboja king Nayapāladeva of the Irda plate, it is to be accepted that there was an invasion of northern Bengal from western Bengal. The Senas also fought with the Pālas at first by making Rāḍhā as their base of operations. Eastern Bengal twice seceded from the Pāla empire—once in the tenth century with the establishment of the Candra dynasty and again in the eleventh century with the foundation of the Varman kingdom. The rise of the Candras, Varmans and Senas clearly shows that the Pāla power was more firmly rooted in northern Bengal and Bihar than in western and eastern Bengal.

PRAMODE LAL PAUL

The Cotton Trade of Patna in early Seventeenth Century

From earliest times Patna has been an important centre of civilisation. It was both a port and a land centre. With more or less emphasis it continued to be a place of importance.[1] In the middle of the 16th century when Sher Shah transferred the headquarters of local government from Bihar to Patna (1541), it was known as 'Pattana' meaning the "mart",[2]—a name which shows that it was of some commercial importance.[3] The author of the *Tārikh-i-Dāudī* thus notes Sher Shah's idea of the utility of the Ganges as a highway of commerce: "If a fort were to be built in this place, the waters of the Ganges could never flow far from it, and Patna would

1 Patna has been famous as a centre of civilisation before the pre-Aryan time, though not so ancient as Buxar (56 ft. deep). The University excavations show remains of pre-Buddhistic and pre-Vedic times (about 2000 B.C.), similar to the Mohenjodaro excavations. Evidently Patna was one of the principal pre-Aryan cities of the Gangetic valley. Previously Old Rājagṛha (Girivraja) was the Magadhan capital till the 11th century B.C. and New Rājagṛha till 5th century B.C.; Pāṭaliputra was revived as a chief city from the 5th century B.C., soon after which it became the capital.

Like Vaiśālī and Benares, Pāṭaliputra was a port. The Magadhans built up a naval organisation at Pāṭaliputra to defeat the naval power of Vaiśālī, which had extensive overland and overseas trade and possessed Ceylon originally. Trade followed as a natural sequel of naval strength. Remnants of jetties and wharves of old Pāṭaliputra as a seaport have recently been discovered from the old bed of the Poonpoon. Early mediæval Chinese and Malayan legends, accounts of sailors' voyages show that ships from Indo-China visited Pāṭaliputra.

The importance of Pāṭaliputra as a landcentre followed from the fact of its being a seaport. In the Jātakas, Pāṭaliputra and Nālandā are mentioned as two stopping places on the trade route from Sāvatthi (Śrāvastī) is the north to Rājagṛha in the southest. Pāṭaliputra was a main station and a junction in the road system in Maurya times.

2 Probably there is an implied sense of *seaport* trading centre. Cf. the Peninsular seaports with '*pattana*' ending.

3 Abdul Ali, Patna, Her relations with the John Company Bahadur, *IHRC.*, 1930, p. 161.

become one of the great towns of the country."[4] Thanks to the services of experienced and skilful carpenters and bricklayers, an exceedingly strong fort was then completed at a cost of about Rs. 5 lakhs. Bihar fell to ruin, while Patna became one of the largest cities of the province.[5] Its rapidly growing commercial importance under the protection of the fort[6] can be realised from the following remark, made 45 years later (1586), by Ralph Fitch, 'England's Pioneer to India and Burma' (1583-91):—"Patanaw is a very long and great Towne.........there is a trade of Cotton and cloth of Cotton, much sugar, which they carrie from hence to Bengala and India,[7] very much Opium and other commodities."[8] Again in 1632 Peter Mundy wrote, "It is the greatest Mart of all this Countrie, from whence they repaire from Bengala that way to the sea side, and from Indostan and other Inland countries round about, plentifull in provisions, abounding with sundrie commodities."[9] Thus English merchants in India were attracted by its fame as a "great trading centre" of Hindustan.[10] The establishment of a factory at Patna in 1620 for purchase of local calicoes and Bengal silk was an important phase of 'England's Quest of Eastern Trade' and it synchronised with the establishment of factories in other parts of India. Thus, apart from Surat and Masulipatam, 'the permanent footholds for English commerce in India,' factories were extended to Ahmedabad,[11] Cambay, Baroda[12] and Broach, other places in Gujrat, Agra, with subfactories in 1620 at Lahore and Samana. Almost all these places were either important centres of production of calicoes, or bleaching or distribution.[13] Patna occupied no very inferior position among these places.

4 *Tarikh-i-Daudi* in Elliot, IV, pp. 477-8. 5 *Ibid.*

6 Abdul Ali in *IHRC.*, 1930, p. 161.

7 This might mean 'other parts of India', but the phrase would then be strange; probably 'Indies' is really meant, i.e., the Indian archipelago.

8 Ryley, *Ralph Fitch*, p. 109; Foster, *ETI.*, pp. 23-24.

9 Çarnac Temple, *TPM.*, II, p. 157.

10 Abdul Ali, p. 162. 11 *JIH.*, X, 1931, p. 246.

12 Pieter Van Den Broeke (February, 1622) writes that the English had a factory at Baroda, but this was in his time forbidden by the Surat people. *Ibid*, p. 245.

13 Foster, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade*, pp. 314-5.

The English East India Company's servants in India came to know that the cloths generally called *ambertees* or *ambertrees* (*ambati* or *ambarti*) or stout-close calicoes of narrow width were procured cheaply and in large quantities at Patna. So the Council at Surat deputed from Agra Robert Hughes on 5th June, 1620, who reached Patna on 3rd July 1620, and was joined by John Parker as an assistant from September.[14]

Hughes was quite competent and after four months' observations, in a region, entirely new and unknown to English traders, he reported that the "two mayne (main) propes (props) which must uphould (uphold) this (Patna) factory and they not to be provided in any quantityes without a continuall residence" were ambati calicoes and raw silk.[15]

Description of Ambatis

The *ambatis* (*Ambertees* or *Ambartrees*)[16] were a species of Northern Indian cloths.[17] These were "stronge, closemade and well-conditioned,"[18] and stouter than the varieties of white cotton cloth known as Deriabads (made at Daryābad in Bara Banki district), Ckhaireabad (Khairābad in Sitapur district) and Semianos (or Samāna, a fine cloth made at Samana in the Patiala State).[19] It was of course narrow, being only 40″, and so midway between the present single and double *bahars*. The Agra factors wrote to the Co. in 1619 that it "hath noe fault but

14 *TPM.*, II, App. D, p. 361. The Directors approved of a sample of *Amberty* procured from Bihar and forwarded to England by the Agra chief, N. Raye; *EAEB.*, pp. 23-24.

15 Explained later. Letter of 11th November, 1620; *FRP.*, I.; Hughes and Parker to the Co. 30th November, 1620; *FRP.*, I, pp. 16-18; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, p. 83.

16 *TPM.*, II, App. D, p. 369, p. 141n. Hindi—amriti, imrati, amirti, imarti; Sanskrit—amrita, or amritaka. Modern forms,—ambata, ambati, ambatri, (amberti, umbertee, ambertree). Carnac Temple and Foster explain the term as 'anything sweet.' But a more probable explanation is 'an inferior kind of cloth' (=*Ambara-tari*).

17 *Ibid.*, p. 141n.

18 Letter of Agra factors to the Co., 1619; *FEF.*, 1618-21, p. 161; *TPM.*, II, p. 141n.

19 *TPM.*, II, pp. 140-141n.; *FEF.*, 1634-6, p. 146n.; Hughes to Surat, 3 March, 1621; *FRP.*, I, p. 22; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, pp. 98-99.

the narrowness;"[20] Hughes wrote to Surat that it was "a full jehanger coved (=40" or a little more) broade, which is yeard, half quarter English which breadth, as theye saye, theye cannot exceed to have them close wrought;"[21] the letter of Hughes and Parker to the Co. dated November 30, 1620 says: "neither can the weavers conveniently make them broader (as themselves saye) to have them substantialye and close woven."[22] Thus the narrowness of the *ambati* cloth was the price of its durability. In October, 1620, 1975 pieces of *ambatis* were sent.[23] In August, 1621, 9500 pieces of *ambatis* were procured.[24]

Different Varieties of Ambati Calicoes

The weavers made the *ambatis* brown or raw or unbleached.[24a] When just coming from the loom, these were generally 13 coveds (14½ yds.) long but of different breadths.[25] The letter of Hughes to Surat, 11th November, 1620 refers to *ambatis* of various species, sizes and prices.[26] Firstly, the *rasis* or *rasseyes* or *razai*, (not quilt,[27] but orneka razai or thick-woven cotton wrapper). It is described in the letter of

20 *FEF.*, 1618-21, p. 161; *TPM.*, II, p 141n.

21 Letter of August 6, 1620; *FRP.*, I, p. 4; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, p. 73; *FEF.*, 1618-21, pp. 197-8; *TPM.*, II, App. D, p. 369. Coved is the name of a measure varying much locally in value in European settlements not only in India but in China etc. It is a corruption, probably an Indo-Portuguese form of Port. *Covado*, a cubit or ell. Yule and Burnell, Hobson Jobson, p. 207.

22 *FRP.*, I, p. 16; *FEF.*, 1618-21; *IA.*, vol. XLIII, 1914, p. 83.

23 Hughes' Letter of 6th October, 1620. *IA.*, vol. XLIII, 1914, p. 77

24 Letter of August 3, 1621. *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, p. 105.

24a Letter of Hughes and Parker to Co. November 30, 1620. (*FRP.*, I, p. 16); *FEF.*, 1618-21, p. 213.

25 *TPM.*, II, App. D, p. 369. "as brought from the loom. They are not all of one exacte length, but some come out shorter then others by a coved and generalye maye bee 13 coveds Jehanger longe or of Puttana." (Hughes to Surat. November 11, 1620, *FRP.*, I, p. 13; *FEF.*, 1618-21, p. 205; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, pp. 79-81). "In lengehts these are about 13 coveds and therein litell diference betwene either of the sortes" (*Ibid*).

26 *FRP.*, I, p. 13; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, pp. 79-81.

27 Explained by C. Temple as ordinarily a quilt, coverlet, here applied to narrow breadth cloth,' (note in *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, pp. 79-81).

November 30, 1620 as "the first narrow bredths.........generally corce, (coarse) and fewe or none above two rups net the peece of about halfe a yeard broade and 13 yeards longe."[28] They were thus 20" wide and priced at Rs. 2 net a piece. Secondly, the *Zefferconnyes or Zafarkhani*: so called probably from the products of the Karkhana of Zafar Khan, governor of Behar, 'some years before.'[29] According to the letter of Hughes to Surat, November 11, 1620 these were "⅛ or at most ¼ broader then those (razais) from 1½ to 6 rups the net peece;"[30] while the letter of Hughes and Parker of November 30, 1620 to the Company describes them 'at most may bee one-fourth broader then the former, but much fynner and of hyer prizes, from two to six rups per peece."[31] They were thus 25" to 30" wide and priced at Rs. 1½ to 6 net a piece. Thirdly, the *Jehangeres* or *Jahangiris*, the third and last variety, the broadest and the finest known at Patna, about 40" wide, priced at Rs. 3 to 12 net a piece.[32]

Thus it appears from the Patna Factory Records (1620-21) that in each case 'quality as well as quantity had to do with the price.'[33] About ten years later (1632) Peter Mundy observed that the *ambatis* which the English Company chiefly required from Patna were dearer than usual, as most of the weavers were engaged in the *Karkhana* of the local Governor Abdullah Khan in making fine linen for his *mahal* or searaglio.[34] None of the 20 or 30 pieces which brokers brought

28 *FEF.*, 1618-21, p. 213 also in letter of November 11, 1620. Hughes to Surat, *FRP.*, I, p. 13; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, pp. 79-81.

29 *FEF.*, 1618-21, p. 193n: We know from an inscription on a stone slab, preserved at the Pathanpura masjid of Colgong and found by Prof. K. K. Datta of Patna College in 1935, that a fort was built by one, who declared himself a Banda of Nawab Zafar Khan in 1012 A.H.=1603 A.D.

30 *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, pp. 79-81.

31 *FRP.*, I, p. 16; *FEF.*, 1618-21, p. 213. The letter of Hughes to Surat, 3 March, 1621 gives their price as "under 2 rups per peece"; *FRP.*, I, p. 22; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, pp. 98-99.

32 Hughes to Surat, November 11, 1620; *FRP.*, I, p. 13; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, pp. 79-81; Hughes and Parker to Co. November 30, 1620 *FRP.*, I, p. 16; *FEF.*, 1618-21, p. 213: "the Jehangeres of all prizes to 8 rups per peece." Hughes to Surat, 3 March 1621; *FRP.*, I, p. 22; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, pp. 98-99.

33 *TPM.*, II., p. 369.

34 *TPM.*, II, pp. 150-151.

to Peter Mundy was "soe lowe prized (priced) as required" and were returned (26th to 28th September) as unfit for English demand.[35] Hence Mundy held that *ambatis* could be found cheaper at Agra than at Patna and that it would be wasteful to establish a factory at Patna.[36]

Other Varieties of Calicoes

Besides *ambati* cloths other varieties of calicoes, both fine and coarse, were procurable in the neighbourhood of Patna and Lukhawar.[37]

(i) *Sahan*

(i) *Sahan* (either *Sohan*, fine sheeting or *Sahan*, enduring). Mention of *Sahans* or *Sahuns* has been made in the correspondence of the Patna factors with Agra, Surat and the Company. In 1621 they could procure only "12 corges (score) of *Sahan* cloth costing 78 repees net" (or about 5-6 as each).[38] It is included among the cotton cloths in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, without any explanation, priced a piece at 1 to 3 M (mahmudies)[39] and referred to by Pelsaert among the products of Jagannath as *tsehen* a superior wide cloth suitable for bedsheets.[40]

(ii) *Hammām*

(ii) *Hammām*, towelling, is mentioned occasionally in the correspondence of the Patna factors.[41] Pelsaert speaks of it among Orissa products.[42] Peter Mundy in 1632 mentioned "Hamaones, lynnen, 11 coveds longe, 1¼ broad, from Oreshawe (Orissa)" among the sundry

35 *Ibid.*, p. 145.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 142.

37 *TPM.*, II, App. D, pp. 370-1. Pelsaert refers to "cotton goods (viz. Bengal *cassas, chouters, semianos, ambertees* and various other white cloths);" *JI.*, p. 23. In Buchanan's time, Patna was noted for coarse and fine cotton cloth (354-5), *ornamented wove cloths (365), gold and silver flowered muslin (357) chintz (357), cotton tape (357) and carpets; Martin, EI., Patna.*

38 Hughes and Parker to Co., August 14, 1621; *FRP.*, I, p. 33; *FEF.*, 1681-21, p. 260; also mentioned in letters to Surat of July 12, 1620 and of January 30, 1621.

39 Blochmann, vol. I, p. 94; 1 mahmudi is equivalent to about 1s; *TPM.*, II, p. 211.

40 *FEF.*, 1618-21, pp. 191-6n.; *JI.*, p. 8.

41 Hughes to Surat, 12 July, 1620.

42 *JI.*, p. 8.

commodities to be had in Patna.[43] Taylor describes it as a "cloth of a thick stout texture and generally worn as a wrapper in the cold season.[44]

It is interesting to note in the Patna Factory records that the trade in both these varieties (*Sahan* and *Hammām*) was in the hands of the Pathan dealers, who imported them in small parcels from lower Bengal in boats.[45] Thus it appears that they were not local products of Patna. Neither were they very much in demand for local consumption; but the needs of the English factors led to a gradual increase in their imports into Patna.[46] The letter of 12th July, 1620, notes: "Of Sahannes and hammomes theire are but fewe at present in towne;"[47] that of August 6, 1620 shows that import was increasing: "Of Sahannes theire come none to towne. Diverse boates are shortlye expected from the lower partes of Bengalla, which by reporte bringe quantitye;"[48] while the letter of November 11, 1620 notes: "For other sortes of callico cloth, as *Sahanes* and *hammomes*, wee perceave them not to bee bought hether in anye great quantities, but a continuance here maye doubtles provide some, but to what number I cannot saye."[49] In 1620, 60 pieces of Sahans and Hammāms were supplied[50] by the Patna factors to the Agra factory.

(iii) *Chautāhā or Choutare*

(iii) *Chautāhā* (*Chautah*, *Chautahi*, *Chautai*) or *Choutare*, a variety of thick calicoes. Literally the word means fourfolds, a coarse

43 *TPM.*, II, pp. 155, 155n.

44 *Taylor, Cotton Manufacture of Dacca*, quoted by Crooke, Hobson Jobson 2nd edn., quoted in *FEF.*, 1618-21, pp. 191-6n.

45 Hughes to Surat, *FRP.*, I, p. 2; *FEF.*, 1618-21, pp. 191-6.

46 It should be noted that the English E.I.C. had no factories in the Bengal side as yet, and these goods were exported *via* Agra and Surat.

47 *Ibid.*

48 Hughes to Surat, *FRP.*, I, p. 4; *FEF.*, 1618-21, pp. 197-8; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, pp. 73-4.

49 Hughes to Surat, *FRP.*, I, p. 13; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, p. 81; *FEF.*, 1618-21, pp. 205-6.

50 Hughes and Parker to Agra, 6 October, 1620; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, p. 77.

double length double width cotton cloth.[51] It is also referred to by Pelsaert as a possible article of indent on Agra for Holland or Batavia.[52] From the correspondence of the Patna factors, *Sahans* and *Hammāms* also seem to be two varieties of *Chautare*.[53] Probably it had "a wide range of meaning, but as used by the Dutch at this period it seems to cover the calicoes of Oudh and Benares."[54]

(iv) *Rahmoutes or Rawat*

(iv) *Rahmoutes*, *rawat*, a kind of chautāhā, or wide coarse cotton cloth.[55] (Raoti=a tent).

While the Dutch did not indent the varieties of *choutāhā* for Holland or Batavia—a fact which Pelsaert regretted, the English factors at Patna endeavoured to procure these for their investments.[56]

(v) *Kamsukhā*

(v) *Kamsukhā*: literally slightly dried or partly prepared; hence, a rough unfinished product. As the bleaching of Lukhawar *ambatis* caused much delay and expense, Hughes suggested to Surat factory (11 November, 1620) the supply of *caumsoucks* (*kamsukha*) as a quicker and cheaper alternative. But if transported unbleached it had to be cleaned of grease or *mandye* and dirt from the loom, otherwise it would not last out a journey.[57] In 1620 Hughes and Parker sent as

51 *TPM.*, II, p. 371; *IA.*, 1914, XLIII, p. 70; Crooke, Hobson Jobson, 2nd edn., pp. 217, 706.

52 *JI.*, p. 23.

53 Immediately after mentioning *Sahans* and *hammāms*, Hughes writes, "Other sortes of choutare are not here to bee gotten unless some fewe rahmoutes." Letter to Surat, 12 July, 1620; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, p. 70.

54 *JI.*, p. 23n.; *FEF.*, 1618-21. pp. 191-6n.

55 *Ibid.*, Carnac Temple was unable to trace it in any vernacular unless it is a mistranslation for rawat, raot, rawati raoti,—*IA.*, 1914, p 70n.

56 Letter of Hughes to Surat, 12 July, 1620; *FRP.*, I, p. 2; *FEF;* 1618-21, pp. 191-6.

57 Hughes to Surat, 11 November, 1620, *FRP.*, I, p. 13; *FEF.*, 1618-21, p. 205 and n; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, p. 80; *TPM.*, II, p. 371. It is difficult to agree with Foster's note:—"*Mandi* is Hindi for starch, but that does not seem to be the meaning intended here." Probably the Patna factors did not know the exact processes of manufacture.

musters (samples) 8 pieces of *Kamsukhās* whited only without starch, and 10 pieces with starch, all provided at Lukhawar.[58]

(vi) *Cassa*

(vi) *Cassa* (a variety of muslin): mentioned by the Patna factors as an export from Patna. Pelsaert wrote: "Patna produces much muslin (*cassa*), but it is coarse, worth 4 or 5 rupees the piece."[59]

One variety of muslin was the *Kaimkhani*, probably so-called after Qaim Khan,[60] and referred to by John Kenn, chief of Casimbazar (1658-65). It was "a sort of thine cloth" of Bihar, very like coarse *cassa* (muslin) 14 coveds by $\frac{4}{5}$ coved; and priced at 40, 50 and 60 rupees a score. i.e., 2-3 Rs. a piece. It was chiefly bought by *Mogols* (Mughals) and *Praychaes* (and also Armenians in the sixties of the 17th century), for transport to Lahore and thence to Persia. Hughes proposed to send samples for a trial.[61] Both the Patna factors and the Surat authorities realised the Bihar Kaimkhanis to be "fitter for Persia than England, yet as fit for Barbary or Turkey as any other place."[62]

Another variety was "a thin cloth like callico lawnes", referred to by the Patna factors, as 'procurable in good quantities.'[63]

58 Letter to Surat, October 6, 1620; *FRP.*, I, p. 11.

59 *Jl.*, pp. 7-8. "An ordinary *cassa* is only 21-22 *gaz* by 1¼ but these are usually 24-25 *gaz* by 1¼, equivalent to 30 Holland ells long by 1¼ ells broad. Here Ilahi *gaz* of 32″ is intended, not Bengal *gaz* of 27″.—Pelsaert, Moreland and Geyl, 8n; Mundy speaks of "*cassas* at Sunargaon, 300 corse downe the river Ganges, a fine and thin cloth" (quoted *FEF.*, 1618-21, pp. 191-6). Two hundred years later (1811-12) Buchanan referred to gold and silver flowered muslin made at Patna by women, similar to that at Malda. Martin, *Eastern India*, Patna, pp. 356-7.

60 Acc. to Foster, camcanys of Kenn's notes; *FEF.*, 1618-21, pp. 192n, 195.

61 Hughes to Surat, 12 July, 1620; *FRP.*, I, pp. 2-4; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, p. 71.

62 Hughes to Surat, 11 November, 1620; *FRP.*, I, p. 13; *FEF.*, 1618-21, p. 206; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, p. 82.

63 Hughes and Parker to the Co. November 30, 1620; *FRP.*, I, p. 16, *FEF.*, 1618-21, p. 213, (Lawn=fine, open texture.).

(vii) *Doupatta*

(vii) *Doupattas*: from Hindi *dopattah*, two breadths. It was a kind of narrow calico much used for garments and imported from Malda by the *Praychaes*.[64]

Places of Manufacture

From the description of *ambatis* and different varieties available, let us now pass to the places of manufacture. The localities round Patna, within a radius of 30 miles, were important centres of cotton manufacture. Soon after his arrival there in 1620, Hughes found that the *ambati* calicoes he was seeking were "made a dayes journey from this place (Patna) in a prigonye (paragana) or shier (sahar) called Lackhower."[65] Peter Mundy in 1632 described it as "a place 12 course (coss) off, where is much cloth made and brought hither (Patna)."[66] It has been identified with Lukhawar of the Indian Atlas, a town some 25 or 30 miles SSW of Patna.[67] Hughes described it as "the pente or fayer"[68] i.e., it was a market of cloth goods for the surrounding villages where they were woven.[69] At Lukhawar they were "bought of all prizes, infinite quantityes, from the poor weavers ."[70] Pelsaert wrote that 'Lakhawar produces *ambertees*, a superior grade of white cloth, 14 gaz long and of different widths worth

64. Hughes to Surat 12 July, 1620; *FRP.*, 1, p. 2; *FEF.*, 1618-21, pp. 191-6; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, p. 71. Nicholas Ufflet speaks of *depottoes*, a kind of cloake (cloth?) of gould of 20 rupees per peece, made at Sultanpoore; *FEF.*, 1618-21, pp. 195n., 61n.

65 Letter dated November 30, 1620; *FRP.*, I, p. 16; *FEF.*, 1618-21, p. 213.

66 *TPM.*, II, p. 145.

67 *FEF.*, 1618-21, p. 192n. Survey of India Map., Dt. Patna.

68 Hughes to Surat, 12 July, 1620; *FRP.*, 1, p. 2; *FEF.*, pp. 191-6. (*pente* = *Hindi peth* or penth, a market town).

69 *TPM.*, II, App. D, p. 362.

70 *FRP.*, I, p. 16; *FEF.*, 1618-21, p. 213; Hughes to Surat, August 6, 1620; *FRP.*, I, p. 4; *FEF.*, 1618-21, pp. 197-8; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, p. 73.

from four to ten rupees the piece."[71] Apparently he is referring to the *Jahangiri* variety of the *ambatis*.

Besides Lukhawar, there were other centres of production. Thus Mundy mentions "*Ambartrees* made at Nundownepore and Selimpore etc., 12 and 14 course (coss) off, 10¼ coveds longe and ner (sic) 1 broad."[72] Carnac Temple could not identify these two places.[73] In the *Ain-i-Akbari* a Salimpur is given among the *mahals* in the *Sarkar* of Tirhut.[74] A glance at the Survey of India map (Patna district), however, suggests the possibility that Salimpur is modern Islampur[75] of the Futwa-Islampur railway line and that Nundownepore is probably represented by Nundun, about 30 miles South of Patna. The town of Bihar, as it is even now, was also a centre of cloth production. About 1661 Kenn (Chief of Cassimbazar factory 1658-65) wrote: "At Banaras (? Behar) 12 course from Pattana, and Lachore, 16 theres white cloth fitt for Persia to be had called *Umbertees* and *Camcanys*, from Rs. 1/8/- to 3/- rupees per piece."[76] Further, just as Pelsaert says[77] that from Chabaspur and Sonargaon to Jagannath all live by the weaving industry, so also in the neighbourhood of Patna, every village, every town was a centre of cloth production, as Mundy mentions that the merchants had to go "from towne to towne."[78]

Comparison of Patna Calicoes with Samana and Gujrat Calicoes

The cotton industry at Patna was regarded in the twenties of the 17th century as better suited to the English Company's demand than

71 *Jl.*, p. 7. He describes it as 15 Kos further than Oudh, but this is evidently wrong. References to Lukhawar cloths (Laccowrees) are found in the 18th century records also; see Prof. K. K. Datta's '*Studies in Bengal Subah*,' ch. 3.

72 *TPM.*, II, p. 154.

73 *TPM.*, II, p. 154n.

74 *Jarrett*, II, p. 156.

75 The Survey of India Map shows 2 other Selimpurs, one near Baikunthpur about 15m., the other 7½m. south of Lukhawar.

76 Quoted in *FEF.*, 1618-21, p. 192n.

77 *JI.*, p. 8.

78 *TPM.*, II, pp. 145-6. In Buchanan's time Patna, Futwah, Gaya and Nawada were centres of cloth production. Buchanan's Patna Report in Martin's *Eastern India*, p. 352.

that at Semiana (Samana) in the Patiala State. The contention of Hughes that the Zafarkhanis of Lukhawar were better made than the Samana calicoes is corroborated by the letter of Robert Young at Semiana to the President and Council at Surat, dated August 2, 1621 to the effect that Patna was "a more fitting place than Samana, as it was reported to afforde greater quantities of wellmade cloth which is more fitting our country than the cloth of these partes being for the most part of a sligater making and of uncertayne lengths and breadths."[79] Further, in the twenties of the 17th century the Zafarkhanis of Lukhawar were in no way worse than the *baftas* of Broach, as the letter of Hughes at Lukhawar to Surat dated August 3, 1621 states that "the Jafferchanes both for length and breadth, will parallel, if not exceed your narrowe Barroch *baftacs*."[80] Conditions changed in the thirties; Gujrat was "returning to its former estate," after the famine of 1630, and Peter Mundy doubted whether the calicoes of Patna would be equal to those of Gujrat, better known for goodness and cheapness.[81] The Gujrat calicoes were also referred to by Pietro Della Valle (1623-7) and Mandelslo (1638-9).[82]

Production of Cotton

The correspondence of the Patna factors does not throw any light on the question whether the cotton was produced in the neighbourhood of Patna or imported. But the invaluable journal of Peter Mundy notes that on 16th to 17th September, 1632, he saw cotton fields standing, together with other trees, in the area between Naubatpur and Patna. Therefore we can safely say that at least a part of what was used in the cloth industry was produced in Patna.[83]

79 *FEF.*, 1618-21, p. 258.

80 Letter of Hughes to Surat, August 3, 1621; *FRP.*, I, p. 31; *FEF.*, 1618-21, p. 258.

81 *TPM.*, II, p. 151.

82 Pietro Della Valle (1623-7, Hak. Soc. Grey's edition) pp. 60-61; *Calcutta Review*, 1882, p. 73, article by E. Rehatsak on Mandelslo and Thèvenot.

83 *TPM.*, II, p. 134. On 16th September 1632, Mundy reached Naubatpur. On 17th he reached "this Citie (Pattana, 8 course); noe wast ground all the way, but full of Mango Trees, Cocotrees, Sugar Cane, Cotten and graine." He

Supply of capital

As in the 18th. and early 19th. centuries, so in the early part of the 17th century also, the merchants had to supply capital to the weavers who were described as 'poor' in the correspondence of the Patna factors. Goods could be made to order and meet the requirements of the merchants.[84] But it is not clear from the Patna records whether the *dadni* system encouraged indolence among the workmen and reduced them to "a state of dependence little better, if so good, as slavery," as it did in early 19th century.[85]

The trade in *ambati* cloths at Lukhawar was large, but it was not so large as originally expected by the Patna factors. According to the letter of August 6, 1620, Hughes learnt on hearsay evidence (reports of weavers) that daily 1000 pieces could be procured, and as the provision of raw goods lasted from 3 to 4 months, this would bring the annual outturn to from 90,000 to 120,000 pieces, valued at from Rs. 200,000 to Rs. 250,000 in round numbers @ Rs. 2/- a piece all round.[86] So Hughes suggested that Rs. 50,000 could be safely invested in brown *ambatis* alone. But after securing definite information about the conditions of Lukhawar, Hughes wrote on November 11, 1620 that "20,000 peeces maye yearlye bee provided browne."[87] We may compare this

also noticed (Dec. 1630) green Cotton fields in C. India; *Ibid.*, p. 55, lxvi. Probably the silence of the Patna factors (1620-1) was due to the fact that they traded mostly with the South of Patna, while the cotton fields were to its west. Buchanan wrote in early 19th century: "Cotton is by far the most common material used in the cloth manufacture of these districts; and a great part of what is used is produced in the country." Martin, *Eastern India*, Dt. Patna, p. 349.

84 Letter of 6th August, 1620.

85 Buchanan wrote in 1812: "The system of advances and a good deal of the fine cloth is made on advance, produces its usual consequences; and the workmen, becoming indolent, do not make to a greater value than they do when working at coarse goods for ready money sale." (Martin's *Eastern India*, Patna, p. 354); and further the "System of advances is totally unnecessary but it is here pursued by all the native dealers, as keeping the workmen in a state of dependence little better, if so good, as slavery" (p. 355).

86 Hughes to Surat, August 6, 1620; *FRPI.*, pp. 4-6; XLIII, 1914, 74.

87 Letter of November 11, 1620.

estimate with what Peter Mundy wrote in 1632, that "in 5 or 6 months the merchants who had used this trade for a long time might procure 40 or 50 Core (Kori, score of pieces) or perhaps 100 (i.e., about 800, 1000 or 2000 pieces) and that the chief Broker for coarse linen suggested that the English might invest Rs. 2 or 3000 a month, after the business was set on foot, and the country came to know the object of the English."[88]

The English factors were greatly hampered by late arrival of funds, often insufficient and "sent in driblets." Thus only 37,000 rupees were sent in all in 1620-1, whereas Rs. 50,000 were demanded for raw *ambatis* alone.[89]

Marketing Organisation

Some details of the marketing organisation and the difficulties of cotton trade may be gathered from the correspondence of the Patna factors. It appears that the Patna factors, though enjoying full initiative in dealing with the weavers and responsibility in sending the goods, were bound down by the general instructions of the authorities at Surat and Agra. Thus on September 14, 1620, Hughes wrote to Agra that he "noted the instructions from Surat regarding purchase of ambertyes etc."[90]

The principal time of dealing with the weavers in procuring raw *ambatis* was from about October to November. The letter of Hughes to Surat of October 31, 1620 notes: "with the proceeds of sale to the governor, Hughes wanted to go to Lackhoure whither Mr. Parker is gone befor with 900 rups to make enterance with the rawe Ambertyes, the tyme beinge now principall good for theire provision, and no buyers alreade."[91] Hence it may be inferred that the other merchants, rivals of the English, did not begin dealing with the weavers before October.

88 *TPM.*, II, pp. 145-6. 89 *Ibid.*, App. D.

90 *FRP.*, vol, I, p. 9; *FEF.*, 1618-21, p. 199.

91 *FRP.*, I, p. 13; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, p. 79; *FEF.*, 1618-21, p. 202. In early 19th century, Buchanan wrote: "The coarse goods made for market sale are always sold as they come from the loom" (Martin, *Eastern India*, Patna, p. 356).

Usually, *ambati* calicoes were purchased at Lukhawar raw from weavers who brought them from neighbouring *gonjes* or manufacturing villages, at the rate of about 50, 60 or 100 pieces daily.[92] But some weavers of Lukhawar also brought *ambatis* to Patna town, for sale in the local bazar from whom Hughes purchased small parcels.[93]

In buying raw *ambatis* from the weavers, at Patna, it was customary for the purchasers to get a discount or *dasturi* of 4 annas in the rupee of 16 annas i.e., an abatement or allowance of 25%.[94] But at Lukhawar the discount was uncertain, depending on the bargaining power of the merchant.[95]

The provision of raw *ambatis* appears to take about 3 or 4 months i.e., approximately from November to February. But bleaching was necessary to make them fit for the European market.[96] Some weavers of course used to bring bleached calicoes 'in small parcels' to Patna town only for the bazar demand, but from them Hughes could not (November, 1620), inspite of his best efforts, procure more than one thousand pieces. So he had to purchase raw calicoes for investments partly at Lukhawar and partly from other merchants. They used to buy calicoes raw and then bleach them themselves and they would not sell them even with 12½% profit, as they made greater profits by transporting them to Agra and Lahore.[97]

Hence Hughes held that with sufficient time at disposal, the best and cheapest course was to purchase them raw or unbleached from the weavers and then immediately to have them bleached.[98] But bleaching

92 Hughes to Surat, 12 July, 1620; *FRP.*, I, p. 2; *FEF.*, 1618-21, pp. 191-6.

93 Hughes to Surat, August 6, 1620; *FRP.*, I, p. 4; *IA.*, 1914, p. 73; *FEF.*, 1618-21, pp. 197-8.

94 Hughes to Surat, 12 July, 1620; *FRP.*, I, p. 2; *FEF.*, 1618-21, pp. 191-6; Hughes to Surat, 11 November, 1620; *FRP.*, I, p. 13; *FEF.*, 1618-21, pp. 204-5; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, pp. 79-81.

95 Hughes to Surat, 11 November, 1620; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, pp. 79-81; *FEF.*, 1618-21, p. 205.

96 *TPM.*, II, p. 362.

97 Hughes to Surat, Patna, 11 November, 1620; *FRP.*, I, p. 13; *FEF.*, 1618-21, pp. 204-5; in detail in *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, pp. 78-9.

98 Hughes' Letter to Surat, 6 August, 1620; *FRP.*, I, p. 4; *FEF.*, 1618-21, pp. 197-8; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, p. 73. Buchanan wrote in 1811-12: "The coarse goods made for market sale are always sold as they come from the loom, but that intended for sale is all bleached" (Martin's India, 356).

was "exceedinge teadious and troublesome, though put forth as bought,"[99] as "the whitster detaynes them in whitinge and starchinge about three monthes.[100] Apart from this delay from March to May approximately, bleaching involved many charges, varying according to the fineness and breadth of the cloths, besides the cost of cleaning materials. The letter of November 11, 1620 notes that "their charge in cureinge them more or lesse, accordinge to theire fineness and breadth, some 2½, some 3, and some 3½ rups, per courge, (score) besides sops ette."[101] So the charge of bleaching was approximately 2 to 3 as. a piece,[102] somewhat higher than in the time of Buchanan.

This cost of bleaching had to be borne, not by the weavers, as they sold the goods raw, but at first by the merchants who had to adapt the raw goods to the needs of the markets by bleaching. And the merchants used to cover these charges by the old custom of the '*reza*' or by cutting off a fragment of 10% of the total length of the piece before sending it to be bleached. This '*reza*' could be sold as unbleached stuff and was a 'valuable asset' in cases of large scale purchases. But as the length of the bleached cotton goods would be reduced from 14½ to about 13 yards, the Company's factors did not follow the custom but "whited the intier pece (entire piece) as bought from the loom."[103]

99 Hughes' letter to Surat of November 11, 1620; *FRP.*, I, p. 13; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, pp. 79-81; *FEF.*, 1618-21, p. 205.

100 Hughes' letter to Surat, 12 July, 1620; *FRP.*, I, p. 2; *FEF.*, 1618-21, pp. 191-6. In the time of Peter Mundy (1632) the time taken for whitening was "above a month." *TPM.*, II, p. 146. Possibly in the thirties, owing to reduced demand after the expulsion of Portuguese, washermen could bleach a larger number of cotton goods in a shorter time than before.

101 *TPM.*, II, App. D, p. 369; Hughes' letter to Surat, 11 November, 1620; *FRP.*, I, p. 13; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, pp. 79-81; Hughes to Surat, 12 July, 1620; *FRP.*, I, p. 2; *FEF.*, 1618-21, pp. 191-6.

102 *TPM.*, II, App. D, p. 369. Details of bleaching and washermen, in 19th century are given by Buchanan (Martin, pp. 328-29, 356). In early 19th century, the cost of bleaching one score (of 28 pieces) varied acc. to size from "2 rs. 7 anas, 3 pices to 3 rs. 3 anas, 6 pices" or roughly from Rs. 2¼ to 3¼, including the cost of soap, soda, lime and requisite implements, which the washermen got from Co.'s factory.

103 Hughes to Surat, 12th July, 1620; *FRP.*, I, p. 2; *FEF.*, 1618-21, pp. 191-6; Hughes to Surat, 11 November, 1620; *FRP.*, I, p. 13; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, pp. 79-81;

Thus the provision of *ambatis*, bleached and unbleached, and their preparation and finishing for sale, required from about 8 to 10 months.[104] It was necessary for the merchants "to goe gatheringe of it by litle and litle, from Towne to Towne, knowe its valewe, and where to finde it," as Mundy remarked,[105] or "to have the yeare and meanes beforehand to be perpeatually doinge therein," as Hughes wrote.[106] Hard reconnaissance and search for one year; and adequate supply of funds were antecedent conditions of a successful investment. Hence, starting rather late in the season, and getting only about three months' time, (July-October), Hughes could not send any material shipping in the first year (1620), except some samples of unbleached goods. Peter Mundy also had to discard the idea of establishing a factory at Patna in 1632, on account of the limited time at his disposal (17th September to 16th November, 1632).[107]

In the marketing organisation of the period, brokers played an important and indispensable part. They used to act as intermediaries between the merchant and the producer, finding out for the former the sources of supply of cotton goods and bringing samples for approval, to be returned, if disapproved. Thus Peter Mundy set brokers to seek out coarse *ambatis* on 26th September, 1632. Next day they bought 20 or 30 pieces, which were, however, returned on the 28th as being unsuitable for the English demand.[108] Probably there were different brokers who specialised in different varieties of goods e.g., as Peter Mundy mentions "Gangā Rām, the Cheifest Broker in theis parts for

FEF., 1618-21, pp. 191-6. Carnac Temple explains the above as:—"that the *reza* was usually 10% of the whole piece, and constituted a species of discount, like our own 13 to the baker's dozen"; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, p. 80; *TPM.*, II, App. D, pp. 369-70.

104 *TPM.*, II, p. 151.

105 *Ibid.*, pp. 145-6.

106 Hughes to Surat, 11 November, 1620; *FRP.*, I, p. 13; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, pp. 79-81.

107 Mundy was ordered to complete business in Patna so as to reach Agra by the middle of January 1633. So he would have to start by the end of November and had to finish everything in about 6 weeks' time. Introduction *TPM.*, II, xxxii.

108 *TPM.*, II, p. 145.

Corse linen."[109] In return for these services, there was a brokerage paid by the maker both at Patna and at Lakhawar.[110] From the correspondence of the Patna factors it appears that on unbleached goods the brokerage was fluctuating and uncertain, and that on bleached goods it was about 5 pice a piece, paid by the maker. Of this 2 pice went to the "*Governor* or *Shikdar*" or revenue officer of the *pargana*, 2 pice to the broker, and 1 pice was paid to the merchant. Hence "over every transaction there must have been a great deal of calculation, and each party had to keep head cool and eyes wide open." This was a very wide custom, but apparently the Patna factors regarded it as unpleasant and tried to reduce it.[111]

Variations in Measurement

Absence of standardised units of measurement increased the difficulties of the cloth trade. There were four different measures, the Jahangiri coved of 40″ (13J = 14½ yds.), the Ilahi gaz or the Agra coved of 33″, the Patna coved of 41″, and the Lakhawar coved of 43½″. Hughes took the Jahangiri coved to be the standard. But the Surat factors confused it with the Agra coved of 33″ and then thought it to be 32½″. Hence there was "a disconcerting discrepancy in accounts." Owing to the difference between the Patna and the Lakhawar coveds, the weavers necessarily suffered the loss of $\frac{1}{16}$ or 6¼% on sales.[112]

109 *TPM.*, p. xxxii.

110 Hughes to Surat, 11 November, 1620; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, pp. 79-81, *FEF.*, 1618-21, p. 205; Hughes to Surat, 12 July, 1620; *FRP.*, I, p. 2; *FEF.*, 1618-21, pp. 191-6.

111 *Ibid.*, *TPM.*, II, p. 370. It is not clear from Hughes' note whether the amount was paid to the Governor or *Shikdar* or to both of them. Probably it was paid only to the *Shikdar*, the revenue officer.

112 *TPM.*, II, App. D, p. 370; Hughes to Surat, 3 March, 1621; *FRP.*, I, p. 22; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, pp. 98-99; Hughes to Surat, 11 November, 1620; *FRP.*, I, p. 13; *FEF.*, 1618-21, p. 205; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, pp. 79-81; Hughes to Surat, 12 July, 1620; *FRP.*, I, p. 2; *FEF.*, 1618-21, pp. 191-6.

(a) "the jehangery [which is one-fourth longer than the elahye (=33″) of Agra] = 12 July, 1620.

The provision and despatch of goods were also hindered by the rainy season. The letter of Hughes to Surat dated August 6, 1620, notes that "the raynes (rains) is some impediment to theire provision for that the weavers by reason thereof come not to towne as wontedly.[113] The provisions of 1620 were finished before 6th October, 1620.

Trade Competition and Distribution

Apart from the English Company's factors, other merchants were engaged in trade with Patna, and the former had to meet a severe competition in the Portuguese, Persian, Mughal, Pathan, Armenian and Indian merchants including East Bengal merchants. Speaking of provision of Calicoes, Hughes wrote to Surat on 6th August, 1620: "There are greate store of buyers abroade which hath somwhat inhansed (i.e., enhanced the price of) the Commodity."[114]

The Portuguese merchants who were already in possession of the field, used to come to Patna in their diverse frigates from the "bottom of Bengalla,"[115] from Satgaon, Hugli and Pipli and used to "buye up all theye can laye hand of.[116] They traded *via* Bengal and yearly had shipping from Malacca and Cochin.[117] In return for Chinese silks, spices, tin and jewellery which they imported, they exported from Patna *ambati* calicoes, *Khassa* or variety of muslin, all sorts of thin cloth, "dyed into redds purposelye for saile to the southwards," silk, and

(b) "The cloths are generally 13 coveds Jehanger longe or of Puttana, betweene which and the coved of Lackhoure is some small diferance, the country coved beinge the longer by allmost a *gicry* ($\frac{1}{16}$ of a gaz) or $\frac{1}{16}$"."=11 November, 1620. Peter Mundy (1632) notes, "The Coved heere is $1\frac{1}{3}$ coved of Agra, and 5 coveds of Agra make 4 English yards, Soe that this Coved is neerest hand (as near as possible) 1 yard 2 inches; *TPM.*, II, p. 156.

113 Hughes to Surat, August 6, 1620; *FRP.*, I, p. 4; *IA.* XLIII, 1914, p. 73; *FEF.*, 1618-21, pp. 197-8.

114 Letter of Hughes to Surat, 6 August, 1620; *FRP.*, I, pp. 4-6; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, p. 73.

115 Hughes and Parker to Co. November 30, 1620; *FRP.*, I, pp. 16-18; *IA.*, XLIII, p. 83.

116 Letter of 6 August in *IA.*, p. 73. Letter to Co. November 30, 1620; *FRP.*, I, pp. 16-18; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, p. 83; *TPM.*, II, p. 362. These places were known to the English only by distorted names and reports.

117 *Ibid.*

coarse Jaunpur carpets.[118] The Portuguese were of course persecuted by Shahjahan and were expelled from Bengal about 1632, an event which must have seriously affected the cotton trade but the other merchants continued to "make great investments" at Patna in the first half of the 17th century.[119]

Hughes notes in his letter of 12th July, 1620: "The *Mogoles* and *Praychaes* are here like bees."[120] The word *Mogoles* does not indicate a definite race, but it is applied to all sorts of Central Asiatic foreigners including Persians and merchants from the Northwest Frontier regions.[121] Probably the word *Praychaes* does not mean inhabitants of Oudh and Behar, as Sir William Foster conjectures,[122] nor Brachios or Persians, as the late N. Raye writes,[123] but East Bengal traders, judging from the word and the spelling of the word—as it was not in use in Bihar or Oudh vernaculars and is only creditable to Bengali; and the vowel transposition is peculiar to East Bengal; and also from the fact that the village ballads of East Bengal as preserved from the mediæval period onwards distinctly show that all the Gangetic waterways were frequented by Bengal boats and merchants carrying Bengal products far and wide even out into different parts of Indo-China and East Indies. The two indications about the carrying trade of the

118 *TPM.*, II, p. 366; Letter of Hughes to Surat, July 12, 1620; *FRP.*, I, p. 2; *FEF.*, 1618-21, pp. 191-6; Letter of Hughes and Parker to Co. November 30, 1620; *FRP.*, I, pp. 16-18; *IA* , XLIII, p. 83.

119 *TPM.*, II, pp. 145-6.

120 Hughes to Surat, *FRP.*, I, p. 4; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, p 71. One is reminded of Pelsaert's expression, "Armenians running and racing about like hungry folk, whose greedy eyes..........." *JI.*, p. 16.

121 *TPM.*, II, p. 362; Carnac Temple's note in *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, p. 71.

122 'This unusual word is possibly to be explained by the Sanskrit *Prāchya*, meaning like *pūrbiya*, "an inhabitant of the countries to the eastwards" i.e., to those at Agra (where Hughes probably learnt the term) the inhabitants of Oudh, Behar &c. But this is mere conjecture.'—*FEF.*, 1618-21, p. 195n.; *TPM* , II, p. 362; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, p. 71n. The words 'Porop' and 'Bengalen Porop' are common in Pelsaert's Remonstrantie, *JI.*, p. 4; Pelsaert used the term to include the Mogul provinces of Allahabad, Bihar, and Orissa, but not Bengal; *Ibid.*, p. 4n.; see also *TPM.*, II, p. 99n.

123 N. Raye, *EAEB.*, p. 27n.

Praychaes are (1) bringing Malda products to Patna market, and (2) taking Bihar products to Bengal.[124]

The chief exports of both the *Mogoles* (Mughals) and the *Praychaes* out of Patna were *ambati* calicoes, *mandils* or turban cloths of Benares (? Bihar), demanded in Persia,[125] girdles or *Karmarbands*, *layches* (*alāchah, alācha, ilācha*) or short silk and thread cloth, and *doupattas* or cotton goods in the form of sheets from Malda; also some types of muslins and a sort of thin cloth called *caymeconyes* (*Kaimkhani*) of Bihar (a coarse variety of Khassa), which were not fit for the English market.[126] They were brought for transport by the *Mogoles* to Lahore and Northwest India generally[127] and found a ready market in Persia, Turkey and North Africa. They purchased anything required by importing only specie or bills of exchange.[128]

Besides these, there were the Pathan traders, engaged in bringing *Sahans* from lower Bengal. It is probable that they were mostly indigenous Pathans who had recently been dispossessed of political power and teritorial possessions, and not the foreign Pathans who began to come to India from about the middle of the 17th century.[129]

Armenian merchants are referred to by Pelsaert at Lahore, together with merchants of Aleppo.[130] But from the notes of Peter Mundy (1632) we know that the Armenians had trade relations with Patna also. There was a cosmopolitan *sarai* for the comfort of these traders. Speaking of the "Zeffe Ckauns Sarae," Mundy says, "this place is chiefly for Merchants of strange Countries, as Mogolls, Persians, Armenians, where they may lodge and keepe their goods the tyme of their stay heere, payeinge so much by the moneth. Theis are usuallie in great citties, but the other sort of Saraes are in all places

124 The Bengal colony at Jaipur dates from about the last decade of the 16th century.

125 Letter of 11 November, 1620; *IA.*, XLIII, p. 82.

126 *TPM.*, II, p. 366.

127 *Ibid.*, p. 362.

128 Ibid., p. 366; Letter of 11 November, 1620; *FRP.*, I, *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, p. 82: Letter of Hughes to Surat, 12 July, 1620; *FRP.*, I, pp. 1-4; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, p. 71.

129 Sir J. N. Sarkar, *Fall of Mughal Empire*, vol. I.

130 *JI.*, p. 30.

servinge for all sorts of Travellers that come att night and away in the morninge."[131]

In January 1622, an Italian, Villentine Bernardine, came to Agra, *enroute* to Patna to make investments for Persia. Possibly he got information from the English factors who "dispeeeded him on his way." But he was not heard of again.[132]

Regarding distribution, it appears that there was a small local demand in the Patna bazar for the unbleached and bleached cloths of Lukhawar.[133] There was also some interprovincial trade carried on by the English and other merchants with Agra and, Lahore in bleached cotton goods,[134] and also with South and North Bengal. Some of the bleached goods were again exported by the English merchants for use in England, other European countries, Persia, Barbary and Turkey.[135] Persia was a market for the *ambatis* and *Kaimkhanis*[136] of Bihar and Lukhawar at least up to the middle of the 17th century, if not later. Speaking of the possible use of *ambatis* in England, Hughes wrote: "The narrowest sorts (of *amberti* cloth) unfiting either for England or transporte as likewise the broader sorts (i.e., *Zafarkhanis* in the letter of 3rd August 1620) to come shorte in their lenghets and breadthes for

131 *TPM.*, II, p. 159. Zeffe Ckaun is Saif Khan, late governor of Bihar 1627-32, see *TPM.*, II, pp. 108-9n. [Calcutta was an Armenian trade centre from before 1630 (Sukeas Street from Sukea, a merchant prince and benefactor). An Armenian widow's tomb is referred to in the *Sunday Statesman*, 9th February, 1936].

132 N. Raye, *EAEB.*, pp. 27-28 quoting the letter of Hughes and Parker to Surat, October 18, 1621. "Probably he availed himself of one of the Portuguese frigates coming to Patna from Hugli and Patna and sailed down the Ganges to the Sea and by sea to Persia whence he had come." See N. Raye, p. 28.

133 Hughes to Surat, November 11, 1620; *FRP.*, I, p. 13; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, pp. 78-79. It appears from the notes of Buchanan that there was such a local demand in the early 19th century; Martin, *Eastern India*, Patna Report, pp. 353-4.

134 *Ibid.*.

135 *Ibid.*, Hughes to Surat, 6 August, 1620. *FRP.*, I, p. 4, FEF., 1618-21, pp. 197-8; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, p. 73. [Hughes proposed to buy some small quantities as samples of the available articles for a trial for Lahore and Persia. Letter of July 12, 1620. *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, p. 71. *Baftas* and other cotton goods manufactured at Broach, were in this period, exported to England, Java, Mocha, and Persia.—*JIH.*, X, 1931, p. 245].

136 Kenn, 1661, quoted in *FEF.*, 1618-21, p. 192.

the use of sheetinge, shirtinge etts..............The well-making of the Clothe wherein it exceeds either Samanes or your *baftaes* (of Broach in the letter to Surat, 3rd August, 1621) will make it of good esteeme in England."[137] Thus it appears that English demand was at this time for coarse and thick cotton stuffs, possibly to serve as substitute for woollens.*

JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR

SOURCES OF INFORMATION

(A) *Original*:

(i) Records relating to the First Commercial Mission to Patna (1620-1). A full account as contained in the 28 letters (12 July, 1620-23 November, 1621) is to be found in the *Indian Antiquary*, XLIII, 1914, edited by the late Sir Richard Carnac Temple. The abstracts of correspondence are given in Sir William Foster's English Factories, 1618-21. They contain a mine of accurate information essential for economic history of the period; but the English factors regarded the details from the point of view of the Company and are silent on the actual condition of the weavers and production of cotton, classes engaged in it, part of women in spinning and weaving, production of thread etc.

(ii) Account of Ralph Fitch (1583-91) given in Ryley's Ralph Fitch, and in *Early Travels in India* by Sir William Foster.

(iii) The Remonstrantie of Francisco Pelsaert, the Chief of the Dutch factory at Agra, (tr. by Moreland and Geyl, in Jahangir's India) based on seven years' (1620-6) experience.

(iv) The extremely valuable account of Travels of Peter Mundy in Asia (edited by the late Sir Richard Carnac Temple) based on 6 years' (1628-34) experience, [1627 factor; September 1628 arrived at Surat; clerk; April 1630, Register at Surat; 3rd January, 1631, 2nd and acct. of Agra factory under Fremlen Pdt. till August 1632, when sent to Patna].

(v) The Diary of Pieter Van Den Broeke at Surat, translated by W. H. Moreland, in *JIH.*, vol. X, 1931.

(vi) The Travels of the Italian traveller Pietro Della Valle (1623-7). Hakluyt Society: Grey's edition.

137 Hughes to Surat, Patna, 3 March, 1621; *FRP.*, I, p. 22; *IA.*, XLIII, 1914, pp. 98-99; Hughes to Surat, Lackhoure, 3 August, 1621; *FRP.*, I, pp. 31-32; *Ibid.*, p. 105.

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(vii) The Travels of the German Traveller Johann Albert Von Mandelslo (1638). Summarised in *Calcutta Review*, (1882-3).

(viii) Abul Fazl's *Ain-i-Akbari*, tr. by Blochmann and Jarrett, 2 vols.

(ix) Abdullah's *Tārikh-i-Dāudī*, in Elliot IV.

The highly valuable account of Patna given by Buchanan (1811-12) summarised in Martin's *Eastern India*, has yielded many supplementary and corroborative information.

(B) *Secondary* :

1. Sir William Foster's *Introduction in English Factories*, 1618-21.
2. Sir William Foster, *England's Quest of Eastern Trade*.
3. Sir Richard Carnac Temple's Appendix in '*Travels of Peter Mundy*', vol. 2.
4. Abdul Ali, Patna, her relations with the John Co. Bahadur, *Ind Hist. Rec. Com.*, 1930.
5. N. N. Raye, *Early Annals of the English Settlements in Bihar*.
6. Beveridge, The City of Patna, *Cal. Rev.*, vol. 76, 1883.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1. *IA.* . =Indian Antiquary, vol. XLIII, 1914.
2. *FRP* . =Factory Records, Patna, vol. I, p. 2.
3. *FEF* . =Foster, English Factories, 1618-21.
4. *ETI.* . =Early Travels in India by Foster.
5. *JI.* . =Moreland and Geyl, Jahangir's India (being the tr. of the Remonstrantie of Pelsaert).
6. *TPM.*, II.=Travels of Peter Mundy, vol. II, edited by Sir Richard Carnac Temple.
7. *EAEB.* . =Early Annals of the English Settlements in Bihar
8. *JIH.* . =Journal of Indian History, vol. X, 1931.

Cults and Cult-acts in Kerala*

The Bhagavati Cult

Of all the varied cults, prevalent in Kerala, the *Bhagavati Cult* is the most popular. *Bhagavati* is generally the patron-deity of all families, big and small. She is again the patron of the village and even though there may be a big temple dedicated to the chief gods of Paurāṇic Hinduism in the villages, she holds the place of importance in the minds not only of the rustic villagers, but also of the cultured. Quite consistent with this we have a number of *Kāvus*, the seat of *Bhagavati* shrines, and all *Kāvus* are looked upon with more than an ordinary amount of awe and respect. The popularity that *Bhagavati* enjoys even today amongst the masses, the number of temples set apart for the goddess and the uniform sanctity with which these are treated—all these tend to show that this was one of the cults most popular in Kerala: and when we also remember the fear and dread attached to these temples and the rather unseemly practices associated with these temples, at least a majority of them, we are naturally tempted to believe also that this must haye been one of the earliest of the cults to become popular in this part of the land. Certain peculiar features of this cult form the subject of this paper.

The cult of *Bhagavati* stands entirely distinct from the cults of *Śiva* and *Viṣṇu*. In the first place, though varied are the sources of *Bhagavati*, yet in the cult as it obtains today, these differences are more or less merged. Secondly, *Bhagavati* is the only divinity amongst us who works through the instrumentality of a human agent. Thirdly, peculiar are the rituals which are conducted for the propitiation of the goddess and such ritualistic practices are entirely absent in the case of every other deity, inasmuch as they are of the nature of communal offerings, characterised by the presence of the lower forms of *tantric* and *mantric* rites and not rarely accompanied by the offering

* Continued from *IHQ*., vol. XI, 1935, pp. 474 ff.

of human blood or something similar to it. Fourthly, she is peculiarly the deity who is invoked in times of danger. And lastly, hers is probably the chief cult, the elaboration of which led to the gradual development of our indigenous dramas and dramatic dances which again served as the first of the many impulses leading to the creation of an indigenous vernacular literature.

Bhagavati is the deity *par excellence* in times of danger and in times of sickness. In times of political danger when face to face with an invading army or oppressed by a mighty chieftain, people generally turn to their patron-goddess for help and protection. And popular legends associate the appearance of the patron-goddess in human form in sore distress. Thus the patron-goddess of the small shrine Chittur in Cochin State is piously believed to have led the people of the locality to victory when threatened by the Konkan chief, a victory under divine leadership which the people are celebrating even today under the name of *Konkan-paṭa*. Similarly, the patron-goddess of the Cochin royal family is popularly believed to have led the people of Palayannūr in a victorious fray with an advance guard of Tippu and to have safely escorted the king of the time, Śaktan Thampuran Rama Varma, for a momentous interview with him. In the battle the army of the villagers was solely composed of women armed with their pestles! In the matter of social evils also, the patron-goddess is resorted to fight the cause of the orthodox and the good. When a man defies the social conduct, the goddess is invoked. Our legends are rich in stories relating to this aspect of *Bhagavati*, so much so that it has become a popular saying: 'Resort to *Bhagavati* when in difficulties'.[1] A typical story may be noted in connection with the ostracism of Kākkaśśeri Bhaṭṭatiri, the contemporary of the famous Vikrama of Calicut in the first half of the 15th century. He was leading the life of a *Jīvanmukta* and the social leaders not realising the nature of the great man resorted to *Bhajanam* at the shrine of Cottanikkara to get him ostracised. It is again to be noticed that the first thing to be done in the inauguration of a *Vicāraṇa* is to propitiate the patron-deity.

आपदि किं करणीयं स्मरणीयं चरणयुगलमंबायाः ।
तत्स्मरणं किं कुरुते ब्रह्मादीनपि किंकरीं कुरुते ।

The village patron-deity is also the sole protection of the villagers during periods of epidemics. When cholera or small-pox breaks out in a village, the villagers associate it with the anger of the goddess, and this is immediately followed by family and village votive offerings at the sacred shrine. As a matter of fact when the summer season begins, every *Bhagavati* shrine becomes more than usually active. Devotees pour in day after day and daily votive offerings of individuals become a general rule followed by a common communal offering and celebrations towards the close. In this connection reference may be made to the shrine at Cranganore which is the famous *Masūri-devatā* for the whole of Malabar where the *Bharaṇi* in March-April is celebrated as a palliative against the outbreak of small-pox.

So far we have described the goddess as the general patron of village protecting it from every abnormal visitation, which is beyond the control of human agency. The goddess also figures as the protector of individuals, particularly the curer of diseases, especially brain diseases, generally associated with the baneful influence of ghosts and goblins. One of the commonest prescription for the diseased person is to undergo a process of *Bhajanam* in some well-known *Bhagavati* shrine. In this aspect, the shrines at Cottanikkara and at the Cape Comorin are very well-known, while in the case of an individual attack of small-pox, a votive offering at the famous shrine at Cranganore is supposed to be particularly efficacious.

Thus we find that both for the individual and the community the *Bhagavati* is the deity to protect them from dangers, especially sickness. It is, however, significant to point out that there are but few *Bhagavati* shrines which are supposed to be the giver of prosperity or children or learning. Of course on a minor scale every shrine is associated with these also; but such an association is generally made by its own advocates and not by the people at large. I remember one shrine at least, dedicated to *Bhagavati*, which is held specially sacred for learning, I mean the one at Avanangode; one, to offspring at Urakam and one, particularly to prosperity, the shrine at Cottanikkara. But the general absence of Bhagavatī shrines associated with the happier aspects of human life is peculiarly striking. Have we here a clue to the origin of the Bhagavatī shrine? Can these have originated in

dread and fear for the purpose of counteracting the natural visitations? The goddess figures prominently as the friend in distress. In ancient days when the people were left to the tender mercies of divine ills, they could conceive of none else but the Mother to help them out. From the deity of fear and dread to whom was assigned all the ills of life may have evolved the idea of the beneficent mother, probably through the culture contact of the Aryans who appear to have colonised the land long before the Christian era—a view that gains considerably in support from the fact that *Bhagavati* shrines are the only places of worship where by the side of the Aryan rites we have revolting cult-acts at least once a year, not so much in the name of the individual as in the name of the community.

No less important is another feature of the mother goddess which differentiates her from other deities, and this is the presence of an earthly representative for the goddess to carry out her behests. This is a feature common to almost all Bhagavatī shrines. The person is known as *Kòmaram* or *Veliccapāṭu* and his chief function is to be the spokesman of the deity. When occasion demands it, he becomes possessed and conveys the pleasure of the goddess in human accents and directs the doing of this or that ceremony as a votive offering to avert this or that calamity; and note he talks in the first person. In his sacred vestments he precedes the idol of the deity when it is taken out. He is undoubtedly an interesting personality and exerts great influence over the villages.

The election of the village *Komaram* is an important ceremony and it is an interesting rite. He is generally an elected officer, elected on the basis of spiritual superiority of which he is required to give tangible proof. The intending candidate undergoes a process of *Bhajanam* in the village shrine and on a fixed day he must satisfy the people that he possesses some supernatural power, which entitles him to become the honoured agent of the deity. The election of the *Komaram* is an event of great import at Cranganore. When, however, the last *Komaram* died a few years back, there has not yet come forward any one who could prove his right to the place by the possession of supernormal power.

A couple of observations regarding the institution of this dignitary

in *Bhagavati* shrines deserves to be made here. In the first place, the man elected for the place is invariably a Śūdra, though in these days instances are not found wanting where other castes—sub-castes—also take to this profession. In the second place, the person selected for the place is invariably a man and not a woman. That this office is generally held by a Śūdra may be taken as an indication of the primitive nature of the origin of this cult. For it is unlikely that, if this be an Aryan cult, the priestly hierarchy would have allowed a Śūdra to usurp this important function. It deserves also to be mentioned here that to this dignity falls the discharge of the lower forms of mantric rites for the propitiation of the goddess. Here then is a definite clue regarding the sources of the *Bhagavati* cult. The other feature does not lead itself to such an easy explanation, in spite of the fact that it is a tempting line of inquiry. I incline to think that man has been selected for this office as the earthly representative of the divine mother in view of her masculine activity. Since the *Komaram* has to officiate at the offerings of blood, to visit the houses of victims suffering from small-pox and cholera and other epidemics, it is but legitimate that the choice should naturally fall upon a man who is better fitted by nature for this sort of work. Such an assumption would naturally suggest that this dignitary originally functioned only in those institutions which may have had a pre-Aryan origin. As a matter of fact we have *Komarams* functioning in almost all *Bhagavati* shrines which are *Kāvus* and not in other shrines which are not *Kāvus*. Putting these two ideas together we have again the same view emphasised that the *Bhagavati* cult is a relic handed down to us from a pre-Aryan past; and we shall not be far wrong if the presence or absence of a *Komaram* be made a test of the antiquity of a *Bhagavati* shrine.

The institution of the *Komaram* in *Bhagavati* reminds one of the institution of the Priest of Diana on the banks of the Nimi lake in Italy. In the case of the priest the choice is made with reference to his physical strength and the strongest man is always the priest. But in the case of the *Komaram*, the choice is based upon his supernatural power, the presence of which in a particular individual is taken to mean that he is in direct communion with the spirit of the

goddess. Secondly, when once the *Komaram* is selected, he is there for life. In the case of the priest also he is there for life, but unfortunately he can be killed at any moment by anybody who is stronger than himself. Consequently, he is always anxious about his own safety and as such he has no function other than the one of safeguarding himself. But the *Komaram*, conscious of his supernatural powers and the serenity of his position, can and does discharge the duties falling to his share. It is possible that both these offices may have originated from the same motive with this difference that while the Romans cared for physical strength, the people in Kerala insisted upon supernatural powers and spiritual greatness. When it is also remembered that the Romans had a colony at Cranganore even during the pre-Christian era, an inquiry into this institution becomes very interesting: it is as well possible that there be some borrowing.

The more important of the annual celebrations in Bhagavatī shrines are the following: *Vāram*, *Pattāmayam*, *Tālapoli*, *Bharaṇi*, *Tūkkam* and *Muṭiyettu* and other forms of Bhagavatī dances and dramatic representations.

The first of these is a sort of minor celebration conducted by Brahmins and consists in the chanting of Vedic hymns—evidently a process of Aryanising the shrine. It is held that the goddess enshrined there gets her power by these annual chants. The *Pattāmayam* is a forty-one days' celebration, the function on the last day being on a grand scale in which all the villagers take part, and which is accompanied by *Tālapoli*, *Tūkkam* or *Muṭiyettu*. This is later followed by *Bharaṇi* in the month of March-April. All these are more or less village celebrations to which every family in the village contributes its mite. It is noteworthy that these celebrations are associated only with *Bhagavati* shrines and none other.

Tālapoli is the commonest institution found celebrated in almost all *Bhagdvati* shrines. It consists in an elaborate religious ceremony in the temple in more or less on a grand scale. This is followed both in the afternoon and at night by a procession on elephants. This one day celebration—four days in the Cranganore temple—is supposed to humour the goddess and win her favour for the village. This is an interesting festival and the term itself suggests a clue to its origin.

Tāla means plate and *poli*, voluntary gifts, and the whole therefore means the offering of voluntary gifts to the deity. It is, however, a fact that this free gift does not form part of the festival as it obtains. But a close scrutiny reveals that the function is characterised by a symbolic offering. Coming as the festival does at the close of the second crop, this celebration might originally have been characterised by payment in kind by villagers to the village patron-deity. It is held that failure to celebrate *Tālapoli* will be followed by the outbreak of epidemics. It is, therefore, legitimate to conclude that in *Tālapoli* the patron-deity is out collecting the annual dues to be paid by the flock for her upkeep. Again just before this, the representative of the goddess accompanied by her divine symbols goes out from house to house collecting dues, a process which is popularly called *Paravakkal*. This has also been interpreted as an extreme solicitude on the part of the deity to see with her own eyes how her devotees are getting on. In other words, we may relevently see in *Tālapoli* a process of voluntary contribution being levied from the villagers for the upkeep of the village deity.

In some shrines we have *Vela* celebrated in place of *Tālapoli*. It is a festive gathering of the rich and the poor alike of the village to honour the village patron-goddess. In many cases the celebration is also characterised by the singing of obscene songs, which may be taken as a sign of antiquity. For in expecting to honour the goddess by the singing of obscene songs, we may see the popular conception, necessarily primitive though, that even superior gods and goddesses are prone to physical sensuous pleasures, as they themselves are.

Very popular and hence apparently very important are the *Bharaṇi* celebrations, which should on no account be postponed. The two most important shrines where this is celebrated on a grand scale are the shrines at Cranganore and at Shertala. It is an annual festival and the concourse of people taking active part in it is really vast. There are some essential features associated with the celebrations at Cranganore. The first is the killing of cocks and as a result the whole temple becomes a weltering pool of blood. Secondly, there is the closing of the *sanctum sanctorum* and then throwing the whole area open to all castes and creeds among Hindus. The third is the singing

of obscene songs, the nakedness of which is particularly sickening to a man of any decency. The rites go on for three days and at the end of which the temple goes back to its normal gentleness. In this peculiar festival we may well see the vestiges of the old Dravidian rites. Evidently as the very name of the shrine implies, this must have been the premier Dravidian place of worship where was current an elaborate form of *tantric* worship in all its gruesome form.

Closely allied to this, or some would have it, a civilised form of this is the *Guruti* which is a communal offering and conducted particularly in times of great danger. A blood-like preparation is made and this is offered in place of blood to allay the anger of the deity. Evidently wherever this form of worship survives we have the goddess in her terrific aspect, for it symbolises the offering of human sacrifices and that means that it is a shrine with pre-Aryan antiquity. This offering is found made at Cranganore occasionally when virulent epidemics rage in the land.

No less important, but really more gruesome in its actuality, is the celebration of what is called *Tūkkam* or Hook-swing. The number of temples where this is found celebrated are few and are becoming fewer. A brief notice of this will not be out of place, because this is found to be a popular form of offering in other countries as well. And here I shall not do better than quote from the *Annual Report on Archæological Researches in Cochin State for the year 1100 M.E.* which I had the privilege to prepare.

"The man to be hooked undergoes *Bhajanam* in the temple for a period of seven, twelve, twenty-one or forty-one days, as the case may be. During the period of preparation, his charges for boarding and lodging are met from the temple funds. On the day on which the festival comes off, he spends his time till the appointed hour entirely in the temple. Then he is fully dressed in the ceremonial dress with the head-gear and is supplied with sword and shield. When everything is ready, he rushes out, accompanied by a crowd of people with at least a few carrying sword and shield, to the rendezvous where is kept in readiness a crane-like machine. He takes his position on the crane; the hook-end is lowered and his assistant passes the hooks through his skin pulled out at the back. Then a hen is killed and its blood allowed

to trickle down at his feet. After this is done, a third man, generally a professional man having definite experience in the work, pulls down the other end of the cross-beam and the victim finds himself raised aloft dangling in the air. Then a number of people shoulder the crane and they run out in procession with it. In front of the procession the few armed people put up a sham fight, the victim hanging by the hooks also fighting with the air in that tortuous position. It is not at all a pleasant sight. If wonderful are the ways of God, cruel, indeed, are the ways of pleasing Him.

The procession goes out at a quick space—the more the speed, the more the shake and the more the pain and the risk—and thrice circumambulates the sacred idol, which is taken out and temporarily lodged in an outhouse. Each time the victim comes in front of the shrine, he puts on a reverential attitude and bows to the goddess, the high priest of the temple standing in front accepting his penitence or worship or both.

After the last turn is over, the procession as before hurries back to the old place; the hook end of the crane is lowered and the victim freed. Thus the function comes to an end. As for the victim, a tight bandage is made at the place where the hooks were applied, a few eggs are administered to him, and he is made to take a few quick rounds in the temple. This is annually celebrated in nearly half a dozen temples, and yet there has not yet been reported any death or mishap.

The origin of the festival is lost in obscurity. But the elders advance the three views to explain its origin. Some say, it is only the realistic representation of Kāli's destruction of Dārika, and in proof thereof is pointed out the fact that this festival is connected only with *Bhagavati* shrines. But there is no legend so far as I know, which speak of Kāli's hanging Dārika. Others say, it is a process of *trial by ordeal*, the victim thus proving his innocence; but thus it can only be an individual's affair and not a temple function. Still others say that it is a survival in a mild form of the old cruel rite of human sacrifice, and in support thereof is pointed out the practice of killing a hen at the feet of the victim. That is a view that deserves to be seriously considered. But I am inclined to accept it only in qualified

form. I would take it primarily as a festival of thanks-giving to one's deity for a victory in battle in which the sacrifice of the vanquished chief is the dominating feature.[1]

The *Bhagavati* cult dramatic representations and dances constitute another series of celebrations, the importance of which cannot be estimated for the student of this cult, as well as for the student of our cultural antiquities. These varieties are six in number, namely (i) *Bhagavati Pāṭṭu*, (ii) *Tiyyāṭṭu*, (iii) *Pāna*, (iv) *Pāṭṭu*, (v) *Kaṇiyar Kaḷi*, (vi) *Muṭiyettu*. These are invariably found celebrated in *Bhagavati* shrines in honour of the goddess, sometimes as an annual festival conducted by the temple itself and at other times as a votive offering by the pious villagers in the temple or in their homes. These are intended to glorify the *Bhagavati* and deal exclusively with her glorification and thus the popularisation of that cult which is one of the theistic Hindu cults most popular in our parts. They have again for their main theme the destruction of Dārika by Kāli or the victory of Pārvatī over Siva. The language of these songs is exclusively in the local vernacular, and the actors or the dancers are generally from the lower orders of the caste Hindus. These and the fact that the lower types of *tantric* and *mantric* rituals are also found associated with some *Bhagavati* shrines tempt one to think that in these spectacular representations may be found the sole surviving relics of the old type of the worship of sylvan gods and goddesses current amongst the indigenous native population which by culture-contact and culture-stratification were purified, ennobled and admitted into the Aryan fold.

(i) *Bhagavati Pāṭṭu*

Bhagavati Pāṭṭu is generally found conducted either in temples or in the houses of the Kerala Brahmins, called *Nampūtiris*. The figure of *Bhagavati* with heads and arms and body is drawn on the floor with coloured flour and then *Jīvapratiṣṭha* is done. Sitting

1 Such a view would necessitate the assumption that the *Bhagavati* cult was one of the ancient form of religion current here, and that originally we had priest-kings.

around it and playing upon some of the musical instruments the troupe of people, called *Kurups*, sing the songs glorifying the goddess. The songs continue and the story reaches the climax, when the *Komaram* attached to the temple becomes possessed and begins his weird dance carrying a jingling *cilambu* in one arm and a pointed sword in the other. He explains in human accents the ideas of the goddess, as it were, and points out how the goddess—he uses the first person—is great and good and powerful, how she is pleased with the devotion that the people have shown but how they have failed in this one or that other respect, how she is well pleased with them with the conduct of the *Pāṭṭu* and how she will always protect them. As the process of talking goes on, the songs continue and the musical instruments go on sounding. In due course the *Komaram* quiets down and the whole function comes to a close.

(ii) *Tiyyāṭṭu*

Tiyyāṭṭu is similar to the above in all respects except for this difference: that when the songs reach the fifth stage, the *Komaram* in his possessed fury jumps into the fire and executes some weird stepping dance. While the former type of dance can be either a family or a votive offering, this latter is always a village or a communal offering. The most important point in this to the student of dramas and dances is the presence of music to the accompaniment of which there is a sort of dancing by a character who poses as a representative of a divine being for the edification of a large audience in an open place.

(iii) *Pāna*

Pāna is another variety of similar dancing and though not much different from the preceding, it is technically held to be different. Two types are prevalent: it may be an individual votive offering in which case there is only one *Komaram* taking part in it—the *Komaram* associated with the temple in which the performance is conducted. It might also be a communal or a village function; in which case all the *Komarams* of all the *Bhagavati* shrines in the neighbourhood must take part in it. Dressed in their usual weird habit, they conduct in unison a very queer kind of dance to the accompaniment of the

instrumental music of the type called *Asuravādyas*.[1] As a third sub-variety of the same, may be mentioned another similar dance in front of a *Bhagavati* shrine conducted by Katupottans, a class of people included amongst the lower orders of Nairs, who become possessed under the influence of alcholic drink. This *Paiśācika* variety, be it noted, is run as a village offering for the purpose of getting rain, when it is inordinately delayed—an evidently powerful clue as regards the Dravidian origin of these and other similar types of entertainments conducted in the name of *Bhagavati*.

(iv) *Pāṭṭu*

Not far removed from these in essentials, much less in spirit, is the variety, known as *Pāṭṭu*. It is purely a family or domestic function celebrated by rich families as a beneficent complement to such rituals as marriage. The purely religious aspect of this consists in the invocation of the goddess Parvatī on a properly, I mean, *tantrically* made seat, i.e., a *Pīṭha* surrounded by the various items of *Maṅgalācaraṇa;* this is then followed by singing in a singsong tone, accompanied by the sounding of a metal plate with a table knife. At the same time there stands in front of the goddess invoked a couple of ladies dressed in their religious ceremonial dress, and as the song proceeds, they become possessed and then begin a circular dance and convey the commands of the goddess. The function begins early in the morning and with necessary intervals runs on the whole day and night. Here again we have the glorification of the goddess, but it differs from the other kinds in that here it is a woman who becomes

(v) *Kaṇiyar Kaḷi*

Kaṇiyar Kaḷi is another variety of interesting performance current in the northern parts of Cochin, conducted in *Bhagavati* shrines. When the performance comes of, there is erected a decorated pandal in

1 *Asuravādya* is the name given to the instruments such as Cenda, Kombu, Kulal, etc., and the music produced by them is loud and is everything that is he opposite of gentle.

the temple adorned with flags and festoons. In the centre a big lighted lamp is placed, round which the players dance to set music, both instrumental and vocal, the dance being supposed to be an imitation of the dance of Mahākāli and Mahākāla. The performance generally continue for three days, the portion for each day by day being fixed with reference to the music. On the first day we have the *Aṇḍikūttu;* the second day we have the *Valluvon Pāttu;* and on the third, *Subramanya-Paṭṭu,* to honour the issue of Siva. *Valluvon Pāttu* is in praise of Valluvon who is held to have been a saint and philosopher, and *Malama Pāṭṭu* was so called, because probably a mountain song was sung. All these songs are highly devotional in sentiment, though here and there may be found references to social incidents. The main performance is done in the temporary hall and each day has its fixed songs. After the songs and dances are over, some farcical element is introduced in which the various castes are represented and ridiculed for their various vices. This portion of the representation is called by the name of *Porāṭṭu,* and its main theme is humour and social satire, each player appearing in costume suitable to the character. On the final day after the songs are over, all the players together worship the goddess enshrined in the temple and make their exit. This is again a queer kind of performance in which music, vocal and instrumental, and dancing and acting play an equally important part; but as in the varieties considered, here also the main and central point of interest is the *Bhagavati,* enshrined in the temple. Naturally therefore this also deals with the glorification of the *Bhagavati* cult. This is, however, like the *Pāna,* a group or communal celebration, where all males, children and adults, can take part, and is celebrated both as a votive offering and as a temple function.

(vi) *Muṭiyettu*

Unlike the varieties hitherto described stands *Muṭiyettu,* which is the most important of the representations associated with the *Bhagavati* cult. This is the only variety in which two characters appear in costume, the one representing Kāli and the other, Dārika. The term itself is significant in that it means the *Yettah* (wearing) of the *Muṭi* (the crown) of *Kāli.* A critical study of these various religious varieties

tempts one to associate the origin of dramatic representation with religious music accompanied by spontaneous gestures and then music with dancing. Since the figure drawn combines in itself both pictorial and sculptorial representation herein may also be seen the beginnings of painting and sculpture. This then forms an important variety which deserves to be more closely studied.

As before this again is celebrated in *Bhagavati* temples and is conducted by a sub-section of Ambalavasis called *Kurups*, who combine in themselves the arts of music and painting, acting and dancing. They arrive early in the afternoon, and in a conspicuous place in the temple front prepare a relief-painting of the goddess Kāli in her most terrific aspect. Simultaneously with the evening rites in the temple, they begin to entertain the people with their music, vocal and instrumental. When the evening rites and ceremonies of the temple are over, the idol of the goddess is taken out in procession and after a fixed number of circumambulations in the precincts of the temple it is kept in a prominent place. The first item in the representation is a meeting between Śiva and Nārada, when the latter informs him that the earth is groaning under the oppression of Dārika and it closes with Śiva's promise of his destruction by Kāli. In the meanwhile, the two characters who impersonate Kāli and Dārika are dressed in costume ready to appear and at the appointed hour Dārika comes out and challenges Kāli. The challenge is accepted, and Kāli rushes in. There is no fixed stage—the whole temple area forms the stage and the characters walk about in a moving fight. Here is a long, tedious process of acting a battle between the two, and ultimately the goddess wins killing Dārika. *The last act is an imposing scene and fills the audience with* terror, occuring as it does at day-break. The chief item of the murder scene is when Kāli plunges her hands into the very bowels of Dārika followed by the drinking of, and besmearing her body with, blood, and ultimately she adorns herself with his intestines.[1]

The success of the acting depends, as it necessarily must, on the superior practical skill of the actors in the matter of acting, all the

1 There is kept within the costume a pouch containing some red liquid and a long unseemly chain-like thing to represent the intestines.

more so since there is no other serious accompaniment to relieve the tedium. This representation is looked upon as a very orthodox and religious act, and so it is beyond the pale of popular criticism from the point of view of aesthetics, and one must necessarily concede that this acting is of a superior order. The costume of the characters agrees in many respects with the costume of the characters in *Kathakāli*, and without committing oneself to rash statements, one may suggest that the latter may have been derived from the model of the former. Further, I incline to find in this religious representation one of the few surviving relics of the indigenous type of spectacular entertainments, and this more than anything else has tended to popularise the *Bhagavati* cult in Kerala.

Before we proceed further we may as well notice here some curious resemblances that these dramatic representations and dances have with the Grecian ones. Thus the performance is always out of doors, the actors, musicians and the spectators all being in open air. The performance is conducted by day in some varieties, while many of them are held during night, sometime lit up by the moonlight but always by lamps and torches. Further, the main centre of interest is not so much the representation, as the *Bhāgavati* shrine or the figure drawn of the goddess in relief-painting in some prominent place. Furthermore, there is absolutely no effort made at any scenic effect, while the place and time are denoted by mere words or proper gestures. Thus it will be seen that *Bhagavati* cult dances, music and acting are entirely a religious function and a religious act, with the requisite religious solemnity pervading the whole performance, but with this difference, namely that the audience is bent upon enjoying it. It is also interesting to point out that the songs, the dances and rude pantomime acting—all these are hung on to a tragic story, the destruction of Dārika by Kāli. There are some interesting parallels with the Grecian representation during pan-Athenaeic festivals. Thus there is the simple act of worship broadening into a drama. There is also the process of the humanisation of gods. And last, but not least, comes the mythological nature of the subject which hangs on to a tragic story and which has special reference to national cults and cult-acts. An intensive study of these from a comparative point of view is sure to

yield some useful results which may throw some more light on the problem of the origin of theatrical representations.

We have in the preceding sections noticed some of the salient features of the *Bhagavati* cult which distinguishes it from the higher refined type of Aryan cults. Quite consistent with this is the structure of *Bhagavati* shrines and the ministrants in these. As we have already mentioned, *Bhagavati* is the patron-deity of the village; she is the *Grāmadevatā*. There is so far as we know only one instance of a *Bhagavati* rising above its village boundaries and reaching all-Kerala importance and that is at the shrine at Cranganore. Consistent with her general position, her shrine is a lowly one. Even the shrine at Cranganore is not a very imposing one, in spite of its being a national temple for all Malayalis. It would serve a very interesting purpose to compare this shrine at Cranganore with the Śiva shrine at Tiruvancikulam of a later day. As a general rule, it may be stated that the *sanctums* for *Bhagavati* shrines are ordinary ones. Is this an indication of the comparatively low position that this deity occupies in our religious consciousness? It may be so; but more possibly it is the outcome of the conception of the deity as a subordinate agency. She is connected with the facts of everyday life—with the happiness and misery of the villagers—and not with the highest problems of universe, with life and birth and death here and hereafter and as such she is subordinate to the deities of Śiva and Viṣṇu. To give her a shrine, connect her with the Aryan heirarchy of gods and offer her the Aryan ritual and worship, were the most that even the most sympathetic Aryan colonist could do. The writer has come across at least one shrine devoted to a female deity which has only an encircling wall and nothing more, at which annual *pujā* alone is offered. A third variety of *Bhagavati* shrines are found located under trees, such as *Pala* or *Elanji* but in all these cases there is, so far as I know, a major shrine very near to which it is attached. A fourth variety also is not rare; where the *Bhagavati* is found located in a small niche in a corner of a big shrine dedicated to Śiva or Viṣṇu. Thus we find that *Bhagavati* is located in all sorts of places, good, bad, indifferent—again an indication of the popularity of this cult and the great power of accomodation that Brahminism has always been exercising.

This peculiar feature is again found revealed in major temples dedicated to *Bhagavati*. In the well-known *Bhagavati* shrines two and sometimes three distinctly sacred places can be noted. The first and the most important is the *sanctum sanctorum* itself. Equally important from the traditional points of view is another flat which is called *Śrīmūlasthānam*, which a popular version associates with the first resting place of the goddess whence she was transferred to the permanent place, the present main shrine. It is, however, not in all temples that such a shrine could be seen. Another equally common sacred place is seen in many shrines: in front of the same *sanctorum* and further out may be seen standing a small block of stone without anthropomorphic or symbolic features, generally located under trees and sometimes under a roofed vault. This shrine stands in some fixed relationship with the major shrine. For all the lower forms of *tantric* rites, such for instance, as killing of cocks, offerings of blood, *Guruti* etc. are done here and in majority of cases, the priest who conducts the worship in this outer shrine is not a Brahmin but only a caste Hindu, the *Komaram* or some Śūdra. Here then is an interesting survival of probably a historic relic which definitely connects the modern *Bhagavati* with the old Dravidian cult. With the coming in of the superfine Aryan cults and cult-acts, a convenient bifurcation of them is made of the patron-deity in her beneficent and malevolent, or more correctly the higher and lower forms of conception. The higher conceptual deity was located in shrines and here were conducted higher Aryanised cult-acts by Brahmins, while the crude popular deities of a dreaded character are left outside to delight as best they may in the annual or seasonal offerings characteristic of the lower forms of Dravidian cult and cult-acts.

An equally interesting classification of the shrines may be made from the point of the images enshrined in *Bhagavati* shrines. Three specific types may be mentioned. The commonest type is that in the form of a *Kaṇṇāti-bimbam*, i.e., Mirror-idol, with an encirclement around. In other cases, we have a regular idol with anthropomorphic features: an excellent instance of this type of idol may be found in the shrine at Cape Comorin. A still third type may be found in places where the idol is composed of an uncouth piece of granite or laterite rock. Such idols are a rarity and these are looked upon as

svayambhus. It is interesting to point out that this type of idol alone is held to do positive good, and it is only with this type of idol that any higher conceptions of religion are generally associated. Two most interesting instances of types are those at Chottanikkara and at Avanangode. The nature of the idols is also thus an interesting relic which may help to throw some light on the historicity of this cult.

No less important are the people who are associated with the rituals of these shrines. There are three different castes found thus associated and they are the Brahmins, *Antaralars* and the Śūdras, especially the lower orders. As a general rule it may be said that in all shrines the Brahmins are the priests; but on special occasions and for special kinds of offerings, they are replaced by *Antaralars* or *Śūdras*. Thus at Cranganore, Brahmins and *Antaralars* exist side by side while the *Komaram* helps them as active agent during the *Bharaṇi* period. Similarly, at Chittur Brahmins are the regular priests at the main shrine, but the Nairs function as such at the outer shrine in front. There are at least a couple of shrines where the priests are only Brahmins, I mean the shrines at Chottanikkara and at Avanangode. This then forms another line of demarcation for tracing the origin and antiquity of this cult, for it is a significant thing to point out that only these temples which have exclusive Brahmin priests are associated with the higher types of beneficent goddess, and these shrines are looked upon as the patron-deities of the Brahmin colonists. Thus the shrine at Cottanikkara and Urakam are the patron-deities of the Namputiris of the Vedanat-gramam and Perumanam-gramam, evidently suggesting for these shrines a high antiquity, which must have been accepted even at the time of the fusion of the two cultures of the Aryan and the Dravidian.

A study of the general nature of these shrines also forms an important source of information. These shrines, the more important ones, are located at the head of plains or tops of hills and quite naturally from the point of view of this fact they are treated as the patron-deity of the area commanded. From the point of view of the location, the dread and fear associated with the shrines vary. Thus a forest goddess is held to be more dreadful than a goddess in the plain. The goddess of the plains are agents active in furthering the mundane matters of

the villagers, where as hill goddesses are associated with the furtherance of the more beneficent and spiritual aspects.

Enough has now been said regarding *Bhagavati* cult from a general point of view. We shall now try to inquire what exactly is her relation to the gods and goddesses of the Aryans. Corresponding to the masculine aspects of Brahma, Viṣṇu and Śiva, there are the feminine aspects of Sarasvatī, Lakṣmī and Pārvatī. All temples in Kerala can be broadly divided into Śaivite ones and Vaiṣṇavite ones, though we have none dedicated to Brahma. Such a cut and dry classification of the feminine aspects of these gods is not possible as regards the shrines in their honour. There is no temple which may be pronounced to be definitely Vaiṣṇavite or Śaivite. The traditions and legends associated with them no less than the rites and rituals current in them all tend to boil down any definite relationship that may be maintained to Viṣṇu or Śiva. If the presence of blood offerings may be taken as an indication of that deity's relationship to the feminine aspect of Śiva, there is also the sacredness of the same with reference to learning or prosperity, associated with Brahma or Viṣṇu. One shrine may be predominantly the seat of prosperity, but it is equally important as the curer of mental diseases. Such a fusion of functions must necessarily come to exist, especially in view of the fact that the functions of Lakṣmī or Sarasvatī are always found overlapping. We have instances of deities, definitely localised as Lakṣmī or Pārvatī prayed to for similar kinds of gifts or aids and the lifting off similar ills arising out of their displeasure. Thus it will be found that the functions of these deities are as vague as their anthropomorphic features. This confusion is enhanced by another aspect of the goddess in the popular conception. The deity enshrined at Cape Comorin has three distinct functions associated with the three different times of the day. Thus early in the morning she is the bestower of learning, at noon the bestower of riches and in the evening the giver of bliss and the remover of diseases, indeed irreconcilable conceptions, when we try to relate her with one or other of the *Trimūrtis*. Only one explanation seems possible for this variety of functions; even at the time of the Aryan colonisation this deity must have come to be popularly associated with the functions of warding off evils and of bestowing bliss, spiri-

tual and mundane. In other words, these are not Brāhminical deities, nor are they the offshoots of Brāhminical culture: they are primitive goddesses converted into Brahmin fold. Consequently according as the exigencies of the ritual they have manifold functions and hence manifold origins. Thus the immediate presence of a Saivite shrine make the *Bhagavat* shrine Saivite; compare, for instance, the shrine at Paramekavu at Trichur. Again popular traditions make one goddess the consort of another god: thus the goddess at Urakam is made the consort of the god enshrined at Irinjalakuda. The fancy of the worshipper or the proclivity of the high priest makes the shrine Vaiṣṇavite or Saivite, as the case may be. Thus different origins are reported about the deity enshrined at Cottanikkara. In all these cases, however, it deserves to be pointed out that the shrine itself does not lend countenance to any such professed declaration being accepted. This is as much as saying that originally they had nothing to do with either Siva or Viṣṇu. They were simply the benign or malignant village-deities and this aspect is more or less well-preserved in spite of the constant white-washings given to the shrine by its Vaiṣṇavite and Saivite adherents. It is no doubt possible, even probable, that before these shrines were accepted into the Aryan fold they must to a great extent have been influenced by the Buddhist and Jain religions: these must have originally deprived the shrines of their horrifying rites and rituals, such, for instance, as the offering of human beings, if there existed any, and animals which did exist, and replaced them by symbolic offerings. From this point of view it may be argued that those shrines in which polished forms of lower cult-acts are practised and which are labelled as Saivite might have been brought under Buddhist influence, while those which are labelled as Vaiṣṇavite, and in which such acts are absent might have been originally brought under Jain influence. It is quite conceivable that the purely benign goddess—and these are very few—may be a legacy handed down to us by our distant Buddhist and Jain forefathers, while the others might be the surviving shrines of the Dravidians. Quite consistently with this historical nature, these have always been the deities who concerned themselves with the everyday life of the villagers and to whom the villager always looked up to

for help in evil days. No wonder in the hands of the villager the rites and rituals were characterised not so much by praises or desires for moral blessings as by a tone of propitiation and thankfulness. It may also be mentioned here that the conception of a superhuman deity and the elaboration of the cult and the varied cult-acts, however primitive and revolting they might originally have been, prepared the way for the acceptance of the Brāhminic, Buddhist and Jain creeds and cults and cult-acts, with the result that the cult as it obtains today partakes of all the features of all, but of none in particular.

Enough has now been said to show that the evolution of the *Bhagavati* cult is a subject of great importance, in which a large amount of materials is still available for the student. A systematic study of these is sure to yield a rich harvest to the student of comparative religion and philosophy.

K. R. PISHAROTI

Our Present Agni-Purāṇa[1]

The *Matsya* and the *Skanda Purāṇas* notice the *Agni Purāṇa* as follows:

'That Purāṇa which describes the occurrences of the Īśāna Kalpa and was related by Agni to Vaśiṣṭha is called the Āgneya..'[2] But in the present *Agni*, though Agni is found to speak to Vaśiṣṭha, there is no mention of the Īśāna Kalpa. On the other hand, the Vāraha Kalpa has been mentioned in connection with the Tortoise incarnation of Viṣṇu (see *Agni*, 2, 17). This disagreement between the description in the *Matsya* and the *Skanda Purāṇas* and the contents of the present *Agni* show that the latter is not the earlier *Agni Purāṇa* which was noticed by these two Purāṇas. This apocryphal character of the present *Agni* is further evidenced by the verses quoted from the '*Agni Purāṇa*' or '*Āgneya*' in the *Smṛti-Nibandhas*. The express mention of Vaśiṣṭha and king Ambarīṣa as interlocutors[3] and the occurrence of the words 'kuru-śārdūla,' 'vīra,' 'rājan,' 'nṛpa,' 'rājendra,' etc. in the Vocative Case in many of the quoted passages[4] prove that in the original *Agni Purāṇa* Vaśiṣṭha spoke to king Ambarīṣa at least on the various topics on Dharma. Moreover, in one of the verses quoted from the '*Āgneya Purāṇa*' in the *Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi*, Sūrya is mentioned as the speaker, and in another, Viṣṇu speaks to Gaṅgā (cf. *Tīrtha-*

1 The Vaṅgavāsī edition is chapter by chapter the same as the Ānandāśrama Press edition. There are, of course, occasional variations in readings and numbers of verses in the corresponding chapters.

2 यत् तद् ईशानकं कल्पं वृत्तान्तमधिकृत्य च ।
वसिष्ठायाग्निना प्रोक्तमाग्नेयं तत् प्रचक्षते ॥

Matsya 53, 28 and *Skanda* VII, i, 2, 47. The latter reads 'īśāna-kalpasya' in the first line.

In *Agni*, 272, which is an abridgment of *Matsya*, 53 and not of *Nāradīya*, I, 92-109 as Haraprasād Śāstri holds, the reference to the Īśāna Kalpa has been left out obviously with a view to adapt the description to the present *Agni*.

3 Cf. *Dānasāgara*, fol. 253a and 96a-97b; and *Kṛtya-ratnākara*, fol. 189b.

4 Cf. *Dānasāgara*, fol. 96a-97b, 99a-b, 100a-b, etc.; *Kṛtya-ratnākara*, fol. 189b; *Dānakriyā-kaumudī*, p. 57; *Haribhakti-vilāsa*, p. 752; *Smṛti-tattva* I, 211 and II, 286; *Kālasāra*, pp. 70, 126 and 602; and so on.

cintāmaṇi, pp. 206 and 263). In the present *Agni Purāṇa*, however, there is no interlocution between Vaśiṣṭha and king Ambarīṣa or between Viṣṇu and Gaṅgā, and there is also no chapter in which Sūrya is the speaker. These facts, considered together, prove definitely that the present *Agni Purāṇa* is not the earlier one.[5]

From a comparison between the present *Agni Purāṇa* and the verses quoted in the *Nibandhas* from the earlier *Agni* we understand that the former is the result of a destructive recast to which the latter was subjected. How in this recast the form of the older Purāṇa was changed is best exemplified by a comparison between a long passage, or rather an entire chapter, quoted from the '*Agni Purāṇa*' in the *Dānasāgara* (fol. 96a-97b) and chapter 210 of the present *Agni*. In the quoted passage Vaśiṣṭha is found to speak to the king (Ambarīṣa) on Guḍadhenu-dāna (gift of a cow made of raw sugar), but in the said chapter of the present *Agni*, though all the marks proving the existence of the interlocution between Vaśiṣṭha and king Ambarīṣa have been eliminated, many verses are retained, e.g., *Agni*, 210, verses 13b-17a, 19-21, 22b, 23 and 25-29a tally with some of the verses quoted in the *Dānasāgara* (fol. 96a-97b). The above comparison further shows that the present *Agni Purāṇa* is not a new work from beginning to end, but has retained fragments of chapters and isolated verses from the earlier Purāṇa. It is for this reason that a few of the numerous quoted verses are found in the present *Agni* with variations in readings and arrangement of lines.

The present *Agni Purāṇa*, though an apocryphal and comparatively late work, does not seem to have come down to us quite unadulterated. There are evidences to show that some of its chapters, viz., 21-106, 263-272 and 317-326, are in all probability later interpolations. In *Agni* 1 the essence of all knowledge (*Vidyā-sāra*) is proposed to be given. This knowledge is divided into two classes—Parā and Aparā. The Parā Vidyā is that with which the supreme Brahma state is attained, and the Aparā Vidyā consists of the four Vedas, the six Vedāṅgas (Śikṣā, Kalpa, Vyākaraṇa, Nirukta, Chandas and Jyotiṣa),

5 Dr. S. K. De also expressly calls it 'apocryphal'. See De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, vol. I, p. 102.

Abhidhāna, Mīmāṃsā, Dharmaśāstra, Purāṇa, Nyāya, Vaidyaka, Gāndharva, Dhanurveda and Arthaśāstra. It is to be noticed that in the above enumeration there is mention neither of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, of which, as we shall see below, some of the interpolated chapters of the present *Agni Purāṇa* seem to be summaries, nor of the methods of the worship of different gods dealt with in these chapters. Again, in chapter 20 Agni speaks of the nine kinds of creation, refers to the story of Satī's birth as the daughter of Himālaya, and ends with the verse:

ऋषिभ्यो नारदाद्युक्ताः पूजाः स्नानादिपूर्विकाः ।
स्वायंभुवाद्यास्ताः कृत्वा विष्णवादेर्भुक्ति-मुक्तिदाः ॥

This verse, which serves as an introduction to chapters 21-106 on the Tantric worship of Viṣṇu, Śiva, Gaṇeśa, Sūrya and Gaurī, is so irrelevant and abrupt that it proves the spurious character of these chapters. Their comparatively late date is further established by the fact that though in chapters 12-15 Kṛṣṇa is the eighth of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu, in chap. 49 (verse 6) it is Haladhara who occupies his place. From the lists of the ten incarnations of Viṣṇu we know that the substitution of Kṛṣṇa by Haladhara is of a much later date. Of these interpolated chapters (21-106), the first 49 (i.e. chaps. 21-70 on Viṣṇu-worship, Viṣṇu-dīkṣā, installation of the images of Viṣṇu, and so forth) are most probably summaries of one or more of the Pāñcarātra Saṃhitās, for some of the verses quoted in Gopālabhaṭṭa's *Haribhakti-vilāsa*, from the *Hayaśīrṣa-pañcarātra* have their parallels in *Agni*, 39-70 ascribed to Hayagrīva. For example, *Agni*, 41, 3 resembles the quotation from the *Hayaśīrṣa-pañcarātra* in *Haribhakti-vilāsa*, p. 1315. *Agni*, 71-106 (on the Pañcāyatana-pūjā), again, seem to be later than *Agni*, 21-70. The last verse:

स्कन्दायेशो यथा प्राह प्रतिष्ठाद्य तथा श्रृणु ।
सूर्येश-गण-शक्त्यादेः परिवारस्य वै हरेः ॥

of chap. 70, that introduces chaps. 71-106 declared by Iśvara (i.e. Śiva), is also abrupt and irrelevant. This introductory verse being ascribed to Hayagrīva, it is highly probable that chaps. 71-106 are later than chaps. 21-70. In *Agni*, 259, 1, Agni proposes to report what Puṣkara said to Rāma on 'ṛg-yajuḥ-sāmātharva-vidhāna.' Consequently chaps. 259 (verses 2f.) to 262, ascribed to Puṣkara, deal with Ṛg-, Yajur-,

Sāma- and Atharva-vidhāna. But the speaker is found to speak further on omens, worship, bath etc., almost all of which are imbued with Tantric elements. This continued portion (i.e. chaps.. 263-272) of Puṣkara's speech is most probably spurious. The word 'bhūyaḥ' in the line 'bhūyaḥ skandāya yān āha mantrān īśaś ca tān vade' (*Agni*, 316, 5) which introduces chaps. 317-326 ascribed to Iśvara presupposes chaps. 71-106 in which Iśvara speaks to Skanda. Therefore, at least chaps. 317-326 cannot be earlier than chaps. 71-106. Among the remaining chapters there may be some which are spurious, but it is almost impossible to detect them.

From the first chapter of the present *Agni* we understand that the compiler of this Purāṇa had the deliberate intention of making the work a sort of a cyclopædia in miniature. With this end in view he summarised the contents of some works, viz., the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Harivaṃśa*, the section on *Gayāmāhātmya* in the *Vāyu Purāṇa*, the Sūtras of Piṅgala with a commentary, the *Amarakośa*,[6] the *Yuddha-jayārṇava*[7] etc., and incorporated verses or entire chapters of other works, viz., the *Nārada-smṛti*,[8] the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* and the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*.[9] Hence it can be little doubted that the chapters on the different branches of learning belonged to the extant *Agni Purāṇa* in its earliest form and that they were put together to constitute the Purāṇa at the same time. That of these chapters at least

6 Haraprasad Shastri, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss., ASB.*, vol. V (Purāṇa Mss.), Preface, pp. cxlvii-cxlviii, cl.

7 *Agni*, 123-149 are certainly the summary of the *Yuddha-jayārṇava*--a work drawn upon by Narapati (the author of the *Svarodaya*), Raghunandana and others, because we have found that some of the lines quoted from the *Yuddha-jayārṇava* in the *Smṛti-tattva* resemble some lines in the above-mentioned chapters of the *Agni Purāṇa*. For instance, the line 'yasminnṛkṣe sthito bhānus tadādi trīṇi mastake' quoted from the *Yuddha-jayārṇava* in *Smṛti-tattva*, I, p. 642 may be compared to *Agni*, 126, 1b—'yasminnṛkṣe bhavet sūryas tadādau trīṇi mūrdhani'. Moreover, in *Agni*, 123, 1 Agni proposes to give the substance of the *Yuddha-jayārṇava* (vakṣye.........sāraṃ yuddha-jayārṇave). This substance, however, does not seem to be very true to the original but appears rather to have innovations.

8 P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. I, p. 173.

9 *Agni*, 380 has numerous verses in common with *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, II, 13, verses 13f.

those on Bhuvana-kośa, Yoga and Brahma-jñāna are contemporaneous is further established by *Agni*, 107, 12b-13a (bharate datta-lakṣmīkaḥ śālagrāme harim gataḥ / sa yogī yoga-prastāve vakṣye taccaritam punaḥ / /) containing an unmistakable reference to chap. 380 wherein the story of Bharata is given in connection with Yoga and the knowledge of Brahma. From all this we can safely hold that the date of compilation of the present *Agni* is the same as that of the summaries and incorporations. Now, P. V. Kane compares the text of the Vyavahāra section of the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* found in the *Agni Purāṇa* (chap. 253, verse 32 to chap. 258) with those used by the commentators Viśvarūpa and Vijñāneśvara and comes to the conclusion 'that the text of *Yāj.* preserved in the *Agni Purāṇa* is intermediate between the text of Viśvarūpa and that of the Mitākṣarā.' He further adds: "As Viśvarūpa flourished about 800-825 A.D., the *Agni Purāṇa* represents a text of *Yāj.* current somewhat later i.e. about 900 A.D."[10] As to the Alaṃkāra-section of the *Agni Purāṇa*, Kane is of opinion that as the extant *Agni* quotes Daṇḍin and Bhāmaha and knew the theory of Dhvani, it was composed about 900 A.D.[11] S. K. De differs from Kane and assigns this section to the beginning of the ninth century A.D.[12] In spite of these differences of opinions, there can be no serious objection if we hold that the present *Agni P.* was compiled some time during the ninth century. Haraprasād Śāstrī also places the date of the *Purāṇa* between 800 and 900 A.D.[13] This general date seems to be supported by other evidences also. Tantricism in the sections on astronomy and medicine, which have been mentioned among the different branches of the Aparā Vidyā, shows that the date of the *Agni P.* cannot possibly be earlier than 800 A.D., because from an examination of the *Matsya, Varāha* and other Purāṇas we understand that the Tantric elements began to be absorbed appreciably by the Purāṇas not earlier than about 800 A.D. Again, the majority of the verses quoted

10 P. V. Kane, *Hist. of Dhś.*, vol. I, p. 172.

11 P. V. Kane, *History of Alaṃkāra Literature*, (annexed, as an Introduction, to his edition of the *Sāhitya-darpaṇa*), pp. ii-v, and *Hist. of Dhś.*, vol. I, p. 172.

12 S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, vol. I, p. 104. Also see De in *JRAS.*, 1923 (Part IV, October), pp. 537-549.

13 Sastri, *Cat. of Sans. Mss., ASB.*, vol. V, Preface, cli.

by Govindānanda in his *Dānakriyā-kaumudī* (but not in his other works) from the *Agni Purāṇa* are found in the present *Agni* (see Appendix). Moreover, the verses on Guḍadhenu-dāna quoted in the *Dānakriyā-kaumudī*, pp. 58-61, though agreeing remarkably with *Agni* 210, 10b-31a, differ from the passage on the same topic quoted in Ballālasena's *Dānasāgara* (fol. 96a-97b). It is, therefore, certain that at least the verses on Guḍadhenu-dāna, from which Vaśiṣṭha and king Ambarīṣa have been eliminated, were taken by Govindānanda from the present *Agni*. Hence the present *Agni* must be dated not later than 1500 A.D. According to Haraprasād Śāstrī 'the eight chapters on Prosody in the *Agni Purāṇa* is the summary of the Sūtras of Piṅgala with a commentary. That commentary is controverted by Halāyudha in the second half of the tenth century without naming its author. So the *Agni* would come some considerable time before Halāyudha. Had Halāyudha's commentary been known to the author he would certainly have given the summary of this most popular commentary and not an obscure predecessor of it.'[14]

The present *Agni* is originally a work of the Pāñcaratrās. It proposes to deal with Brahma which is identified with Viṣṇu (cf. *Agni*, 1, 9-11). It is for this reason that Viṣṇu's incarnations are narrated at the very outset. In other non-spurious chapters also it is Viṣṇu who is identified with Brahma and whose worship is preached. As examples, the chapters on Yoga and Brahma-vijñāna may be referred to. The *Purāṇa* has sometimes been taken to be a manual of the Bhāgavata priest.[15] But such a character cannot be attributed to the extant Purāṇa in its original form, because the Bhāgavata characteristics are found only in those chapters which, as we have seen, are in all probability later additions.

It is difficult to say where the present *Agni* was first compiled. The view of Haraprasād Śāstrī that it was compiled in Bengal or Behar is based on evidences contained in those chapters of the *Purāṇa* which appear to be spurious.

14 Sastri, *Cat. of Sans. Mss., ASB.*, vol. V, Preface, p. cl.
15 J. N. Farquhar, *An Outline of the Religious Literature of India*, p. 179.

Besides the extant *Agni Purāṇa*, Mss. have been found of another Purāṇa called *Vahni Purāṇa.*[16] This *Vahni Purāṇa*, which is quite different from the present *Agni*, contains no mention of the Iśāna Kalpa or of the interlocution between Agni and Vaśiṣṭha. Though it contains an interlocution between Deva and Ambarīṣa,[17] there is none between Vaśiṣṭha and king Ambarīṣa as in the *Agni Purāṇa* drawn upon by the Nibandha-writers. Therefore, it is certainly not the earlier *Agni* which was known to these authors, though it seems to have been based on the latter. Whether it is the same as the *Vahni Purāṇa* drawn upon by the Nibandha-writers like Devaṇabhaṭṭa, Mādhavācārya, Gopālabhaṭṭa and Gadādhara, cannot be asserted until the quoted verses have been traced in it. That sometimes the *Agni Purāṇa* was confused with the *Vahni Purāṇa* is shown by the reading 'Agni Purāṇa' in one Ms. of Mādhavācārya's commentary on the *Parāśara-smṛti* for 'Vahni Purāṇa' in other.[18] But such rare variations should not be made the basis of the statement that it was the *Agni* which was also called *Vahni Purāṇa*.

APPENDIX

Verses quoted from the '*Agni Purāṇa*' or the '*Āgneya*' in

		Agni Purāṇa
1.	*Dānasāgara* of Ballālasena, fol. 96a-97b	=210, 13b-17a, 19-21, 22b, 23 and 25-29a. Many of the quoted verses are not found.
2.	*Smṛti-candrikā* of Devaṇabhaṭṭa, IV, 59	=781, 2a. The other line 'gṛhastho brahmacārī etc.' is not found.
3.	Mādhavācārya's com. on the *Parāśarasmṛti*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 268	=155, 3b-4a.
4.	*Śrāddha-viveka* of Śūlapāṇi, fol. 92b	cf. 163, 28.
5.	*Varṣakriyā-kaumudī* of Govindānanda, p. 323	=192, 6b-7. Three lines 'gandhapuṣpādibhiḥ etc.' are not found.

16 Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, vol. I, part VI, pp. 1294 ff.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 1295.

18 See Mādhavācārya's commentary on the *Parāśara-smṛti*, vol. I, part I, p. 178.

	Agni Purāṇa
6. *Dānakriyā-kaumudī* of Govindānanda,	
p. 3	=209, 56.
p. 5	=209, 35.
p. 11	=211, 30.
p. 12	cf. 209, 49b-50.
p. 13	=209, 57a, 60a, 58a, 59a, 61a, 62b and 63a.
p. 14	=209, 22 and 37b-38.
p. 16	=209, 60a.
p. 19	=209, 57a.
p. 20 (twice)	=209, 57a. The other quoted line is not found.
pp. 58-61	=210, 10b-31a.
p. 76	=209, 22.
p. 124	=209, 56.
7. *Śuddhikriyā-kaumudī* of Govindānanda,	
p. 160	=211, 30a.
p. 181	cf. 163, 28.
p. 185	cf. 163, 28.
8. *Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī* of Govindānanda,	
p. 116	=117, 54-56a.
p. 187	=117, 22b-23.
p. 210	=117, 27b.
p. 301	=209, 13.
p. 303	=209, 14-15.
p. 360	cf. 163, 28.

	Agni Purāṇa
9. *Kālasāra* of Gadādhara,	
pp. 285-286	=209, 2.
p. 305	=158, 43.
p. 322	=158, 43.
pp. 357-358	=157, 36b-38.
p. 406	=211, 42-43a.
10. *Smṛti-tattva* of Raghunandana,	
Vol. II, p. 36	=187, 2a. The other line 'gṛhastho brahmacārī' etc. is not found.
p. 142	=209, 57a.
11. *Haribhakti-vilāsa* of Gopālabhaṭṭa,	
p. 354	cf. 248, 3-4. The readings and arrangement of lines differ.
12. *Nityācāra-pradīpa* of Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin,	
p. 127	=158, 43.
13. *Haribhakti-rasāmṛta-sindhu* of Rūpa Gosvāmin,	
p. 122	=339, 34b-35a.

The following editions of the Purāṇas and other Sanskrit works have been used in writing this article:

Agni Purāṇa..................Vaṅgavāsī edition, Calcutta.

Dānakriyā-kaumudī of Govindānanda............Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta.

Dānasāgara of Ballālasena.........Mss No. 1704-5, India Office Library, London.

Haribhaktirasāmṛtasindhu of Rūpa Gosvāmin..............Acyuta-granthamālā, Benares..

Haribhakti-vilāsa of Gopālabhaṭṭa...........Published by Gurudas Chatterjee & Sons, Calcutta.

Kālasāra of Gadādhara...............Bibl. Ind., Calcutta.

Kṛtya-ratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara..................Ms No. 1055C, Dacca University Mss Library.

Mādhavācārya's com. on the *Parāśara-smṛti*.......................Edited by V. S. Islampurkar, Bombay.

Matsya Purāṇa..................Vaṅgavāsī edition, Calcutta.

Nāradīya Purāṇa.................Pub. by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay.

Nityācāra-pradīpa of Nṛsiṃha Vājapeyin...............Bibl. Ind., Calcutta.

Skanda Purāṇa..................Vaṅgavāsī edition, Calcutta.

Smṛti-candrikā of Devaṇabhaṭṭa..... ...Pub. by the Govt. of Mysore.

Smṛti-tattva of Raghunandana...............Pub. by Jīvānandana Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta.

Śrāddhakriyā-kaumudī of Govindānanda........ Bibl. Ind., Calcutta.

Śrāddha-viveka of Śūlapāṇi......Ms. No. 151A, Dacca University Mss. Library.

Śuddhikriyā-kaumudī of Govindānanda.........Bibl. Ind., Calcutta.

Tīrtha-cintāmaṇi of Vācaspatimiśra.........Bibl. Ind., Calcutta.

Varṣakriyā-kaumudī of Govindānanda.........Bibl. Ind., Calcutta.

Viṣṇu Purāṇa.................Vaṅgavāsī edition, Calcutta.

RAJENDRA CHANDRA HAZRA

Buddhivinodakāvyam

(A specimen of Paryāyakāvya)

The poem published below was found amongst the mss. collection of Mr. Suryashankar T. Shastri (Jodiya-Kathiawad), who possesses a good collection of Sanskrit mss. It is written on paper, and though undated, seems to have been copied before seventy or seventy-five years[1].

The name of the poet is not mentioned anywhere in the ms., but the name of the commentator is given as Kālidāsa in the colophon. The commentator describes the author of the poem as 'kaścit mahākaviḥ.'

The poem admittedly belongs to the citrakāvya class of poetry and should not be placed very early. After reading the poem, I am inclined to take it as an example of the paryāyabandha type of kāvya. Paryāyabandha has been recognised as a distinct type of poetry in the *Dhvanyāloka*. In giving the varieties of poems, Ānandavardhana has given the following list :—

Yataḥ kāvyasya prabhedāḥ muktakaṃ sanskṛtaprākṛtāpabhraṃśanibaddham sandānitakaviśeṣakakalāpakakulakāni paryāyabandhaḥ parikathā sakalakathā khaṇḍakathā sargabandho'bhineyārtham ākhyāyikākathetyevamādayaḥ.

This is explained by Abhinavagupta thus :

Avāntarakriyāsamāptāvapi vasantavarṇanādyekavarṇanīyoddeśena pravṛttaḥ paryāyabandhaḥ (p. 141).

The explanation of paryāyabandha as given by Abhinava is in conformity with the general conception of the figure paryāyokta as found in the alaṃkāra works. Every verse in the poem under discussion is a clear example of paryāyokta. It should also be pointed out that the poem is one continuous vanavarṇana without having any other subject-matter, which after all is the characteristic of paryāyabandha according to Abhinava. Out of these considerations I have called this poem a paryāyakāvya[2],

1 The name of the copyist is Jayaśaṅkara, who was the grandfather of Mr. Suryashankar who is about 45 years old now.

2 It is a paryāyakāvya in another sense also. At many places in this poem the author has used synonyms in the paryāyokta fashion. e. g. tarvaryaripradaṃ etc.

Apart from its technical form, the poem is of interest from another view-point also. In the extant Sanskrit poetical literature, we find only two types of poems—either the muktaka type which is restricted to one verse only or the longer types of khaṇḍa[3] or mahākāvyas. A poem of this type devoted solely to the description of nature and reminding one of the modern short poems is not found in large number in Sanskrit literature. I; therefore, publish it here as a specimen of the prayāyabandha kāvya which is a distinct type of poetry.

D. R. MANKAD

3 It is usual to designate the *Meghadūta* as a khaṇḍakāvya, though according to the divisions of kāvya as found in the *Kāvyādarśa*, it should be taken as a specimen of the saṅghāta type of poetry. (See *Kāvyādarśa*, Belvalkar's edition, part I, p. 16.)

बुद्धिविनोदकाव्यम्[1]

श्रीगुरुं च प्रणम्यादौ हेरम्बं पवनात्मजम् ।
तत्कृपामतिसंपन्नं कुर्वे बुद्धिविनोदकम् ॥१॥

स्वगुरुं च विभुं नत्वा जगद्रक्षणकारणम् ।
विद्वद्विनोदकाव्यस्य टीकां कुर्वे सुदीपिकाम् ॥

इह खलु कश्चिन्महाकविर्विघ्नविनाशाय ग्रन्थसमाप्तये स्वेष्टदेवतानमस्कारलक्षणं मंगलं शिष्यशिक्षायै निबध्नन् चिकीर्षितं प्रतिजानीते स्वगुरुं प्रणम्यादौ इत्यादिना ग्रन्यसमानम् ॥१॥

कश्चिद्वनं बहुवनं विचरन् वयस्थो वश्यां वनात्मवदनां वनितां वनार्द्राम् ।
तर्वर्यरिप्रदमुदीक्ष्य समुत्थितं खे ना गामिमां मदकलः सकलां बभाषे ॥२॥

कश्चिदिति ॥ कश्चिदनिर्दिष्टनामा पुरुषः वनितां प्रति इमां प्रत्यक्षां सकलां समस्तां गां वाचं बभाषे । किं कुर्वन् । वनं विचरन् सन् भ्रमन् सन् । कीदृशं वनम् । बहूनि वनानि यत्र तत् । बहूदकमित्यर्थः । कीदृशो ना । वयस्थः युवेत्यर्थः । पुनः कीदृशः । मदकलः हर्षविभ्रमयुक्तः । तर्वर्यरिप्रदमुदीक्ष्य तरवो वृक्षास्तेषामरिस्तर्वरिः अग्निस्तस्यारिरुदकं तत् प्रददाति, मेघः तं उदीक्ष्य दृष्ट्वा । कीदृशः तर्वर्यरिप्रदः । खे आकाशे समुत्थितं समुत्पन्नम् । कीदृशीं वनिताम् । वश्यां स्वाधीनभर्तृकाम् । पुनः कीदृशीं वनिताम् । वनात्मवदनां वनं पानीयं तत् आत्मा यस्यासौ वनात्मा चन्द्रः क्षीरोदमथनोत्पत्तेः । तेन तुल्यं वदनं यस्याः सा ताम् । पुनः कीदृशीं वनिताम् । वनार्द्रां वनं पानीयं तेन आर्द्रां कृताम् ॥२॥

पश्याम्बुदृग्गिरितटेषु कुमातृसाह्वान् भूदेवराजरिपुशत्रुसमावधूतान् ।
वैश्वानरारिजरिपुघ्नशराभिभूतैर्दृक्श्रोत्रशत्रुभिरुपासितपुष्पशोभान् ॥३॥

पश्याम्बुदृगिति । हे अम्बुदृक् हे पद्मनयने गिरितटेषु कुमातृसाह्वान् कुत्सिता माता येषां ते कुमातरस्तैस्समाना आह्वा नाम येषां तान् । कदम्बानित्यर्थः । पश्य । कथं भूतान् कुमातृसाह्वान् । भूदेवराजरिपुशत्रुसमावधूतान् भूदेवा ब्राह्मणास्तेषां राजा सोमस्तस्य रिपुर्मेघः आच्छादकत्वात् तस्य शत्रुर्वायुः विक्षेपणत्वात् तेनावधूतान् कम्पितानित्यर्थः । पुनः कीदृशान् । दृक्श्रोत्रशत्रुभिरुपासितपुष्पशोभान् दृक्श्रोतारः सर्पास्तेषां शत्रवो मयूरास्तैरुपासिता पुष्पशोभा येषां ते तान् । किं विधैः । वैश्वानरारिजरिपुघ्नशराभिभूतैर्वैश्वानरोऽग्निस्तस्य

1 In the Ms. and in the comm., it is titled as विद्वद्विनोदकाव्यम्, but the opening verse indicates the name to be as above.

रिपुरुदकं तत्र जाता मत्स्यास्तेषां रिपुः कैवर्तः शम्बरस्तं हन्तीति वैश्वानरारिजरिपुघ्नः कामस्तस्य शराणि तैरभिभूतास्तान् ॥३॥

पश्याद्रिसारसदृशीभिरमूभिरद्भिराप्लावयत्यमरगुप्धरणीमहिघ्नः ।

अब्दः सिताभिरसितः शबलः खगाभिर्वाजैस्सितैरिव विभाति वनं प्रबुद्धैः ॥४॥

पश्येति । हे वनिते अमरगुप् अमराः देवाः तान् गोपयतीति अमरगुप् इन्द्रः अमूभिः अद्भिस्तोयैः धरणीं आप्लावयति सिञ्चति । त्वं पश्य । कथंभूताभिरद्भिः । अद्रिसारसदृशीभिः पर्वतसारतुल्याभिः ' सारो बले स्थिरांशे चेति विश्वः । कथंभूतः अहिघ्नः अहिः वृत्रस्तं हन्तीति सः अहिः (? अहिघ्नः) । सर्पे वृत्रासुरेप्यहिर्वैजयन्ती । हे वनिते अब्दः मेघः विभाति । किंभूतः अब्दः । सिताभिः खगाभिः शबलः कर्बुरः खं आकाशं गच्छन्तीति खगाः बलाकाः ताभिः शबलीभूतः । पुनः किंभूतः । असितः कृष्णः असितः । उत्प्रेक्षते । सितैः वाजैर्वनमिव । किंविधैः वाजैः । प्रबुद्धैर्विकसितैः वारिषु जातानि वाजानि तैः पद्मै रित्यर्थः ॥४॥

गोष्ठं घृतं सुघृतवद्भिरमीभिरग्र्यं गोभिः समुद्धरति यद्बहुधा हिमघ्नः ।

तद्गव्यमम्बरगतं शिखिजात्मसंस्थं विस्पंदमानमभिवर्धयतीह गोजान् ॥५॥

गोष्ठमिति । तद्गव्यं गोषु रश्मिषु भवं गव्यम् निरंहभूमौ । गोजान् गवि जाता गोजास्तान् तृणादीन् । अभिवर्द्धयति वृद्धिं प्रापयतीत्यर्थ । किं भूतं गयम् । अम्बरगतं अम्बरम् आकाशं तत्र गतं विद्यमानम् । पुनः किंभूतं गव्यम् । शिखिजात्मसंस्थं शिखी वह्निः तत्र जातो धूमः सः आत्मा स्वरूपं यस्य सः शिखिजात्मा मेघस्तस्मिन् संस्थितिर्यस्य तत् । पुनः किंभूतम् । स्पन्दमानं अभिस्रवत् । तत् कियद्द्रयं घृतं पानीयं बहुधा । हिमघ्नः हिमं हन्तीति सः सूर्यः । समुद्धरति ग्रसते 'सहस्रगुणमुत्स्रष्टुमादत्ते हि रसं रविः' इति प्रयोगात् । कैः । गोभिः किरणैः । किंविधैः । सुघृतवद्भिः सुष्ठु घृतं पानीयं विद्यते येषु ते सुघृतवन्तः तैः सुघृतवद्भिः । पुनः किंभूतम् । घृतं गोष्टं गवि तिष्ठतीति गोष्ठं पृथिवीस्थम् । पुनः किंभूतम् । अग्रय' अग्रे भवं अग्रय' श्रेष्ठम् ॥५॥

अब्रुट्पलाशनिभदृग्घनजात्मवक्त्रा वार्वस्वरेभनिभगा गजदोःसमोरूः ।

सीरंध्वजप्रसवतुल्यविषाह्वदासौ त्वा संगता प्रमुदिता प्रसमीक्ष्य वार्दम् ॥६॥

अब्रुडिति । असौ स्त्री प्रमुदिता हृष्टा बभूवेत्यर्थः । किं कृत्वा । वार्दं प्रसमीक्ष्य वारि ददातीति वार्दः तं मेघं दृष्ट्वा । किंभूता । त्वा संगता पुरुषेण सहिता । पुनः किंभूता । अब्रुट्पलाशनिभदृक् अप्सु रोहतीति अब्रुट् पद्मं तस्य पलाशं तन्निभे दृशौ यस्याः सा । पुनः कि० । घनजात्मवक्त्रा घनात् जातं घनजं नीरं तत् आत्मा देहो यस्यासौ घनजात्मा चन्द्रः क्षीरोदमथनोत्पत्तेः तेन तुल्यं वदनं यस्याः सा । पुनः वार्वस्वरा वार्वः हंसः तस्य स्वरः तेन तुल्यः स्वरो यस्याः सा । एकस्वरस्य लोपः । पुनः किं० ।

इभनिभा गा इभो हस्ती तेन निभं तुल्यं गच्छतीति सा। पुनः किं०। गजदोःसमोरूः गजो हस्ती तस्य दोः करः तेन समौ ऊरू यस्याः सा। पुनः किं०। सीरध्वजप्रसवतुल्यविषाह्वदासौ। सीरं हलं तदस्यास्तीति सीरी बलभद्रः तस्य ध्वजः तालवृक्षः तस्य प्रसवे फले ताभ्यां तुल्यौ विषं पानीयं आह्वा नाम यस्य तद्विषाह्वं क्षीरं तत् दत्तः तौ विषाह्वदौ सीरध्वजप्रसवतुल्यौ विषाह्वदौ यस्याः सा तालफलबद्दून्नतस्तनीत्यर्थः ॥६॥

सूर्यांशुनामपतिरुन्नतदस्रगामी वाङ्नामभिः परिवृतो विषनामदाभिः।
उस्रावरः प्रमुदितः प्रतिनानदीति गर्जतमीक्षणहितोच्चयतुल्यरूपम् ॥७॥

सूर्यांशुरिति। असौ उस्रावरः वृषः प्रमुदितः हृष्टः सन् प्रतिनानदीति अतिस्पर्द्धया अत्यर्थं नदति। किं कृत्वा। ईक्षणहितोच्चयतुल्यरूपं मेघं शब्दायमानं दृष्ट्वा ईक्षणानां हितं अञ्जनं कज्जलं तस्य उच्चयः आधिक्यं यस्मिन् सः एवंविधः पर्वतः तेन तुल्यं रूपं यस्य सः मेघस्तं गर्जितं दृष्ट्वा। किं विधः सूर्यांशुनामपतिः सूर्यः आदित्यः तस्यांशवो रश्मयः सूर्यांशुनाम गोशब्दस्तासां पतिः गोपतिः इत्यर्थः। पुनः किं०। उन्नतदस्रगामी उन्नतं तत् दस्रं च उन्नतदस्रं गमनं यस्य सः। पुनः किं०। वाङ्नामभिः परिवृतः वाक्शब्देन गोशब्दः उच्यते। वाङ्नामतुल्यं नाम यस्याः सा वाङ्नामान्याः(?) गावः ताभिः परिवृतः वेष्टित इत्यर्थः। कथंभूताभिः विषनामदाभिः विषस्य नाम यस्य तत् एवं विधं दुग्धं तद्ददातीति विषनामदाः ताभिः ॥७॥

एनं पयोदपतिरुन्नमितं पयोदं खस्थं महीतलगतः प्रतिगर्जतीव।
भित्वावनीं वनरुहाक्षि शिरोरुहाभ्यां संप्रस्थितोऽमृतधरैरभिषिच्यमानः ॥८॥

एनमिति। भो वनरुहाक्षि वनं पानीयं तस्मिन् रोहतीति वनरुहः पद्मः तद्वदक्षिणी यस्याः सा तत्संबुद्धौ हे वनरुहाक्षि। पयः क्षीरं ददतीति पयोदाः गावः तासां पतिः वृषः एनं मेघं प्रति गर्जतीव गर्जनं करोतीव। किं कृत्वा। शिरोरुहाभ्यां शिरसि रुहेते इति शिरोरुहौ शृङ्गौ ताभ्यां अवनीं भित्वा। कथं भूतं पयोदम् उन्नमितमिदम्। पुनः संप्रस्थितः सम्यक्प्रस्थितः प्रयताभिमुख इत्यर्थः। अमृतं धरन्ति ते अमृतधराः जलशीकराः तैरभिषिच्यमानः ॥८॥

स्रोतोजविक्षतजभूधरधातुरूपाः खस्थाः पयोजदलदृक् शुचि शुक्रमासे।
मासे नभस्यनभसोरतिसंपतंतस्तीव्रं विषं विषधराः परिनिर्वपन्ति ॥९॥

स्रोतेति। भो पयोजदलदृक् विषधराः मेघाः तीव्रं विषं पानीयं निर्वपन्ति प्रक्षिपन्तीत्यर्थः। किंभूताः मेघाः। स्रोतोजविक्षतजभूधरधातुरूपाः स्रोतसि जातं स्रोतोजं कमलं विक्षताजातं (? विक्षताज्जातं) विक्षतजं रुधिरं भूधराः पर्वताः तेषां धातवः सुवर्णरौप्यादयः स्रोतोजं च विक्षतजं च भूधराश्च धातवश्च ते स्रोतोजविक्षतजभूधरधातवस्तैः तुल्यं रूपं येषां

ते। पुनः किं भूताः। खस्थाः आकाशस्थाः। पुनः किं भूताः। शुचि शुक्रमासे आषाढ़ज्येष्ठमासे नभस्यनभसोः मासे भाद्रपदश्रावणयोर्मासे अतिसंपतन्तः ॥६॥

खयोनिभक्षध्वजसंभवानां श्रुत्वा निनादं गिरिगह्वरस्थः।
तमोरिबिम्बप्रतिबिम्बधारी विरौति कान्ते पवनाशनाशः ॥१०॥

खयोनीति। हे कान्ते पवनाशनाशः पवनाशः सर्पः तस्य नाशी यस्मादेवंविधो मयूरः रौति नदति। किं कृत्वा। खयोनिभक्षध्वजसंभवानां निनादं श्रुत्वा। खयोनिः काष्ठं भक्षयतीति सः एवंविधोऽग्निस्तस्य ध्वजो धूमस्तत्सम्भवा मेघास्तेषां नादं श्रुत्वा शब्दमाकर्ण्य। तदुक्तं मेघदूते—धूमज्योतिःसलिलमरुतां सन्निपातः क्व मेघः इति। किं विशिष्टो मयूरः। गिरिगह्वरस्थः गिरेर्गह्वरं कंदराः तत्रस्थः। पुनः किं०। तमोरिबिम्बप्रतिबिम्बधारी। तमसः अरिश्चन्द्रस्तस्य नाशकत्वात्तस्य बिम्बस्थरूपं तस्य प्रतिबिम्बं प्रतिमानं चन्द्रकः तत् धरतीति धारीत्यर्थः। पिच्छचन्द्रधारी ॥१०॥

गोष्ठश्च कुंकुमवपुः प्रतिराजतेऽसौ सप्ताद्रिदैत्यभुजगोत्तमशत्रुगोपः।
उर्वीधराभमचिरोत्थितमम्बरं खे दृष्ट्वाहिहा प्रमुदितो हिमहाह्वयानः ॥११॥

गोष्ठ इति। अपरं च हे वनितेऽसौ सप्ताद्रिदैत्यभुजगोत्तमशत्रुगोपः सप्त अद्रयः पर्वताः दैत्याः असुराः भुजगोत्तमाः सर्पश्रेष्ठास्तेषां शत्रुरिन्द्रस्तं गोपयतीति स इंद्रगोपश्चन्द्रवधूः इत्यर्थः। प्रतिराजते प्रतिशोभते इत्यर्थः। किंविधः गोष्ठः। गवि भूमौ तिष्ठतीति गोष्ठः। दिग्दृष्टिदीधितिस्वर्गवज्रवाक्बाणवारिषु। भूमौ पशौ च गोशब्दो विद्वद्भिर्दशधा स्मृत इत्यमरः। पुनः किंविधः। कुंकुमवपुः कुंकुमेन सदृशं वपुः यस्यः सः। हे कान्ते अहिहा अहिः सर्पस्तं हन्तीति अहिहा मयूरः। सर्पे वृत्रासुरेऽप्यहिरिति वैजयंती। प्रमुदितः। कथंभूतः। हिमहाह्वयानः हिमं हन्तीति हिमहा शिखी अग्निः आह्वा नाम यस्य सः शिखीत्यर्थः। किं कृत्वा। अम्बरम् आकाशं आश्रयत्वेन अस्तीति अम्बरं मेघस्तं खे आकाशे दृष्ट्वा मयूरो नर्ततीति प्रसिद्धः (द्धं ?)। किंविधं मेघम्। उर्वीधराभं उर्वीधराः पर्वताः तेषामाभा इव आभा यस्य सः तं पर्वतसदृशमित्यर्थः। पुनः किंभूतं। अचिरोत्थितं नवोत्थितम् ॥११॥

कृष्णोऽम्बरः क्षरति तोयमसावजस्रमन्याविमौ रणगताविव वेभराजौ।
अन्ये त्वमी द्विरदद्न्तनिभाः क्षरंतः प्रच्छादयंत्यमरसिद्धविमानमार्गम् ॥१२॥

कृष्णोऽम्बर इति। असौ कृष्णोऽम्बरो मेघः अजस्रं निरंतरं तोयं क्षरति वर्षति। वा चार्थे अपरं (?) अन्यौ इमौ रणगतौ संग्रामे वर्तमानौ इभराजौ इव इभानां गजानां राजानाविव लक्ष्येते इति शेषः। तु पुनः। अन्ये अमी द्विरदद्न्तनिभाः गजकुलसदृशाः क्षरंतः उदकं श्रवंतो मेघाः। अमरसिद्धविमानमार्गम् अमरा देवाः। अमरा निर्जरा देवा

इत्यमरः । सिद्धाः विद्याधरादयस्तेषां विमानानि विमानोऽस्त्री देवयानमित्यमरकोशात् देवयानानि तेषां मार्गं आकाशं प्रच्छादयंतीत्यर्थः ॥१२॥

वार्द्दाः खगाः क्षितिधरागमनप्रकाशा नेमीभि (? भ) रासभतुरंगमतुल्यघोषाः ।
वाय्वीरिताः खमवतस्रवनं क्षरंतो वार्भिः क्षितिं घृतधराः परिनिर्वपंति ॥१३॥

वार्द्दा इति । घृतधराः घृतं पानीयं तत् धरंतीति मेघाः वार्भिस्तोयैः क्षितिं निर्वपंति निवृत्तिं नयंतीत्यर्थः । किं विशिष्टाः घृतधराः । वार्द्दाः वारि ददातीति वार्द्दाः जलदाः । पुनः किं० । 'खगाः खे सुरवर्त्मनि गच्छंतीति खगाः ' अनंतं सुरवर्त्म खमित्यमरः । क्षितिधरागमनप्रकाशाः क्षितिधराः पर्वतास्तेषां असमत्वाद्गमनं चलनं तत् प्रकाशास्तत्समानाः गमनकालसादृश्याकृतय इत्यर्थः । पुनः किं० । मेघाः । नेमीभरासभतुरंगमतुल्यघोषाः नेमी रथचक्रधरा इभो हस्ती रासभो गर्दभः तुरंगमोऽश्वः तैः तुल्यो घोषः शब्दः येषां ते तथोक्ताः । पुनः किंविशिष्टाः मेघाः । वाय्वीरिताः वायुना ईरिताः प्रेरिताः क्षिप्ताः । पुनः किंभूताः । खम् आकाशमवतस्र प्राप्य वनं सलिलं क्षरंतः श्रयंत इत्यर्थः । पयः कीलालममृतं जीवनं भुवनं वनमित्यमरः ॥१३

एषोंघ्रिपाशनरिपुघ्नसुतारिसाह्वमारुह्य तिष्ठति सुगात्रि भुजंगमारिः ।
यस्य स्वनैः प्रमुदितस्य ममाद्य बाले तालध्वजावरजसूनुशराः पतन्ति ॥१४॥

एष इति । हे सुगात्रि भुजंगमारिः भुजंगमाः सर्पाः तेषामरिः सर्पारातिरथवा मयूरः । एष इति प्रत्यक्षेण निर्दिशति । अंघ्रिपाशनरिपुघ्नसुतारिसाह्वमारुह्य तिष्ठति । अंघ्रिपाः वृक्षाः तानश्नाति इति अंघ्रिपाशनोऽग्निस्तस्य रिपुः पानीयं तं हन्तीति अंघ्रिपाशनरिपुघ्नः आदित्यस्तस्य सुतः कर्णस्तस्यारिः अर्जुनः स आह्वा नाम यस्य सः तम् अर्जुनं वृक्षमारुह्य तिष्ठति । हे बाले एष कः । यस्य स्वनैः तालध्वजावरजसूनुशराः तालध्वजो बलभद्रः तस्यावरजो कृष्णस्तस्य सूनुर्मदनस्तस्य शराः ममाद्य पतन्ति प्यापंत (?) कथं भूतस्य यस्य प्रमुदितस्य । बलभद्रप्रलंबघ्नो बलदेवोऽच्युताग्रज इत्यमरः । विष्णुर्नारायणः कृष्ण इत्यमरः । मदनो मन्मथो मार इत्यमरः ॥१४॥

जस्राविषं स्थलगतोऽस्ति तथैव वार्भ्यो वार्जो द्विजस्वपितृभीरुविषप्रहीणः ।
वाताशनः खशयनः स्मरति स्थलस्य चक्षुःश्रवा वनभयात्सुरशत्रुनामा ॥१५॥

जस्रेति । वार्जो द्विजः कच्छप इति । वारिणि उदके ताज (? जातः) वार्जः । जस्रा विषं गावस्तासां विषं गोमयं अस्ति । किंविधः कच्छपः । वार्भ्यो पानीयेभ्यः स्थलगतः उत्तीर्णः । किंविधः कच्छपः । स्वपितृभीरुविषप्रहीणः स्वपितृभीरुः स्वमाता तस्या विषं दुग्धं तेन प्रहीणः रहितः उत्पत्त्यनन्तरं जननीदर्शनेनैव जीवनं न तु पयःपानमित्यर्थः । तथैव चापरे वाताशनः सर्पः स्थलस्य स्मरति । स्मृतौ च कार्ये षष्ठी । स्थलं ध्यायतीत्यर्थः । कस्मात् । वनभयाद्वनं पानीयं तस्य भयात् । किंविधः वाता-

शनः। खशयनः खे विले शेते असौ खशयनः विलेशय इत्यर्थः। पुनः किंविशिष्टः सर्पः। सुरशत्रुनामा सुरशत्रुः वृत्रासुरः तस्य नाम यस्यासौ अहिरित्यर्थः। पुनः किं० सर्पः। चक्षुःश्रवाः चक्षुषी एव श्रवसी यस्य स चक्षुःश्रवाः नेत्रकर्ण इत्यर्थः कर्णरहितत्वात् ॥१५॥

पक्ष्यश्वमेधतुरगप्रतिभोऽष्टवर्णो वाद् न वह्विति समाह्वयते ह्यहिघ्नः।
भेकस्तथैव खशयाशयवेद्यवाणिः शश्वं करोत्यतिभृशं विषराशिमग्नः ॥१६॥

पक्ष्येति। अहिघ्नः मयूरः वाद् मेघ इति हेतोः बहून् समाह्वयते नाकाभायते(?) इति। किं बहु। बहु वर्षतीति। हि पूरणे। किंभूतो मयूरः। पक्षी पक्षाः संन्त्यस्यासौ पक्षी। पुनः किं० मयूरः। अश्वमेधतुरगप्रतिभः अश्वमेधो यज्ञविशेषस्तत्र तुरंगः विचित्रः तेन तुल्या प्रतिमा यस्य सः। पुनः किं० मयूरः। अष्टवर्णः अष्टौ वर्णाः यस्य सः। तथा च परं हे बाले भेकः मंडूकः अतिभृशं शश्वं करोति। किं विधः मंडूकः। खशयाशयवेद्यवाणिः। खं बिलं तत्र शेते य सः खशयः सर्पः तस्य आशयो बिलं तस्माद्वेद्या वाणी यस्य सः। पुनः किं० मयूरः। विषराशिमग्नः विषं पानीयं तस्य राशिः निचयस्तत्र मग्नो निमज्जतीत्यर्थः ॥१६॥

ना विष्क(कि)रावणमुमेत्य कुमातृसाह्वमाक्रीडते मधुकलोऽङ्गनया समेतः।
अन्यस्त्वयं मणिवराभमुपेत्य गोजं ना रामया सह पयः पतिजां वृणीते ॥१७॥

ना इति। पुरुषः जनः आक्रीडते कुमातृसाह्वं उपेत्य कुत्सिता माता अंबा यस्य सः कुमाता तेन समाना आह्वा नाम यस्य स तं कदंबमित्यर्थः। किं विशिष्टं कदम्बम्। विष्किरावणं विष्किराः पक्षिणस्तेषाम् आवनं काननं समूहो यस्मिन् सः तम्। कीदृशो नाम मधुकलः मधुना मद्येन कलः मधुकलः बिराजमान इत्यर्थः। पुनः किं०। अंगनया समेतः। अन्यो ना पुरुषः स्वयं पयः पतिजां लक्ष्मीं वृणीते इत्यर्थः। किं कृत्वा। रामया सह गोजं गवि भूमौ जातं तृणमुपेत्य प्राप्य। कीदृशं गोजं। मणिवराभं मणिवरा इन्द्रनीला तैस्तुल्या आभा यस्य सः तम् ॥१७॥

सूतं महत् क्षतजवर्णनिभं वरोऽसौ बिभर्त्यमूनि च भिनत्ति सरोरुहाणि।
तज्जेन चापि रजसा वनितां वयस्थोप्यभ्युद्धरत्यवकिरत्यभिषिच्यमानः ॥१८॥

सूतमिति। असौ वरः पुमान् सूतं वस्त्रं बिभर्ति। कि भूतं सूतं। महत्क्षतजवर्णनिभं महत् क्षताज्जातं रुधिरं तस्य वर्णः रक्तः तेन निभं सदृशम् आरक्तमित्यर्थः। अपरम् असौ वरः अमूनि सरोरुहाणि भिनत्ति विभाजयति। चापरम् असौ वरः तज्जेन अपि रजसा तेषु पद्मेषु जातं तज्जं तेन पद्मरेणुना वनितामभ्युद्धरति क्षिपति। कथंभूतः। वनितायाः इति शेषः क्रीडारसेन अभिषिच्यमानः। पुनः कीदृशः। अपीति निश्चितं वयस्थः युवेत्यर्थः ॥१८॥

पंके निमग्नमिभवृन्दमदः सवारि गर्जन् तिमिक्षयदवृंदमिवावभाति ।
वार्यात्मनामशतचित्रतनुः सुपर्णः योषिद्वृतः समदनः प्रतिरोरवीति ॥१९॥

पंकेति । अदः इभवृंदं गजकुलं सवारि समदं गर्जदेतादृशं तिमिक्षयदवृंदमिवावभाति तिमी......। क्षयं गृहं उदकवत् ददातीति मेघस्तेषां समूहमिव अवभाति । किंविधः । सवारि सोदकम् । पुनः किंविशिष्टम् । गर्जत् । कीदृशम् इभवृंदं पंके निमग्नम् । हे वनिते सुपर्णः मयूरः प्रतिरोरवीति शब्दं करोति । सुष्ठु शोभनानि पर्णानि पत्राणि यस्य सः । कीदृशः सुपर्णः । . वार्यात्मनामशतचित्रतनुः वारि उदकं आत्मा यस्य सः एवंभूतश्चंद्रस्तस्य नाम येषां ताश्चंद्रकाः तासां शतं तेन चित्रिता तनुः यस्य सः । पुनः कीदृशः । योषिद्वृतः । स्त्रिया वशीकृतः अत एव समदनः सकाम इत्यर्थः ॥१९॥

विस्फोटितांबररवेण रिरंसुरेव संत्रासितो हरिरनोकहनिस्कुटीषु ।
संलीयते तडितमाभिमुखीं च दृष्ट्वा श्वासं महत्तरमसौ समनुप्रतिष्ठः ॥२०॥

विस्फोटितेति । हरिः सिंहः अनोकहनिस्कुटीषु अनोकहाः वृक्षविशेषास्तैर्युक्ता निस्कुटी निकुंजेषु रिरंसुरेव संलीयते । यं प्राप्नोति विस्फोटिताम्बररवेण संत्रासितः असौ प्रत्यक्षः पश्चात्तडितं सौदामिनीमभिमुखीं च दृष्ट्वा स्वाद्विलात् महत्तरं सबिलं समनुप्रतिष्ठः त्वं पश्येति समुदयार्थः ॥२०॥

एतावदुत्तमवचः सुमनाः स उक्त्वा रंत्वा दिनं सह तया प्रिययाप्यदीनः ।
युक्तं चतुर्भिरनडुद्भिरदीनवद्भिरारुह्य यानमथ संप्रययौ स्वगेहं ॥२१॥

एतावदिति । अथेऽनंतरं स पुमान् स्वगेहं संप्रययौ । किं कृत्वा । यानमारुह्य । कोदृशं यानम् । चतुर्भिरनडुद्भिः युक्तम् । कीदृशैः अनडुद्भिः । अदीनवद्भिः पुष्टतरैरित्यर्थः । पुनः किं कृत्वा । एतावदुत्तमवचः उक्त्वा । पुनः किं कृत्वा । तथा प्रियया सह दिनं रंत्वा क्रीडयित्वा । कीदृशः सः । सुमनाः सुष्ठु मनो यस्य सः सुमनाः । पुनः कीदृशः सः । सुंदर इत्यर्थः । पुनः किंविशिष्टः । अदीनः न दीनः अदीनः समर्थः इत्यर्थः ॥२१॥

इति श्रीकालिदासविरचिता विद्वज्जनाभिरामाख्या टीका समाप्ता ॥

ली० जयशंकरेण

Śrī-Harṣa, the King-Poet*

II

Love-scenes and hero-conception in the Ratnāvalī and Priyadarśikā

We shall now proceed to take a note of the love-scenes and the conception of a hero's function and character, as reflected in Harṣa's earlier works; and then, what is still more interesting, to see all these views undergoing complete revolution in *Nāgānanda*, his last work.

The relation between the sexes, as conceived by the warrior-poet, proceeds without the kind of restraint, which a poet, with the Brāhmaṇic tradition of self-mortification, would usually impose on it. It is admitted on all hands that Harṣa's earlier dramas have been modelled on Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra* and have much in common with it; yet one feels the difference between them in respect of the moral outlook. The warrior-poet does not even attempt to reach the moral level of the Brāhmaṇa poet. In the world of the latter, the relation between the sexes is tempered by self-repression and purified by penance. That is a fact which becomes more and more pronounced in the poet's maturer works.

The story of love in Harṣa's earlier dramas is, on the other hand, the story of a storm of passion, which, as soon as it breaks out, waits not for a moment and sweeps all impediments before it, moral or conventional.

In Act II of the *Ratnāvalī*, the lovers meet first and that for a very short time. Even there the king cannot resist the temptation to enjoy the *sparśa-sukha*. The king, in an undue haste, takes hold on the princess, when she wants to go away (सागरिकां हस्ते गृहीत्वा स्पर्शसुखं नाटयति). That is an impulse of the moment, which the hero of Kalidāsa is shown to resist with much effort. As regards *Priyadarśikā*, it gives a very funny story of the lover's first meeting in the Dhārā-Gṛhodyāna. The princess is plucking lotuses, when she is

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attacked by the bees; and she is therefore crying for help. In the confusion of the moment what happens is that she runs actually into the arms of the king. While the princess thinks that it is her own friend whom she was calling to her aid, and is still looking only at the bees, the king throws his arms around her neck—राजा कण्ठे गृह्णाति। आरण्यका उत्तरीयं मुखादपनीय राजानमपश्यन्ती भ्रमरावलोकनं नाटयति।

In the first drama the second meeting of the lovers takes place in Act III. It is a scene of Abhisāra, as Dhanañjaya calls it, where the king is bold enough to let his new love pass as the queen. The bold conception of the hero grows bolder still in the corresponding Act of the second drama (*Priyadarśikā*) where (in what is called *Garbha-nāṭaka*) the scene changes to the 'Prekṣāgṛha'. The queen Vāsavadattā is to see a short play performed by her own palace-maids: It is the story of her own love and adventure with the king, dramatised by her recluse friend. In this Āraṇyakā (the heroine) is to play the rôle of Vāsavadattā; and by a secret arrangement with a palace-maid the king himself is to play his part. The fact is kept secret even from Āraṇyakā. On entering the stage, he is recognised at once and saluted by the queen. She is, however, told by her recluse friend, the dramatist, that it is Manoramā acting the part of the king; and she expresses herself immensely pleased with the skill of the actress. It is needless to add that the king makes the most of his opportunities; and his love-making is carried to such an extent that the queen is about to leave the scene in shame and disgust. The secret at last leaks out through the stupidity of the Vidūṣaka to the great discomfiture of the king.

In vain do we search in these stories of Harṣa for that high idealism which constitutes the glory of old Brāhmaṇic literature. But at the same time it must be noted that the king-poet wins our love and admiration by fine realistic touches in his accounts of the palace grandeur and the palace intrigues of the king, and of those brief moments of joy and happiness, which are invested with special charms for their very brevity and insecurity.[1]

1 As the scenes of love-making from both the dramas have been shewn side by side, it would not be out of place here to point out how the poet improves his art in the later drama. He has chosen for both the dramas the romance

Harṣa's conception of hero's character and function

In both the dramas, the hero looks upon himself as a child of destiny of the type of Napoleon or Cromwell. For him, to use the words of the poet, "a kindly providence brings together all which he

of Udayana, which was at one time as popular a theme in India as those of Romeo and Juliet or Tristan and Isolde were in the West. It is referred to by Kālidāsa as the one absorbing topic of the Grāmavṛddhas and by Harṣa himself as a most fascinating thing— लोके हारि च वत्सराज-चरितम्. The story is a very old one, referred to even by Kauṭilya in Book IX, Vārtika on Pāṇini, IV, 2-60, and Patañjali on the V. on P. IV, 3, 87. The king-poet has two dramas with the same subject-matter; it is because the king-poet must have felt the necessity of recasting the first drama; and the recasting made up the second.

Ratnāvalī, which appears to be Harṣa's first attempt at dramatisation, conforms to the dramatic conventions too closely, so that, notwithstanding the occasional grandeur and beauty of imagery, the story, taken as a whole, appears quite dull. The second drama, on the other hand, appears nowhere dull, the interest of the play being maintained from start to finish. Here we see more of the poet's own art and invention and much less of convention.

In *Ratnāvalī* the scene of the first meeting of the lovers presents quite an insipid picture, having neither the novelty nor the beauty of the corresponding scene of *Priyadarśikā*. The gradual evolution of his dramatic art is quite in evidence in this case. Obviously, again, the Garbha-nāṭaka in Act III of *Priyadarśikā* shews a great improvement on the scene of Abhisāra in the corresponding Act of *Ratnāvalī*. So far as our knowledge goes, here in *Priyadarśikā* it was for the first time introduced on the Sanskrit stage. An imitation of it is found in the last Act of *Uttararāma-carita*. It is, therefore, clear that while Abhisāra is quite a hackneyed thing, the 'Garbhanāṭaka,' or play within play, embodies a remarkable development in India's dramatic Art.

The difference between the two dramas is no less striking as regards *Upanisaṃhāra*. In Sanskrit plays, which are all tragi-comic representations, the story is developed amidst joy and sorrow, happiness and misery, order and disorder. There is always a happy end, contributed to by various factors, which are scattered about, with a unity of purpose which is revealed at long last. The effect of all this is intended to be *adbhuta* or marvellous, according to the rule "कुर्यान्निर्वहणेऽद्भुतम्."

In *Ratnāvalī*, this Rasa of *adbhuta* has to be created by introducing the magic scene. It may be pointed out here that in ancient India magic appears to have been resorted to in love-matters to facilitate union of the lovers. Another remarkable instance of this is met with in the story of Rājavāhana of Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāra-caritam*. In *Priyadarśikā*, no such external agency as magician is resorted to for bringing in the marvellous. The chain of stirring events serves the purpose admirably well.

requires quickly, from another continent or from ocean or even from the very end of quarters." He is introduced as such and remains practically unchanged to the last. His great function, besides love-making, is warfare (though it is delegated to a competent general) and to get the hostile countries deluged with blood and laid waste. He is a hero who revels in war with all its horrors, "with human heads being scattered and tossed about," "blood flowing down in torrents" and "fire flashing out from the blows of swords on steel helmets and armours" (*Ratnā-*). There is no parallel in Indian literature for the bold strategic conception the warrior-poet displays, in the story of his war against Kaliṅga. The king of that unfortunate country, as soon as he enters a hill-fort for shelter, finds himself beseiged by Vatsa's army, and the whole country round the place is completely devastated, with the result that his forces are starved to death and the king himself is at last killed (*Priya-*). Thus the warrior-poet goes on talking about glorious military achievements, which are apparently his own.

In short, we have in his two earlier dramas young Harṣa's self-portrayal. It is the picture of a youth, drunk with the joy of an exuberant vitality, supported by faith in his ever triumphant destiny and dominated by a turbulent spirit which is reckless alike in love, adventures and military enterprises.[2]

2 Dhanika, followed by other writers on dramaturgy, refers to Udayana of Śrī Harṣa as the gay and gallant type of lover—Dhīra-Lalita. From this it does not follow (as some appear to think) that behind Harṣa's portrayal of the character there is simply the old legend or tradition. The old tradition is generally taken as preserved in the two works of the Kashmirian authors, (1) *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadeva written between 1063 and 1081 A.D., and (2) the slightly earlier *Bṛhatkathāmañjarī* of Kṣemendra. A much older tradition is found in the two plays of Bhāsa (*Svapna-nāṭaka* and *Pratijñā-yaugandharāyaṇam*). In none of them Udayana is shown as a fickle lover, but as one whose love is "rooted in the deep." Even in the company of his charming new bride he pines away secretly for Vāsavadattā, his first queen (who is reported to him to be dead).

In fact, the poet appears to have followed the original in the barest outlines. A false report about the queen's death or disappearance (which is circulated by the minister to serve the political interests of the king) is all that is common to Harṣa's dramas and the original story. The details and, in fact, the entire couse ofr action have been shaped by the writer's own invention. That is why Viśvanātha refers

Nāgānanda shows a change

Nāgānanda strikes a very different note. It has been mentioned by I-tsing as a drama with an edifying Buddhist legend. "King Silāditya," says he, "versified the story of the Bodhisattva Jīmūtavāhana (cloud-borne), who offered himself in place of a Nāga."[3] He had this version "set to music and performed by a band of musicians accompanied by dancing and acting, and thus popularised it in his time." This drama was evidently based on the *Jātakamālā*, which was, we learn from the Chinese source, compiled under the poet's own supervision.

The teachings of this drama are *Ahiṃsā* and that to sacrifice oneself for others is the man's noblest mission. The poet has thus chosen for his drama a serious theme, that of *Śānta Rasa*, though combining with it, in the first part, the gay and soft sentiment of Śṛṅgāra. Here

to the works as a typical nāṭikā, which is defined by him as "*nāṭikā klptavṛttā syāt*." "The nāṭikā should have an invented action." It is also a significant fact that the writer gives in his dramas the two different stories of the same king. It is quite clear, therefore, that the stories followed no definite tradition, and that mainly they are the author's own creation.

Further, as I have pointed out above, they are creations influenced by the author's own history. Why should he give in two dramas the two different stories of the same king? The one probable explanation of the fact is that the different occasions in which they were written, made them different. Apparently the occasions were the king's triumphant victories in Kośala and Kaliṅga. The historical parallels to the incidents of the plays, as pointed out above, cannot be dismissed as mere coincidences.

Another noteworthy fact in this connection is that Śrīharṣa always alludes (in stanzas 9 and 10 of Act I and Vijayasena's speech in the same act of *Priyadarśikā*, as well as in *Ratnāvalī*, Act IV) to his hero's threefold force (बलत्रितयम्) of elephants, cavalry and infantry. This allusion seems to reflect the custom of Harṣa's own time, when the use of chariots in battles was abandoned. It should further be observed that the writers of ancient and mediæval India, excepting Śrīharṣa only, speaks of an Indian army with chariot as its fourth division. Even the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang of Harṣa's days refers to the fourfold division of an army, but at the same time in his description of the forces composing Harṣa's army he does not mention chariot. It is Harṣa who is supposed to have discarded chariots in war as well as in his drama. But the Brahman writers, even much later than Harṣa, sticks to the convention of describing the army with the four divisions. See V. A. Smith, *Oxford History of Ancient India*, pp. 81-82, 165.

3 Ed. Takakusu, p. 163.

the poet sets himself to the difficult task of combining two distinct parts into one harmonious whole.

Harṣa's mature conception of love

The first part of the drama contains the love-story of Bodhisattva Jīmūtavāhana; and it is enlivened with many gay and comic scenes in the same way as are the earlier dramas (*Ratnāvalī* and *Priyadarśikā*). On them, however, it shows decidedly a great improvement from the view-points of both art and morality.

The scene of the first meeting of the lovers is laid in the holy atmosphere of Gaurī's temple amidst the hilly scenery of the south, "lashed up by the roaring wind and waves of the sea." There princess Malayavatī is found at prayer, when Prince Jīmūtavāhana appears before her (on the scene) as 'a living boon' to her from her goddess. He is the very man shown to her last night in a happy dream, and is "enthroned in her heart." The prince has already been introduced to us as a moral hero, who shuns, as a matter of principle, the pleasures of the senses, and has left a vast and rich kingdom in pursuit of asceticism. He proves, however, not altogether insensible to the soft pleasure of love. Here, as pointed out by Śiva Rāma, the task which the king-poet sets himself to, is to make the hero a born ascetic, turn to the soft pleasure of love through well-marked stages. The first lesson on love he happens to hear amidst the lovely hill-scenery on the Malabar coast in soul-stirring song of the sea. The grandeur of the sight and the sound leaves him with vague and sweet yearnings and strange sensations—the first flash of the incomprehensible and the most fascinating. Just at this moment he hears the low and sweet music of a woman at prayer. She is singing to the accompaniment of a lute. The hero, who is an expert on the science of music, pronounces the performance of the woman to be perfect by referring to the technicalities of the science of music. This music of the girl leaves a deep impression on his mind. But so far all his interest in the girl is simply academic. The next stage is that of wonder when he is face to face with the charms of the girl which, he thinks, "would fully reward Indra's thousand eyes and which, if they are in the nether-world, turn the gloom of the hell into perpetual moon-shine."

But unlike the heroes of the earlier dramas, he exhibits no excitement to get her. Even when in a vision he is made to feel what her touch is like, he is enchanted, but not excited. He then simply visits the scene of their meeting, as he dreamt. There he calmly meditates on her beauty and continues his meditation in painting. The heroine, who happens to be there, overhears his conversation with his friend about the lady of his dream, concealed herself behind a bush. But from what she can hear, she misunderstands the whole conversation.

The second meeting of the lovers takes place when the lady is in the grasp of death. She is going to hang herself in despair, due, of course, to that misunderstanding. What seemed at first to be a tragedy, turns out at last to be a fine comedy of errors. It ends in their happy marriage. Here ends the second Act.

So far in the love-story there is nothing improper or out of harmony with the lofty sentiment which is characterised by calm indifference to sensuous pleasures. Here the temple of love has been erected in the calm retreat, unruffled by passion's breath. The arrows of the Cupid, he says, are all wasted on him, he being made quite insensible to them by her simply looking at him. At a stroke of her glance, the world before him has changed, and he finds himself now in a world "lit up by the bright and blue lustre of her eyes."

Act III strikes, however, a different note. The marriage is over; and it is followed by a scene of revelry among the citizens in the park. We have here, first, a good comic interlude, after which we see the loving couple walking along there, attended by their retinue. It is evidently according to Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra*, that the after-marriage scenes are laid here in the city-park and the witty speeches of the hero are framed with many fine touches to inspire the bride's confidence. The ascetic now behaves rather strangely under the lure of the sensual world.

The hero has thus suddenly changed and has drifted away far from his usual quiet and tranquil mood (*Śānta*), contrary, it seems, to the canon of Bharata,[4] to defend which old thinkers Dhanañjaya and others

4 Vide *Daśarūpaka*, IV. 35 with Dhanañjaya's commentary, which denies that the dominant sentiment in *Nāgānanda* is quietistic, and holds that

have taken great pains. The poet has also his own explanation to which I shall come later on.

In this first part of the story, the scene of love-making is put an end to rather abruptly by the entrance of Mitrāvasu who comes with the grave news of Mātaṅga's invasion of the hero's kingdom. His speech is quite worthy of him, as a great hero.

Harṣa's changed conception of heroism

The speech from the general, though heroic, breathes violence and shocks the prince. For a true model of a hero, he looks up to heaven and beholds the Sun, "who is for all and shines forth as the world's one object of adoration." In the new light of God, he reads the life on earth as a 'tragedy.' The 'tragedy,' he thinks, dates from "the confinement of the world's wealth in the king's lotus-shaped treasure-house under the seal of the king himself."[5] Perhaps Harṣa was the first man to feel and to give expression to his feelings that this world has enough resources to feed all its population and that there should not be privation and suffering in the world if its resources had not been misappropriated by power. In fulness of his heart he hears the voice of God within, bidding him "to break the seal from his treasure and throw it open to all, as "He himself breaks the seal of slumber, enriching all quarters with his gifts." Heroism is thus conceived as consisting in sacrificing one's all including his own life, far from taking the life or property of any one.

it is the sentiment arising from heroic magnanimity which demands sacrifice of life. Vide also *Dhvanyāloka*, Uddyota III and Abhinavagupta's commentary on the same, who admit that Śānta is the dominant sentiment here. Their defence of Harṣa is that the Śānta and Śṛṅgāra are contradictory to each other when coming contiguously and abruptly (नैरन्तर्ये विरोधवान्), but here in *Nāgānanda* there are other sentiments, Adbhuta in the first instance and Vīra in the second, marking the transition from one to the other, and which are congenial to both Śānta and Śṛṅgāra.

5 The last stanza of Act III, as interpreted by Śivarāma, the oldest commentator (published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series). What strikes me most is that without being aware of its historical implications, he could have thus interpreted the stanza.

Dānavīra

The sentiments expressed here are quite worthy of Śrīharṣa as the only Dānavīra in the history of India who really kept his treasure open to his needy subjects; and it is a striking fact that the hero of his own creation[6] has, as his only historical parallel, Harṣa himself and has become known as the only literary model of Dānavīra, in all our ancient and medieval works on poetics. These works noted, with great admiration, Harṣa's most beautiful expression of the supreme pleasure of self-sacrifice, by which death is robbed of its terror. The dying prayer of the hero is that he may possess a body fit to be sacrificed for others in a repeated series of birth (which he wishes never to put an end to). This clearly epitomises the teachings of Mahāyāna, which rejects *Mokṣa* as not worth having, when the suffering world needs one's services. As I-tsing has truly remarked, by this drama the king 'popularised' the noble theme of Buddhism, or in fact, of old India, speculating on the human life, which is, after all, a mission.

6 I quite agree with the view that behind the creation of Harṣa's drama, there is the Buddhist legend. At the same time I think that the same Buddhist legend shaped Harsa's own life, as much as the character of his drama.

On comparing the original legend with the story of Harṣa, it is also apparent that he has not slavishly copied the original (vide Somadeva's *Kathāsaritsāgara*, Chapter XC). The story has not only been changed to suit the drama, but re-oriented by him. I give here some of the important points of difference.

There are only a few ślokas in the original concerning the love-story of the hero, which have been expanded by Harṣa into full three acts. The matter of Act III is entirely his own. There is one Mātaṅga in the drama in place of the whole lot of the mischievous kinsmen of the hero in the original. Nothing about the invasion of the hero's kingdom (which is the incident that leads to the awakening of the hero of Harṣa to his true self) is to be found in the original. Another marked difference between the two is the conversion of Garuḍa, who is violence incarnate, to the doctrine of nonviolence and love for all, which is the point emphasised in Harṣa's drama. The conversion follows the exhortation of the hero while on the point of death, and it is a climax in the well-developed Buddhist story. It is interesting also to note in this connection the fact that the self-sacrifice of the hero and the high moral sensitiveness of Śaṅkhacūḍa are the only two points emphasised in the original. The fact is quite clear from the question which is put at the end of the story.

तत्र हि शङ्खचूडः किंवा जीमूतवाहनोऽभ्यधिकः ?

The speculative mind of India of the dim antiquity realised the truth that to fulfil the mission of life is to offer it as a sacrifice to "Him who hath sacrificed Himself for the creation." This is in the most sacred Sūkta of the *Ṛgveda*. The hero of *Nāgānanda*, as he mounts the 'Slaughter-stone', notes: "What I experience now was equalled neither by the pleasure I experienced on the lap of my mother in my childhood, nor by what I felt in the thrilling embrace of the 'Sandal-wetted' Malayavatī in my youth.

In this declaration of the hero, I think, is the poet's own explanation in regard to what seems to be the *Rasaccheda*. The explanation clearly is that the hero is being led from one kind of pleasure to another which is higher and nobler; from the pleasure of the senses he rises to that of sacrificing the sensuous pleasures and even life. Rasa is, therefore, not interrupted, but, on the contrary, intensified. Dhvanyāloka, too, it is interesting to note, quotes a verse to the same effect in continuation of the Rasa theory of the drama. The verse runs thus:—

यच्च कामसुखं लोके यच्च दिव्यं महत् सुखम् ।
तृष्णाक्षयसुखस्यैते नार्हतः षोडशीं कलाम् ॥

In other words, the first part of the drama in which the hero is shewn immersed in the pleasures of life, which make, indeed, the life worth living—forms a splendid background to the main picture of the hero, as he is sacrificing his life to save the life of a single Nāga.

The latter part of the Drama, an expression of Harṣa's fullest religious sentiment

The latter part of the drama embodies the high religious sentiment which characterised Harṣa's later life. By religion, he then understood simply "प्राणिने हितम्," as he says himself elsewhere—

कर्मणा मनसा वाचा कर्तव्यं प्राणिने हितम् ।
हर्षेणैतत् समाख्यातं धर्मार्जनमनुत्तमम ॥ (Madhuvana inscription)

The same idea has been even better expressed by Harṣa, adding as its corollary, the abhorrence of war in the following lines of *Nāgānanda*:

अ ह ह दारुणमभिहितम्.........

स्वशरीरमपि परार्थे यः खलु दद्यामयाचितः कृपया ।
राज्यस्य कृते स कथं प्राणिवधक्रौर्यमनुमन्ये ॥

It may be added in this connection that though professing a religion of Ahiṃsā, he continued the bloody warfare till at least 643 A.D., the year of his expedition to Kaliṅga.[7] It can be safely assumed that the idea, expressed in the lines quoted above from *Nāgānanda*, dawned upon him after his Kaliṅga war, because that, as has already been pointed out, was his last recorded campaign. Most likely, Kaliṅga saw the end of Harṣa's war, as it did in the case of Aśoka.

Evidently the reaction on him following the great war was that the violent conqueror of kings and countries became pledged to non-violence and felt shocked to see innocent beings slaughtered to the greed of more powerful ones. As the Chinese traveller tells us,[8] Harṣa's love and sympathy was for all, even for those mute victims of the savage nature in men. This is exactly the idea underlying the story of the latter part of the play.

Garuḍa is the character of the play representing that savage nature. The cruelty and ferocity associated with its name is well-known from legend. It is the real and the perennial trouble of this world. The story runs:—

The hero is on the sea-coast and is looking at the sea tide, all white with innumerable shells; the first indication of which is a terrific sound, which has made "the mountain-caverns reverberate." He is strolling along the sea-coast and contemplating the fury of the blind

7 The assumption of the late origin of the drama is strengthened by the fact that the drama has not been mentioned in the accounts of Hiuen Tsang, who left India in 644 A.D. Had it been written and staged before he left, he would not have omitted to mention that which produced a great impression on the Buddhist world, and which has been mentioned as such by even Itsing, who visited India after the Emperor's death.

8 He said: "The emperor forbade the slaughter of any living thing or the use of flesh through the five Indies' under pain of death." Bāṇa also refers to the fact in his own peculiar way thus: "Even all the destructive animals eat flesh with compassion in Harṣa's kingdom" (*Harṣacarita*, II).

force. Just at that time he happens to see what he at first takes for a snow-mountain, but what turns out to be a mountain of bones of the Nāgas, whom, he learns, their king sacrificed to please Garuḍa and to buy his own safety. The heart of the Bodhisattva receives a rude shock at this sight; and he hears at that moment the clarion call of duty within himself.

To one in such an atmosphere and in such a contemplative mood, Garuḍa, as I have said above, appears not at all legendary, but real with far greater cruelty and ferocity than any legend can invest him with. A beautiful country on the sea-coast is changed by Garuḍa into "one vast terrible *śmaśāna* with the darkening swarms of vultures flying over it; and blood and marrow flowing therein as one vast stream." In fact, the above description of Harṣa of the coast-region, changed into a vast cemetry, reads like a real account of the after-effects of one of his own devastating wars, such as that in Kaliṅga, which really turned the beautiful coast-country into one vast cemetry.

To come back to the story of the drama—when the hero in response to the call of duty is ready to save at least one Nāga at the sacrifice of his life, the drama changes to the heart-rending scene of leave-taking between Śaṅkhacūḍa, Garuḍa's victim of the day, and his mother. Suddenly on the scene there appears the hero who offers himself in the place of Nāga as food for Garuḍa. The offer is, however, thankfully declined. At last, the hero manages to substitute himself in the place of the victim of the day, though it is without the latter's knowledge. Then there comes Garuḍa by whom he is at once borne away on the top of the mountain and is being devoured greedily. But as he is eating the hero's flesh, he is struck by his calm resignation and placid countenance, and stops to enquire about the identity of his victim. Just at this moment there comes Śaṅkhacūḍa in search of the hero, followed by the wailing parents and wife of the prince. The scene moves even Garuḍa, who is seized with great remorse to learn that it is Mahātmā Jīmūtavāhana. Even the savage nature of Garuḍa is now horribly shocked by the sight of the mangled body of the hero; the more so, when the latter is exhorting him to give up his ferocity and to be good and loving to all. In this way, the king-poet, a great

conquerer of kings and countries in his early life, now turns his thought to the conquest of the savage nature.

"Cease for ever from taking life," says the hero to Garuḍa. "Repent for thy past sins. Go on increasing thy store of merit, till, lost in the sea of virtue, thy misdeed may not be felt or fructifying at all, even as a bit of salt is, when thrown into the unfathomable depth of the ocean."

This was exactly the motto of Śrīharṣa, who in his mature years, was seen and described by the Chinese traveller to be "always busy to plant the tree of religious merit to such an extent that he forgets to sleep or to eat."

"Asleep in the sleep of ignorance," says Garuḍa, "I am awakened by you. Here I shall, from this day forward, cease from killing of all living beings."

The conquest of the savage nature is now complete. The gross temper and foul greed give place to truth and tenderness, to love and good cheers, which prompt Garuḍa's declaration of safety to the Nāgas:—

"You are, O Nāgas, free at last. Enjoy your merry sports on the ocean's breast, and let, out of the gloom of hell, your fair ones spring to light, and be glorified by the first touch of the sun."

NANI GOPAL BANERJI

MISCELLANY

Meaning of 'Smṛti' in the Brahmasūtras

The purpose of this paper is to show that the term "*Smṛti*" in the *Smṛtipāda* of the *Brahmasūtras* (II. 1) refers to works like the *Bhagavad Gītā* and the *Mahābhārata.*

It is generally believed that the Sāṃkhya arguments based upon the Śruti are refuted in this *pāda,* but I do not think it is so; what I contend is that the author of the Sūtras gives here his own interpretation of the *Bhagavad Gītā.*

Some of the reasons that have led me to the above conclusion are as follows:—

(1) We have no pre-Śaṅkara authority to interpret *Smṛti* as Sāṃkhya.

(2) The Sūtrakāra uses the term *Smṛti* or its derived forms for about twenty times (I. 26,19,25; I. 3.22,30,38; II. 1.1; 3.45,47; III. 1.8,15,20; III. 2.17; III. 4.30,37,43; IV. 1.10,14; IV. 2.22; IV. 3.11). In all these places except one (I. 2.19) Śaṅkara understands the term as referring to the *Gītā,* the *Mahābhārata* or any other similar work but never to the Sāṃkhya. And even in I. 2.19 (न च स्मार्तमतद्धर्माभिलापात्) the term can easily mean, the lower अव्यक्त of the *Gītā* (*Bh. Gī.,* VIII. 18-20). Thus, on the evidence of the Sūtras themselves the term स्मृति means only a work like the *Gītā* or the *Mahābhārata.*

(3) If we look to what immediately precedes the *Smṛtipāda* we find that the Sūtrakāra identifies the *prakṛti* of the *Gītā* with Brahman (प्रकृतिश्च प्रतिज्ञादृष्टान्तानुपरोधात्—*Br. Sū.* I. 4. 23-27). The *Gīta* always takes the *prakṛti* as different from Brahman, e.g., *Bh. Gī.* VII. 4 takes *prakṛti as* lower than *jīvabhūtā parā prakṛti* which is *akṣara* or Brahman; *Bh. Gī.* VIII. 20 says that *akṣara* or *para avyakta* is higher than the lower *avyakta* which is the *prakṛti.* According to the Sūtrakāra, Brahman is the object of meditation and also the *prakṛti.* (This is the sense of *ca* in *Br. Sū.* I. 4.23).

(4) The above context shows that *Br. Sū.* II. 1.1 states and

answers the objection of the followers of the *Gītā Smṛti* to the identification of Brahman with *prakṛti*. The Sūtrakāra says that if he would follow the *Gītā Smṛti*, he would be blamed for not following the other *Smṛtis* (i.e. the other portions of the *Mahabhārata* or the *Purāṇas*); and that for that reason he would not follow any *Smṛti* at all.

(5) The fact that the Sūtrakāra has not followed the *Gītā Smṛti* does not mean that he rejects it. The Sūtrakāra only explains the *Gītā* in his own way i.e. in such a way that the *Gītā* does not go against the view of the oldest prose *Upaniṣads*. He does not reject the *prakṛti* of the *Gītā*, but he says that this *prakṛti* is to be understood as identical with Brahman. The Sūtrakāra does not accept *buddhi* and *manas* as products from the *prakṛti* and hence as different from the individual soul (*Br. Sū.* II. 3.15). Similarly he does not accept some other doctrines of the *Smṛti* (*Br. Sū.* II. 1.2), but instead of rejecting them he proposes to interpret them in his own way (*Br. Sū.* II. 1.12 where Madhva's reading शिष्टाः अपरिग्रहाः seems to be correct). Instead of saying *pratyuktāḥ* 'refuted,' he says *vyākhyātāḥ* 'explained' with reference to such views of the *Smṛti*. And this also shows that '*smṛti*' here does not mean Sāṃkhya.

(6) If the term '*smṛti*' meant Sāṃkhya with the Sūtrakāra, it could as well have included in its meaning the Yoga; and consequently the sūtra II. 1.1 would have sufficed for the refutation of both Sāṃkhya and Yoga under the single term '*smṛti*'. But the Sūtrakāra has given a separate *atideśa sūtra* (II. 1.3) for the refutation (not interpretation) of the Yoga view (on *prakṛti*). There is greater similarity between the *Gītā* and the Yoga than between the Sāṃkhya and the Yoga. Both the *Gītā* and the Yoga accept *prakṛti* (the Matter) as different from the Lord or Iśvara, and so by the Sūtrakāra's interpretation of the *prakṛti* of the *Gītā* the theory of *prakṛti* of the Yoga is also refuted.

(7) The fact that Sūtra 4 of this *pāda* (*Br. Sū.* II. 1) states that the follower of the *Smṛti* whose views are referred to in this *pāda* (II.1) bases his doctrine of *vilakṣaṇatva* on the Word (and not on Inference, अन्यथात्वं च शब्दात्) also proves that it is the *Gītā* or a similar text basing its view entirely on the *Upaniṣads*, that is the topic of consideration in the *Smṛtipāda*.

(8) Śaṅkara's introduction to Sūtra 4 ब्रह्मास्य जगतो निमित्तकारणं प्रकृतिश्चेत्यस्य पक्षस्याक्षेपः स्मृतिनिमित्तः परिहृतस्तर्कनिमित्त इदानीमाक्षेपः परिह्रियते clearly shows that having taken the term '*smṛti*' in *Br. Sū.* II. 1.1 to mean Sāṃkhya he (Śaṅkara) was forced to give up even the chief distinction between the two *pādas* of Br. Sū. II, which is expressed in their traditional titles viz., *smṛtipāda* and *tarkapāda*. Such is not the case if we understand the *smṛtipāda* as an explanation of *Smṛtis* like the *Gītā* and the *tarpakāda* as a rejection of the Sāṃkhya and other rationalist schools of India.

(9) In Sūtra II. 1.11 the Sūtrakāra does not object to *anyathānumāna* 'an inference in a different way', but simply says that even then there will be the contingency of no-Release (*avimokṣa* or *anirmokṣa*) because release or liberation from the world can be had only through the knowledge that the world is directly produced from Brahman (cf. *sākṣāt* in *Br. Sū.* I. 4.25 which is according to my interpretation to be connected with *Br. Sū.* II. 1.1. This concession in the form of admitting the possibility of a different inference on the part of the Sūtrakāra can be explained only if we take '*smṛti*' to refer to the *Gītā* or a similar work, which would base its doctrines on inferences authorised by the Śruti only.

(10) The *ca* in *Br. Sū.* II. 2. 1 रचनानुपपत्तेश्च नानुमानम् is to be explained as follows:—All the arguments which the Sūtrakāra has advanced against the separateness of *prakṛti* from Brahman taught by the *Smṛti* are *also* applicable to the Sāṃkhya (inasmuch as the latter separates the Matter from the Spirit) and moreover the रचनानुपपत्ति is an additional argument against the Sāṃkhya view. According to the *Gītā* the *prakṛti* or the material Nature is an effect of akṣara, the conscious Nature and both these Natures were controlled by the Lord or *puruṣa* in the act of creating the creation, so the *racanānupapatti doṣa* did not arise in the doctrine taught by the *Gītā Smṛti*. But such was not the case with the Sāṃkhya; and the Sūtrakāra mentions this *doṣa* in *Br. Sū.* II. 2. 1.

For these reasons and for others which I shall deal in another paper, I am of opinion that *Brahmasūtra* II 1 refers to the *Gītā* and other similar works to be classified as *Smṛti* and that it contains not a refutation of the views in those books, but only an interpretation

that would bring the *Smṛtis* into harmony with the oldest prose *Upaniṣads* which are for the Sūtrakāra the main authority for his doctrine.

What has been said above with regard to the Sūtrakāra's attitude towards the *prakṛti* or the lower Nature of the Gītā will not appear as unusual if we examine his attitude towards the distinction made in the *Gītā* between *akṣara* and *puruṣa*. The Sūtrakāra does not accept the twofold statements viz., those about the impersonal and the personal aspects of the Supreme One, as referring to *sthānabheda* 'distinction of different states' in the Supreme One न स्थानतोऽपि परस्य उभयलिङ्गम् सर्वत्र हि—*Br. Sū.* III. 2.11; for this interpretation of this Sūtra see its explanation given by a predecessor of Śaṅkara and quoted by the latter in his *bhāṣya* on *Br. Sū.* III. 2.21, viz., अत्र केचित् द्वे अधिकरणे कल्पयन्ति। प्रथमं तावत्—किं प्रत्यस्तमिताशेषप्रपञ्चमेकाकारं ब्रह्म उत प्रपञ्चवत् अनेकाकारोपेतमिति। The Sūtrakāra also refutes a view that the Supreme One is higher than the Unmanifest which is Brahman (परमतः सेतून्मानसम्बन्धभेदव्यपदेशेभ्यः—*Br. Sū.* III. 2.31). I have shown in my thesis that both these views (*Br. Sū.* III. 2.11 and III. 2.31) are identical with or similar to those of the *Gītā*. In the same work I have also shown by interpreting *Br. Sū.* III. 3 that the Sūtrakāra accepts *akṣara* and *puruṣa* as two different names of the Supreme One but that he does not take *akṣara* as lower than *puruṣa* because, he says, both *akṣara* and *puruṣa* are said to be all-pervading (संज्ञातश्चेत् तदुक्तमस्ति तु तदपि—*Br. Sū.* III. 3.8 and व्याप्तेश्च समञ्जसम्—*Br. Sū.* III. 3.9; (see—*Akṣara: A Forgotten Chapter* where I have offered an explanation of *Br. Sū.* III. 2.11-37 and III. 3.1-54). The conclusions arrived at by me there will, I hope, further support the interpretation that I have proposed for the term *smṛti* in the *Smṛtipāda* of *Br. Sū.* (II. 1).

(11) That the Sūtrakāra did not mean "Sāṃkhya" by the term "Smṛti" in the *Brahmasūtras* (*Br. Sū.* II. 1) is proved also by a comparison of some of the Sūtras of *Br. Sū.* II. 1 with those of *Br. Sū.* II. 2.

Thus, Sūtra II. 1.11 should be compared with Sūtra II. 2 9 (तर्काप्रतिष्ठानादप्यन्यथानुमेयमिति चेदेवमप्यविमोक्षप्रसङ्गः and अन्यथानुमितौ च ज्ञशक्तिवियोगात् respectively). The topic of both these Sūtras is the question of allowing the opponent to resort to *anyathānumiti* "an

inference in a different way." In Sūtra II. 1. 11 the argument or inference proposed to be drawn by the opponent is one which is consistent with the Word (cf. Sūtra II. 1.4), while in the case of Sūtra II. 2.9 we learn from the context that the inference proposed is an independent one. The reply in Sūtra II. 1.11 shows that the Sūtrakāra does accept the possibility of finding out an inference which would suit both the *Smṛti* and the *Śabda* (i.e. *Śruti*), but his objection is that "even then, there will be the contingency of 'no-release' from the bondage (*saṃsārāvimokṣa*, as Śaṃkara explains in his alternative interpretation). In Sūtra II. 2.9 the Sūtrakāra says that the inference would fail because "of the absence of the power of knowing" in the Nature of the hostile School, and thus he rejects the possibility of an *anumāna* in a different way. Thus the Sūtrakāra is not willing to make the same concession for the Sāṃkhya, as he has made in the case of the Smṛti. This difference of attitude based upon different grounds shows that the opponent in Sūtra II. 1.11 is a follower of a work like the *Gītā* which though accepting the authority of the *Upaniṣads*, differs from it in working out the details of the system and that the *pūrvapakṣin* in Sūtra II. 2.9 is a follower of the Sāṃkhya which is *ānumānika* (*Br. Sū.* I. 4.1) and *aśabda* (*Br. Sū.* I. 1.5). If we do not accept this or a similar interpretation of these Sūtras (*Br. Sū.* II. 111 and II. 2.9), one of the two Sūtras becomes a mere repetition of the other as is shown by the interpretation offered by the Ācāryas.

As in the case of the Sūtras discussed above, the Sūtra II. 1.12 एतेन शिष्टापरिग्रहा अपि व्याख्याताः and Sūtra II. 2.17 अपरिग्रहाच्चात्यन्तमनपेक्षा show a redundancy never found in the Sūtra literature. The explanation of these two Sūtras is the same according to the commentators. Though Śaṅkara does not notice this fact in his commentary on Sūtra II. 2.17, he tells us in his *bhāṣya* on Sūtra II. 2.11 that the Sūtra II. 1.12 is a brief statement of which Sūtras II. 2.12-17 give a detailed description. This is hardly a satisfactory explanation. Moreover, these Sūtras seem to have different meanings: In Sūtra II. 1.12 the remaining non-accepted tenets of the *Smṛti* like the *Gītā* are explained by *atideśa* by the Sūtrakāra, while in Sūtra II. 2.17 the theory of causation of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika

is stated to deserve entire disregard because no "good persons" have accepted it.

Thus, a comparison of Sūtra II. 1.11 with Sūtra II. 2.9 and that of Sūtra II. 1.12 with Sūtra II. 2.17 shows that in *Br. Sū.* II. 1 an explanation of works like the *Gītā* is offered from the Sūtrakāra's own standpoint, while in *Br. Sū.* II. 2 a refutation of the hostile schools like the Sāṃkhya, and Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika is given.

P. M. Modi

The Exact Date of Harivilāsa and its Author

Prof. A. B. Keith in his *History of Sanskrit Literature* remarks on p. 137:—"Apparently about 1050 Lolimbarāja wrote his *Harivilāsa.*"

On page 511 of the same work he says: "Later works are numerous and expansive; especially favoured are............Lolimbarāja's *Vaidyajīvana* (17th century)."

These two statements of Prof. Keith naturally lead us to inquire (1) about the exact date of *Harivilāsa* and (2) about the identity of the two Lolimbarājas, one as the author of *Harivilāsa* and the other as the author of *Vaidyajīvana.*

The date of *Harivilāsa* and its author can be independently found out with the help of the manuscript-material. There are two Mss.[1] of *Harivilāsa* in the Govt. Mss. Library at the Bhandarkar Research Institute, Poona, which contain a verse having a chronogram. The verse is as follows:—

शके मिते बाणनभःशरेन्दुभिः सुभानुसंवत्सरकोत्तरायणे ।
अमोघमासस्य च शुक्लपक्षे कलौ कृतं काव्यमिदं जगन्मुदे ॥

In the above verse the words बाण (५) नभः (०) शर (५) and इन्दु (१) mean 1505. This figure 1505 is also given after the chronogram in Ms. No. 377 of 1884-86. The word कृतं in the last line of the verse definitely shows that the work was *composed* in that year. *Harivilāsa,*

1 Nos. 204 of 1879-80 and 377 of 1884-86 Ms. No. 204 of 1879-80 bears the date of the copy also, which is given as Saṃvat 1679 or Śaka 1544.

therefore, was composed in Śaka 1505 i.e., A.D. 1583, a date which is in contradiction with the date 1050 given by Prof. Keith.

Aufrecht[2] ascribes several works to one Lolimbarāja, out of which *Harivilāsa* and *Vaidyajīvana* are the two. The fact, that he ascribes these two works to the same Lolimbarāja, cannot be ignored. Again, in the printed edition of *Harivilāsa*,[3] the editor has given in the foot-notes a legend about Lolimbarāja which was published by Pandit Bechanarama Sharma in the *Pandit*, vol. II, no. 16. There it is stated :—

"आसीत् खलु भोजराजमहीपालसमकालिकसूर्यनामधेयनृपतिकिशोर...कविकुलावतंसो दाक्षिणात्यभूसुरो दिवाकरसूरिसूनुर्लोलिम्बराजो नाम ।...अथ प्राप्तभगवतीप्रसादोऽयमतिचमत्कृतिकारिकाव्यामृतधाराप्रसारशक्तिमान्मनोहरान्काव्यवैद्यकनिबन्धान्प्रणिनायेति । तत्र वैद्यके सुप्रसिद्धं वैद्यजीवनं नामैकम्, अपरश्च वैद्यावतंसो नाम । काव्येषु तु केवलमस्य महाविपश्चितो नन्दसद्मप्राप्तिमारभ्योद्धवसंदेशपर्यन्तं हरिलीलावर्णनपरं हरिविलासनामकमुत्प्रेक्षारूपकादिरमणीयालंकारभूषितमेकमेव नातिप्रसिद्धं कोविदजनमनोविनोदक्षममुपलभ्यते ॥"

From the passage quoted above and also from the references given by Aufrecht it appears probable that Lolimbarāja, the author of *Harivilāsa* and Lolimbarāja, the author of *Vaidyajīvana* were identical.

The date of *Harivilāsa* viz., A.D. 1583 harmonises to a certain extent with the date 17th century ascribed by Prof. Keith to Lolimbarāja, the author of *Vaidyajīvana*, and if he is the author of the two works mentioned above, he must have lived between A.D. 1550 and 1650.

M. M. PATKAR

2 *Catalogus Catalogorum*, i. 546b.
3 *Kāvyamāla*, XI, pp. 94-5.

A Devotional Drama in Sanskrit

The majority of the Sanskrit dramas possess for their subject-matter the beautiful and ever-inspiring episodes of our national epics which are naturally the perennial source of interest and inspiration to the poets of this wide land. Still it is not a rare phenomenon to come across a drama in Sanskrit which treats of an abstract topic of absorbing interest. *Bhakti* which plays such an important rôle in the history of Indian religion has been recognised on all hands to be a worthy subject for dramatic representation, but such devotional dramas are few in number. A study of this drama will show how *Bhakti* is regarded the best method for attaining the final bliss even by those who are by their philosophical studies inclined to a different persuasion and way of thinking.

The Author

The author of this devotional drama called *Kṛṣṇabhakticandrikā* is no other personage but the great Anantadeva who has the highest recognition of being the foremost writer of Mīmāṃsā and Dharmaśāstra in the 17th century. As an author of great scholastic attainments both in the subtle Mīmāṃsā lore and the vast Dharmaśāstra literature, he is considered by all to be the most eminent representative of his times. His life and age are well-known, and hence we shall mention only a few important facts required for properly understanding the conception of a drama dealing with the *Bhakti* of Kṛṣṇa at the hands of a writer whose interests lay in a different line of study. He was the great-grandson of Ekanātha who is, as attested by Kāśinātha Upādhyāya in his *Dharmasindhu*, none other but the great Maratha great-grandson of Ekanātha who is, as attested by Kāśinātha *nyāyaprakāśa*, one of the most important and popular manuals on the *Mīmāṃsā* philosophy. This genealogy sufficiently explains the interest of our author in the treatment of the Bhakti doctrine. As he descended from one who popularised and propagated by his life, teachings

1 आसीद् गोदावरीतीरे वेदवेदिसमन्वितः ।
श्रीकृष्णभक्तिमानेक एकनाथाभिधो द्विजः । *Smṛti-kaustabha*, v. 13.

and literary works the doctrine of Kṛṣṇa Bhakti throughout the length and breadth of the wide Mahārāṣṭra, it is but natural to suppose that he was a devoted follower of Kṛṣṇa to his very core, a firm believer in the exhaltation of the doctrine of the Devine Grace as the only sure path for the realisation of the highest divinity, although his studies were given to the different branches of Mīmāṃsā and Dharmaśāstra.

Time of Composition

The time of composition of this drama can be well nigh fixed, though there is no internal evidence to show the actual date on which it was written. The great Mīmāṃsaka Khaṇḍadeva who died about 1723 V.S. (=1665 A.D.) refers to and criticises the comments of our author in his *Bhāṭṭālaṃkāra*. On the other hand, Jīvadeva, the younger brother of this dramatist, quotes in his *Āśaucanirṇaya*, the well-known Nirṇayasindhu written in 1611-12 A.D. Hence it is but natural to conclude that Anantadeva flourished about the middle of the 17th century[2], and this is the probable age in which this drama was composed.

His other Compositions

Anantadeva was a unique genius of his age. His *forte* was Mīmāṃsā and Dharmaśāstra to which he devoted all his energies and attention and in which he is claimed an eminent authority of supreme importance . His main contribution to the history of Mīmāṃsā is his voluminous commentary called *Bhāṭṭālaṃkāra* on *Mīmāṃsānyāyaprakāśa* of his father. The important book which has bestowed upon him a place of honour among the galaxy of Smṛti writers in Sanskrit is his equally far-famed *Smṛtikaustubha* which, dealing as it does with several important topics of Smṛti, runs into several volumes of print.[3] But besides

2 Kane says that he flourished in the third quarter of the 17th cen. (vide his *History of Dharmaśāstra*, p. 453) but the criticism of his views by Khaṇḍadeva who himself belonged to the third quarter of that century makes it probable that he must have flourished a bit earlier. Hence the middle of the 17th century appears to be the latest time to which he should be relegated.

3 For more details about these Smṛti works, vide Kāne's *History of Dharmaśāstra*, pp. 437-453.

the works already referred to and the present drama, he also wrote a commentary upon *Bhagavannāmu-kaumudī* of Lakṣmīdhara[4] which explains in a truly Mimāṃsā style the utility of reciting the name of Bhagavān as leading to the achievement of the highest aim of human life upon this earth. A staunch Mīmāṃsaka though Anantadeva is, he does not hesitate in this commentary in criticising severely the fundamental doctrines of Mīmāṃsā and in supporting zealously the main theme of *Bhakti*—a subject which he dramatises with great success in the drama we are studying.

The Present Drama

As mentioned by the author in its colophon,[5] the *Kṛṣṇabhakti-candrikā* is a nāṭaka, the foremost type of Sanskrit dramatic representations. But a careful study of the Ms. of the work in the present writer's possession reveals the curious fact that it has, though obviously styled a drama, no structural divisions into acts, notwithstanding its having various entrances and exists of actors in the different parts of the play. Under the present circumstances it cannot be asserted whether it is due to certain omissions in the Ms. or is a peculiarity of the work itself. If the second alternative turns out to be correct, it appears to contain a series of brilliant dramatic dialogues touching on a common theme of great religious interest. In any case the work, as it stands, is an eminent success on the part of the writer in giving forceful expression to his considered views about the supremacy of *Bhakti*.

In the *Prastāvanā* the writer explains the name of the play and points out the striking resemblance existing between Kṛṣṇa's devotion and the moon-light:

सद्यः श्रमं सकलमेव शमं नयन्ती चित्तस्य निर्वृतिमतीव च निर्वहन्ती ।
श्रीकृष्णभक्तिरिह भूरि विवर्धमाना स्पष्टं परिस्फुरति चन्द्रिकया समाना । (folio. 2.).

4 It has been recently published in tho Acyutagrantha-mālā of Benares.

5 इति श्रीमदापदेवसूनुनाऽनन्तदेवेन कृतं श्रीकृष्णभक्तिचन्द्रिकाभिधानं नाम नाटकं समाप्तम्—fol. 24.

The chief aim of Anantadeva in writing this devotional drama has been to express his firm conviction that there is no real difference between Viṣṇu and Śiva and the apparent difference is only due to the narrow-mindedness of some of the so-called devotees of these deities. Bhagavān Śrī Kṛṣṇa is the perfect incarnation (*Purṇāvatāra*) of the supreme Godhead, and the only path which will save the teeming millions from the firm clutches of miseries, worries and the like, and impart the highest bliss of the final re-union with the supreme Brahman is none other but the path of loving devotion to the Lord. In a fine verse the supremacy of Śrī Kṛṣṇa is revealed—

योऽयं पूर्णसुखात्मको यमनुभान्त्येते रवीन्द्वादयो
येनेयं धरणी धृता सुरवरा यस्मै बलिं तन्वते ।
यस्मादेव चराचरं समभवद् यस्यैव लीलेदृशी
यस्मिन्नेव विलीयते च सकलं तद् ब्रह्म कृष्णाभिधम् ॥

(fol. 15)

Many characters of different philosophical persuasions come together, and give free vent to their feelings about the usefulness and superiority of their own views of life, but they are silenced in the end by the cogent and convincing arguments of Kṛṣṇa's devotee who fights with them through thick and thin, and comes off with flying colours as regards the supreme saving power of Kṛṣṇa's *Bhakti*. A brief analysis of the play will show how the author has successfully developed his theme and proved his points in a very satisfactory way.

Synopsis of the play

The play opens with a conversation between the Sūtradhāra and Naṭa as regards the excellence of Kṛṣṇabhakti which is claimed to be superior to all the Vedic actions (fol. 3), since all the other paths are attended with difficulty and trouble. Sūtradhāra criticises certain classes of people who have no love for this way of life (fol. 4).

After the prelude there enters a Śaiva who recognises a difference between Śiva and Viṣṇu. He waxes eloquent about the superiority of Śiva and when a Bhedadṛṣṭi Vaiṣṇava comes on the stage he is ready to challenge him about his theories. The Śaiva is very argumentative and fierce in his arguments and does not hesitate in calling even bad names to his opponent. He praises Śiva for his drinking that fatal poison

and for thus saying the universe from a dire calamity, while the Vaiṣṇava extols the services of his own deity for his becoming instrumental in obtaining from the demons the nectar for the use of gods. Then crops up a learned discussion about the interpretation of the Vedic mantra तत्पुरुषाय विद्महे । While they are thus waging a battle royal about the respective supremacy of their deities, a Mahā-Vaiṣṇava, a supreme non-believer in the difference of Siva and Viṣṇu, appears on the stage (fol. 8).

In this scene the Mahā-Vaiṣṇava proclaims that the highest deity is one without a second and that Śiva and Viṣṇu are only the different manifestations of the same entity due to the difference of the predominating qualities at the moment. When questioned as to their differences described in various Purāṇas, he answers that it is only due to the endlessness of His merits (*guṇānantya*). Vedavyāsa mentions Śiva and Viṣṇu to be mutual worshippers and this anomaly can be explained by supposing that both are of equal merits and occupy an identical position. These arguments prove effective in silencing the opposing factions and the Śaiva and the Vaiṣṇava with their wild pride humbled retire silently from the stage to carry on a vigorous propaganda in the cause of their new mission of non-difference between Śiva and Viṣṇu. But the Mahā-Vaiṣṇava sees no useful purpose in instructing those who are stubborn in their attitude and prefers to pass his precious time in the company of the saintly devotees in drinking the nectar of Kṛṣṇa's stories.

This is followed by a highly interesting scene in which a grammarian and a logician converse about the superiority of their own sciences but their haughty discussions are happily interrupted by the unexpected arrival of a Mīmāṃsaka with a host of his pupils. He fights for the supremacy of his own philosophy because it has been recognised to be the surest method and the most useful helpmate for the correct interpretation of the Vedas. Then begins a learned discussion about the relative merits of these different Śāstras, in which every one is up with high encomiums for his own system and with down-right denunciations for that of the other. Fortunately the entrance of a Kṛṣṇa-Bhakta on the stage puts these proud vaunts to a deadly stop. He takes them to task for quarrelling among themselves

for nothing. When requested to propound ultimate truths, for which a human being should devote his time and energy, he explains that Bhagavān Śrī Kṛṣṇa is the highest Brahman and that his devotion is the greatest *puruṣārtha* leading beings to the final union with the supreme spirit. This explanation makes a deep impression upon the minds of the grammarian and the logician who, being converted to this new faith of loving devotion, leave the stage to pass their days in the worship of Viṣṇu.

The entrance of a learned Vedāntin heralds the opening of a new instructive scene. The Vedāntin attempts to demolish the argument of Kṛṣṇa's devotee on the ground that not being supported by the Upaniṣads, they are wholly unfounded and unconvincing. A fight of superior wits follows between the Vedāntin and the Mīmāṃsaka, the former maintaining the non-existence of everything in the world save the highest Brahman, and the latter charging him with insincerity and dishonesty since he never translates his lofty ideas and ideals into actual practice. At this stage Kṛṣṇa's devotee explains the superiority of *Bhakti* over all other religious rites (fol. 16) and with a view to bring out the superlative qualities of the Divine Grace and Love refers to the life of Dhruva (fol. 17) and narrates at some length the famous story of the elephant who was released from the firm clutches of the crocodile (fol. 18-19). The Mīmāṃsaka's mind undergoes a curious change and he adopts this new way of life and retires for devoting his time and energies to the propagation of the Bhakti cult. But the argumentative Vedāntin is not fully satisfied, though he confesses that his life has been a complete failure, since being devoid of the primary qualities of a true Vedāntin, it has been given only to dry-as-dust discussions of the spiritual problems. He asks Kṛṣṇa-Bhakta whether the Bhagavān, besides being endowed with the supreme qualities of compassion and devotion towards his devotees, possesses the chief merit of generosity which exalts the position of a deity and makes him an object of respectful adoration. Then Kṛṣṇa's devotee explains and illustrates at some length the generous nature of Śrī Kṛṣṇa who not only saves those who are lovingly attached to Him but also those who are His inveterate enemies and back-biters. Further, inimical feelings entertained towards any god lead a being to his inevitable

downfall, but even such feelings directed towards that Divine Cowherd purges a man of all his evils and conveys him to that celestial paradise of eternal bliss (fol. 21). This and the like arguments work wonders. The Vedāntin now understands the superior excellence of Śrī Kṛṣṇa as a *pūrṇāvatāra* and becomes a confirmed devotee of the Bhagavān —a *Jñānī Bhakta* of the supreme Lord. He gives vent to his new conviction that *Vairāgya* being only the proverbial sky-flower in this Kali age, the only sure path for the redemption of the suffering humanity is *Bhakti* and *Bhakti* alone. With a few nice verses on Kṛṣṇâ's devotee the work comes to a close (fol. 24).

Merits of the Play

A study of the above synopsis will show to any discerning critic that the author is quite successful in achieving his aim of proving the superiority of *Bhakti* over all the other well-known paths of spiritual realisation. He has begun with showing that the difference between Śiva and Viṣṇu, though wrongly assumed to exist by the so-called devotees of the deities, has got no scriptural authority to stand upon, and is due only to the non-co-ordination of the philosophical theories of the Purāṇas which apparently maintain it. He further believes that the sciences of Grammar and Logic do not serve any true spiritual purpose, since they deal with an array of purely verbal juggleries and dry logical subtleties. The path of works (*Karmakāṇḍa*) lays down certain rites which entail hardships, slaughter of innocent animals and vast expenditure, and thus is difficult of performance in this age of extreme poverty. The path of knowledge—the *Jñāna-mārga*—does not fare better in comparison with the path of devotion. The main reason for the futility of this last method lies in the fact that human beings, fallen as they have been from their high ideals of truth, simplicity and innocence, do not possess even in a small degree all those qualities of head and heart required for the complete realisation through it. Naturally the most simple and at the same time the most direct method, useful for the men of this age, is the noble path of the Loving Devotion—the *Bhakti-mārga*—as described and illustrated in the celebrated *Bhagavat-gītā* and the *Bāgavata Purāṇa*. This play

is a noble embodiment of the firm conviction of the author in the supremacy of the *Bhakti-mārga.*

The language is clear and simple; the verses are elegant and flowing. The dialogues between the different characters, though learned by all means, are not stale and stiff but are vigorous and forceful. The play does exhibit a literary excellence of no mean order and a charming simplicity too which becomes all the more praiseworthy when we come to realise the nature of its philosophical contents. Though based upon the well-known scriptures of the Vaiṣṇava religion, the work gives in a great part of it some novel examples to prove the old and famous tenets of this loving faith. Only a few examples are given here.

The worldly-minded men, never caring for the Divine Grace, do not prove the futility of this noble path—

> गोविन्दसेवनमिदं यदि नाद्रियन्ते दुष्टा निकृष्टमतयो विषयैकनिष्ठाः ।
> किं तावता ज्वरवतामरुचेर्न जातु दुग्धस्य शुद्धमधुरस्य विदूषणं स्यात् ॥

A fine praise of Śaṃkara is embodied in this elegant verse:

> जनोऽयमिह जिह्वया विपुलदीर्घया केवलं कपोलपरिकल्पितं किमपि जल्पतु स्वेच्छया ।
> त्रिलोकपरिपीडनं त्रिपुरहेतुकं हन्ति यस्त्रिलोचनममुं विना त्रिषु किमस्ति कालेष्वपि ॥

(fol. 6)

The efficacy of devotion is thus described—

> विदधातु धर्मविततिं न तु यदुपतिमन्तरेण गतिरस्ति ।
> सत्यपि सुदृढे पोते न कर्णधारं विनैति बत पारम् ॥

(fol. 16).

Even hatred towards Kṛṣṇa destroys the worldly evils of the human beings:

> द्वेषो दोषविशेषो भगवति विहितः स संसृतिध्वंसी ।
> गाङ्गे पाथसि मिलितं निहन्ति दुरितं हि रथ्याम्बु ॥

(fol. 21)

A few charming verses descriptive of the romantic life of that Divine Cowherd will suffice to bring out the literary excellences of the work:

> यमुनाजलसंमिलिते कालियहालाहले गिलिते ।
> वत्सानपि च वयस्यान् कृपयाऽवेद्यैव रक्षितवान् ॥

अधिरुह्य कौतुकवशादुपरि फणानां प्रनृत्तमाचरताम् ।
अमुना दमितो भुजंगो यमुनामजहात् स्वजीवकाकाङ्क्षी ॥
न नरसुरासुरनिकरेष्ववतारेष्वपि च तादृशो ददृशे ।
रञ्जयति कञ्जनयनो मुरलीरवलीलयैव यो विश्वम् ॥

(fol. 23).

Kṛṣṇa's devotion is the only panacea for all ills:

अद्य श्वो वा मरिष्यन्ति, विचरिष्यन्ति रौरवे ।
हरिं यदि स्मरिष्यन्ति तरिष्यन्ति भवार्णवम् ॥
कल्पलतेव फलानां ज्योत्स्नेव च भक्तचित्तकुमुदानाम् ।
खनिरिव मुक्तिमणीनां हरिभक्तिरियं समुल्लसति ॥

(fol. 24)

Baladeva Upādhyāya

REVIEWS

THE KĀVYAPRAKĀŚA of Mammaṭācārya with Caṇḍīdāsa's commentary, edited with Foreword, Note etc. by Śivaprasāda Bhaṭṭācārya, M.A., B.T., Kāvyatīrtha, Sāhitya-Śāstrī, Professor, Presidency College, Calcutta. The Princess of Wales Saraswati Bhavana Texts, No. 46, Part I.

The *Kāvyaprakāśa* of Mammaṭa Bhaṭṭa is an epoch-making work on Sanskrit Poetics and occupies a distinctive place in the field of Sanskrit literature. It was written in Kashmira about the 12th century A.D. It is one of the few works, which have attracted the largest number of commentaries written by scholars of all ages and provinces of India. The merits of the work are many and various, and we may not be far amiss in remarking that its studied brevity and laconic style have earned its wide popularity and study. The difficulty and in some places obscurity of the work have been an incentive to scholars after scholars to devote their energies to their elucidation and that even after centuries of labour and researches, difficulties crop up and give rise to fresh problems. The publication of various commentaries with the critically edited text of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* and of independent works on rhetoric of dates ranging from the oldest to the most recent has been helpful to the cause of researches in the field of Poetics. There have also been published in recent years several important monographs and theses on the subject, but the scope for intensive and detailed work is not yet exhausted. The task of bringing out scientific editions of texts and commentaries is still a desideratum. There is every reason, therefore, for extending a cordial welcome to this edition of Caṇḍīdāsa's commentary on the *Kāvyaprakāśa*. The *Dīpikā*, which is the name of the commentary, was hitherto known to us from stray references and hostile criticisms of later commentators. It is a scholarly work and the author gives evidence of first-hand knowledge of *Nyāya* and *Mīmāṃsā*, which is still the indispensable equipment for a teacher and a student of the *Kāvyaprakāśa* or of *Alaṃkāra* literature for that matter. On some embrass-

ing passages the comments of Caṇḍidāsa are found to have thrown welcome light. The philosophically important portions have received elaborate treatment and though one may not see eye to eye with the commentator in all places, one cannot withhold one's tribute of admiration for the ingenuity and boldness of the comments in certain places. The publication of this commentary has thus removed a long-felt want.

We had high hopes and expectations from the reputation of the editor, who is widely reported to be an expert on the subject of Poetics, but we regret to say that the edition has not come up to our expectation. The editor has not taken advantage of the wealth of materials that are now at the disposal of a modern scholar. It is not possible here to point out all the mistakes, irrelevant statements and cases of erroneous judgment on the editor's part. We propose to record only a few glaring instances to show that the editor did not feel the necessity of exercising greater caution in the presentation of passages and views found by him unintelligible and obscure. We shall pass over the typographical mistakes, and we feel we would have done our duty if we succeed in inducing the editor to bestow greater care and attention upon the next part which is due to be published. The list of mistakes appended below is not exhaustive, but only illustrative; the corrections suggested are only tentative as we had not the editor's privilege of access to the manuscripts. It will be highly gratifying to us if our corrections are found to be corroborated by manuscript evidences.

(1) P. 3, l. 13, परस्परविलक्षणरागप्रशमभागकर्तुरितानन्दमयानाम्—रति seems to be more appropriate than राग and भाव than भाग.

(2) *Ibid.*, l. 17. The semicolon after मन्दम् should be deleted to make it continuous with इत्याह । .This mispunctuation is responsible for the remark in footnote (3).

(3) P. 7, l. 11; अन्यसृष्टपद्यादिहठाद्दर्शनेन तत्कारणादिषु धृष्टदुष्टेषु is a corrupt reading and is grammatically wrong. Our suggestion is हठामर्शनेन for हठाद्दर्शनेन and कारकादिषु for कारणादिषु and स्तेय or मोष for धृष्ट.

(4) P. 9, l. 10, दशावशात् is wrong. दशाभावात् is certainly the reading.

(5) *Ibid.*, l. 15 *et seq.* to l. 4, p. 10, present a case of confusion due to mispunctuation. The reading व्यापारे is a mistake for व्यापारः.

The fullstop after यतनीयम् should be expunged and be placed after उपादेयानीति. A funny mistake is the assignation of an impossible meaning to आहत्य। आहत्य never means मिलित्वा but साक्षात्. The word occurs only in learned treatises and the editor confounds it with संहत्य। We refer the editor to the *Kāvyaprakāśapradīpa*, p. 10, where the word occurs twice; to the Arhatadarśana of the *Sarvadarśanasaṃgraha*, and to the *Nyāyakusumāñjali, stavaka* III, p. 70.

(6) P. 10, l. 10, भक्तिः should be शक्तिः.

(7) *Ibid.*, l. 16, we cannot explain to ourselves why षण्ड is placed within brackets after पण्ड The editor was perhaps under the impression that पण्ड is not a synonym of नपुंसक and षण्ड is. The fact however is just the contrary. षण्ड never means नपुंसक but षण्ढ does.

(8) P. 11, l. 9, काव्य should be replaced by वाक्य or वाच्य.

(9) P. 12, ll. 11 to 15 are peculiarly embarrassing. The editor may be referred to the same discussion in the *Rasagaṅgādhara*. We propose to read सामान्यरूपं प्रत्येकसमाप्यवृत्ति after अङ्गीक्रियमाणं and प्रत्येकमसमाप्य-वृत्तित्वात् for प्रत्येकसमाप्यवृत्तित्वात्; तथा भावानङ्गीकारात् should be compounded and in प्रत्येकं काव्यताप्रसङ्गात् the negative particle 'अ' should be prefixed to काव्यता.

(10) P. 15, l. 9, स्फुटाभावात् is to be replaced by स्फुटावसायात् or स्फुटावगमात्.

(11) P. 15, fn. 1. The animadversion on the Pradīpakāra and the rest is uncalled for.

(12) P. 16, l. 13, उक्तिः is to be corrected to शक्तिः.

(13) *Ibid.*, l. 14, विप्लवन्ति is ungrammatical and gives a sense not germane to the context. विभवन्ति or प्रभवन्ति is the reading here.

(14) P. 18, l. 4, अनुवपन is to be corrected into अनुरणन The fn. I, is therefore uncalled for.

(15) P. 18, ll. 10-11 in प्रतिपदजीवात्वनुसन्धानुन् only a न should be inserted between त्व and नु and साधु should be divorced from परिनिष्ठित etc.

(16) *Ibid.*, l. 13, अनर्थसन्धान should be emended into अननुसन्धान A comment on this topic was necessary. It has received a very learned treatment in the *Rasagaṅgādhara* and the *Citramīmāṃsā*.

(17) P. 23, fn. 3, shows the editor has not consulted the *Dhvanyāloka*, which gives a place, though not one of honour, to चित्रकाव्य and if

the recognition of this is a fault, it is certainly not due to Mammaṭa's partiality for the old school or vacillating allegiance to the Dhvani School, as Ānandavardhana himself shows the way.

(18) P. 28, l. 5, वस्त्वन्तरम् should be substituted for वस्त्वनन्तरम्.

(18) P. 29, l. 6, अर्थ्यमान is to be replaced by अर्प्यमाण.

(20) P. 30, fn. l. 1, comment is meaningless.

(21) P. 31, l. 13, वैजात्यात् is a mistake for वैयात्यात्.

(22) P. 33, l. 14, कार्याणाम् is a mistake for कार्य्यनाम, and this mistake is responsible for the comment in fn. 4. Our emendation makes the text plain.

(23) P. 34, ll. 14-15, उपाधिनैव should be emended into उपाधिनै.व and the fullstop after सम्भवति is to be done away with and इति to be shifted from the l. 15 to the l. 14 after सम्भवति to make it yield a congruent meaning.

(24) P. 35, fn. I, makes a mess of the whole thing. The text is clear as it stands.

(25) The commentator shows his critical insight to the best possible advantage on p. 36, but the editor misunderstands him. The vexed problem of सङ्कर as a case of जातिबाधक is discussed here, and this is not intelligible to one who is not a Naiyāyika. The correct reading would be परमाणुत्वादेस्तेजो for परमाणुत्वात्तेजो.

(26) P. 45, l. 11, fn. 1. The rejected reading is the correct one.

(27) *Ibid.*, l. 14, शब्देन should be emended into अशाब्देन.

(28) P. 48, l. 17, अभिधाध्यासश्च is to be replaced by अभेदाध्यवसायश्च.

(29) P. 52, l. 12, लक्षणापूर्वे इति is a breach of the *Pragṛhya* rule and so is व्याप्तिपक्षधर्मत्व इति on p. 77, l. 20.

(30) P. 55, fn. 1, व्यङ्गयस्य गूढागूढत्वात्प्रत्येकं द्विधाभूत्वा षोडशभेदाः— why क्त्वाच् here?

(31) P. 59, l. 13, अन्वयाप्रतिपत्त्या to be substituted for अन्वयप्रतिपत्त्या and अनिराकाङ्क्षत्वं for निराकाङ्क्षत्वम्.

(32) P. 61, l. 5. पुरुषायुषः परिक्षयः is a bad mistake.

(33) P. 62, l. 4, लक्षणाङ्गीकारः should be modified as व्यञ्जनाङ्गीकारः.

(34) *Ibid.*, l. 11, गोरवामिगत to be substituted for गङ्गादिगत. The editor should have consulted the *Pradīpa*, which quotes this passage and criticises it.

(35) Pp. 62-63, in course of his criticism of the view of Śrīdhara

Caṇḍīdāsa raises a trilemma, but the third horn is not discussed in the text. Obviously something is dropped out.

(36) P. 63, l. 9, यावद्भाविन्या is absurd. यावद्विना is the correct reading.

(37) *Ibid.*, l. 10, तत्स्वरूपमात्रं does not yield any meaning. (तत्) तट रूपमात्रं seems to be the correct reading.

(38) *Ibid.*, l. 13, श्रीखण्डपदलोपो is a bad slip for श्रीखण्डपङ्कलेपो.

(39) P. 65, fn. 2. तदुपजीविते Evidently the editor means to say तदुपजीवके । The mistake is in the editor's own language and the meaning is widely at variance with the fact.

(40) P. 66, l. 13, भुजगरूपेण बलात् should be corrected into भुजगरूपण-बलात्.

The editor in a lengthy foot-note on p. 106 discusses the difference of views between Bhaṭṭanāyaka and Abhinavagupta on *Rasa*. He says that the difference is negligible and is more or less a question of emphasis. According to the editor Bhaṭṭanāyaka regards *Vyāpāra* to be the soul of Poetry, whereas Abhinava makes *Rasa* to be the same and *Rasa* is but the finished product, the accomplished fact, which results from *Vyāpāra*. The fact is that *Rasa* is not an accomplished thing (*siddhavastu*), and is nothing but *Vyāpāra*. The differences between the two authors are pronounced and manifold, which it will be out of place to discuss here.

Again on p. 108, in the footnote 1, the editor defines अनुव्यवसाय as the identity of cognition and its object. But we only desire to emphasise that अनुव्यवसाय is quite a distinct thing and nobody has claimed अभेदो नीलतद्धियोः as a case of अनुव्यवसाय. It is, on the contrary, put forward by those (the Buddhist idealists) who deny the possibility of अनुव्यवसाय. Again on p. 113, l. 14, the editor records a wrong reading, viz., तदुभयभावो हेतुत्वम् which should be emended into तदुभया-भावे हेतुत्वम्. We fail to understand how व्यञ्जक can be a सामान्य and still less how Rasa can be included in it. Again to compare चर्वणा with Vedantic माया and to describe it as an auxiliary condition of the emergence of रस is proof positive that the editor has not got a clear conception of रस. चर्वणा is synonymous with रस.

MĪMĀMSAKA

THE MIRROR OF GESTURE, being the *Abhinaya-darpaṇa* of Nandikeśvara translated into English by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy and Duggirāla Gopālkrishnāyya with Introduction and Illustrations. E. Weyhe, New York 1936. Pp. 81 and 22 plates (3 dollars).

Students of the Hindu dance and drama are aware of the importance of *The Mirror of Gesture* (1915) by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy and Duggirāla Gopālkrishnāyya. This work, as has been pointed out by me, is a partial translation of Nandikeśvara's *Abhinaya-darpaṇa* (see Introduction to the *Abhinaya-darpaṇa* published in the Calcutta Sanskrit Series, p. xiv) available to the translator in a form not free from defects. But the translation published with an illuminating introduction from Dr. Coomaraswamy's pen did a very valuable service to the study of Indian culture in its artistic side drawing attention to the worth and significance of Indian dance and drama. Hence it is with genuine pleasure that the reviewer will thankfully admit that it was this work that directed his attention to the original text of the *Abhinaya-darpaṇa* as well as the various aspects of Indian dance and drama. Thus a fresh edition of *The Mirror of Gesture* which has long been out of print is quite welcome. In the present edition, additions have been made to the Introduction, and the translation has been here and there revised in accordance with the original Sanskrit of the Telugu edition and with the renderings by the present reviewer. It goes without saying that the work in its present improved form[1] (with its Bibliography, and additional plates making their number 22) will be consulted with much profit by the student of Indian dance and drama.

But in spite of the great merit of the work we find it difficult to agree with Dr. Coomaraswamy on the following points:—

(1) P. 9. The Sanskrit text of the *Abhinaya-darpaṇa* edited by the present reviewer is not, as has been considered by Dr. Coomaraswamy, based on several Devanāgarī Mss. but on Telegu one (see my ed. of the *Abh.*, Introduction, pp. xiv ff).

1 Positions and movements of the feet and legs have also been added from our edition and translation of the *Abhinaya Darpana*, see Translation pp. 72 ff.. These portions were wanting in the first edition.

(2) P. 16. *Lokavṛttānukaraṇa* is 'imitation of events of the world' and not 'following the movement of the world.'

(3) *Ibid.* *Kāma* translated as 'lust' in the passage quoted from the *Nāṭyaśāstra* seems to be wrong. It should be translated as 'desire' or rather 'legitimate desire.' We are to remember in this connexion the Hindu theory of the *four principal aims* (*catur-varga*) of life, such as *dharma, artha, kāma* and *mokṣa*. Hinduism, unlike the semitic religions, does not only not go against the lawful pleasures of the senses but also considers them to be necessary for the healthy development of manhood. Hence *Kāma* in the present connexion cannot be translated as 'lust' which commonly means 'sensuous appetite regarded as sinful.' Kāma will be considered 'sinful' only when it exceeds the limit.

(4) P. 25. Dr. Coomaraswamy says, "The Nautch is a direct survival of the old Indian *nāṭya*." This statement appears to be misleading. The word Nautch (*nāc*) comes from Pkt. *nacca* (Skt. *nṛtya*). The New Indo-Aryan word from Skt. *nāṭya* is *nāṭ* (Pkt. *naṭṭa*) available so much in the Medieval Bengali literature.

(5) P. 58. In the note 22 Dr. Coomaraswamy has been misled by Prof. Lanman. The halfmoon 'hand' does not indicate 'throttling one', but turning one out by neck *i.e.* by putting in ones neck the halfmoon 'hand.' Cf. *sṛgālāḥ sarve'pyardhacandraṃ dattvā niḥsāritāḥ* (*Pañcatantra, Caṇḍaravakathā*).

(6) P. 75. In connexion with the footnote 9, Dr. Coomaraswamy seems to have overlooked the errata which was given along with the Skt. text of the *Abhinaya Darpaṇa*, edited by me. The reading in question is *pārṣṇinā* and it has been pointed out in the errata. But I am thankful to Dr. Coomaraswamy for his better rendering of the *prapadābhyām bhuvi sthitvā* (p. 72) and *sthānakasthāna* (p. 73).

But in spite of our disagreement with Dr. Coomaraswamy on the above points it may be said that the second edition of the *Mirror of Gesture* will be considered valuable. The twenty-two excellent plates have added to its value. The Bibliography added to the work has been more or less exhaustive and will be of great use in furthering studies in the present line.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

THE TYPES OF SANSKRIT DRAMA (with a foreward by Dr. S. K. De) by D. R. Mankad. Urmi Prakashan Mandir. Karachi 1936. Pp. xi+221.

In this work the author has attempted to ascertain the nature of the types of Sanskrit drama in their origin and development on the basis of Sanskrit works dealing with dramaturgy. Mr. Mankad is already known to Sanskritists for his important articles connected with Sanskrit drama. This present work too testifies to his extensive study and careful collection of useful data. It may be unhesitatingly said that the students of Sanskrit drama will derive much profit from reading the work under review.

But one will have to use the book cautiously. In certain points the reader will have occasion to differ from the author, e.g.,

(1) P. 6. 'Naṭ is not a Pkt. root at all.'

(2) P. 27. *Rūpadakkha* has probably no connexion with the *rūpa* or *rūpaka* in the sense of a play. The word may mean 'one who is an expert in assaying coins' (*rūpa*). Cf. *rūpa* in the Hāthigumphā Inscription.

In certain cases the author has overlooked facts, e.g. he has not discussed the definition of *saṭṭaka* given by Hemacandra in his *Kāvyānuśāsana* (cf. pp. 94f.). And in Chapter I. he has altogether ignored the *Abhinaya-darpaṇa* which has definitions for *nāṭya, nṛtya* and *nṛtta*. Of all the abbreviations he has omitted to explain MMC. used several times in course of the work.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

MĀRU-ḌHOLĀRĪ KATHĀ with a Gujrati translations by K. H. Dhruva, Pt. I. Gujrat Sahītya Sabha, Ahmedabad, 1936.

In the present work Mr. Dhruva has given the text of the well-known popular Ḍiṅgal poem on the love of Ḍhola and Mārū together with a poetical Gujaratī version. It may be hoped that this version will bring the famous love story of Rājasthān within an easy reach of the speakers of modern Gujrati.

MANOMOHAN GHOSH

ṚGVEDA-SAṂHITĀ with the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya, vol. I, Maṇḍala I. Published by the Vaidika Saṃśodhana-maṇḍala. (Vedic Research Institute), Poona. Rs. 12/-, and

ṚGVEDA-SAṂHITĀ, Part VI. Published by the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta, 1936. Re. 1/8/-.

The Ṛgveda is undoubtedly the most ancient literary monument of the Indo-European languages and as such it throws light on the early history of almost all the principal groups of Indo-European speakers. But its importance in the field of Indian studies is unique. Almost all the different branches of Indology, be it linguistics, religion, philosophy and sociology or anything else, are dependent on it. Hence it is in the fitness of things that our scholars are giving fresh attention to the Ṛgveda by publishing a new edition of its well-known commentary as well as attempting, a fresh translation of the text.

The monumental work of Max Müller giving a well-edited text of the Sāyaṇa's bhāṣya together with the text in Saṃhitā and Pada form has long been out of print and the discovery of new Mss. as well as the publication of various texts provides scope for some improvement in the text of Sāyaṇa's commentary. As a fresh critical edition of the Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya has long been a desideratum we are to thank most sincerely the authorities of the Vedic Research Institute of Poona, (associated with the name of Bal Gangadhar Tilak) for their publication of the first Maṇḍala of the work. The Indian Research Institute of Calcutta is also giving along with their translation an edition of Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya but this utilizing no Ms. material its service in the cause of Vedic interpretation will not always be equally appreciated. In spite of the fact that the Ṛgveda has been most thoroughly studied by competent western scholars this work has not yielded all its secrets. It is with an eye to this difficulty that Prof. Winternitz says, "that a complete translation of it (Ṛgveda) *must* of necessity contain much that is incorrect." Though it is very difficult, nay impossible, to deny the truth contained in the remark of this veteran Indologist it will perhaps not be wrong to say that there may yet be found means to improve the translation of particular passages. By making a fresh study of the Ṛgveda and the vast amount of modern exegetical

literature in the light of latest researches in Indology one may make such improvement in the interpretation of the Ṛgveda.

The critical edition of the text of the Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya published by the Vedic Research Institute will be considered an work important in its magnitude and worth. The vast number of new Mss. (in different scripts) of the Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya which has been used in its preparation and expert editorial care which has been bestowed on it will testify to its great value. A careful reading of the eight pages which discuss in brief the various improvements the present edition has made upon the earlier ones will incline one to take this as a definitive text of the Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya. This of course means no disparagement of the monumental work of Max Müller (whom Swami Vivekananda styled as an incarnation of Sāyaṇācārya), because he did his work single handed and when Indian studies were still in their infancy. The Vedic Research Institute of Poona has surely undertaken a work in which Indians may feel some pride.

As for the translation of the Ṛgveda it cannot be said that we have too many of them. The very fact that quite a number of Ṛgvedic hymns have still remained obscure or unintelligible gives us justification to welcome any new version of the Ṛgveda, prepared in pursuance of proper methods. Great scholars like Langlois, Ludwig, Max Müller, Grassman and Geldner have indeed studied the work with the greatest care and thoroughness, but in spite of their great learning and critical acumen they could not possibly see things with the eyes of an Indian who naturally has a better acquaintance with the traditions of the country and its ways of thinking. Hence we are to offer our congratulation to the Indian Research Institute for undertaking the publication of a fresh translation of the Ṛgveda prepared in India by an Indian.

The preparation of an ambitious work of this kind has, we are very glad to learn, been entrusted to one who is peculiarly fit to undertake it. For Dr. Manilal Patel has studied in the Visvabharati in India under the veteran Indian scholar Prof. Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya, and in Europe the late Prof. K. F. Geldner, the great authority in the Indo-Iranian philology read the Ṛgveda with him and initiated him into the mysteries of modern Vedic exegesis. Besides this he

came in close touch with other great scholars such as Professors Rudolf Otto and Jacobsohn. All this is indeed a sure guarantee of the excellent quality of Dr. Patel's work. We have very carefully read the present fascicule of the Ṛgveda translation and have the most genuine pleasure in being able to say that our hope in this matter has been amply justified.

In this work every *mantra* has been preceded by an introductory note which mainly treats its *viniyoga* and other relevant matters. Then comes a stanza in Romanized form, followed by a literal English translation of Sāyaṇa's interpretation. Notes on the entire stanza as well as important words are given afterwards. And then follows the new translation. This has indeed been a very good plan. Every translator of the Ṛgveda must take notice of Sāyaṇa's work first of all and try to effect whatever improvement or modification he can with the help of modern studies such as linguistics, anthropology, archæology etc. Word-notes which must necessarily occupy greater space in such a work are the most important feature of the present Ṛgveda translation. In them Dr. Patel has gathered opinions and conclusions of different scholars or has simply cited their source. This is not only valuable as furnishing a basis of his own translation but will also be helpful for his fellow workers who would differ from him and make their own conclusion. For it is almost impossible to hope that we shall ever have anything like a definitive translation of the Ṛgveda. Hence the importance of Dr. Patel's Ṛgveda translation cannot be over-emphasized. This work when completed will bring within an easy reach of Indian scholars the vast amount of work that the western scholars have done on the most ancient document of Indian culture.

The text of the Ṛgveda and the Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya published in the present fascicule has been neatly printed and the portion of the Sāyaṇa's introduction to the Ṛgveda translated afresh in the present work has been done well. But in connexion with this translation of Sāyaṇa-bhāṣya we have one suggestion to give to the translator who has not been named. It is this. He should give a perfect literary translation relegating all explanatory matter to the footnotes. For example, his translation of *Vedānta* as *Upaniṣad* in p. 37 (line 10)

cannot be defended. It may be that Sāyaṇa has meant by *Vedānta* the Upaniṣadic texts but substituting of *Upaniṣad* for *Vedānta* may nevertheless mislead one.

Apart from this present Ṛgvedic publication (part VI) of the Indian Research Institute may be said to have been a success, and the the editor Dr. Patel is to be congratulated on the publication.

MONOMOHAN GHOSH

LINGUISTIC INTRODUCTION TO SANSKRIT by Batakrishna Ghosh, Dr. Phil. (Munich), D.Litt. (Paris), Lecturer in the University of Calcutta, 1937 : pp. 164, Cloth, Price Rupees Five or Eight Shillings.

It is not always that a reviewer feels happy with a book, particularly when it deals with a technical subject in which the author has to create a path for himself—at least in the language in which he is writing. Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh's little work on Sanskrit Linguistics is a unique production in many ways. Firstly, its science is absolutely sound; secondly, it is the first book of its kind written in English; and thirdly, it is the first serious contribution by an Indian scholar to the not inconsiderable literature on the Linguistics of Sanskrit viewed historically and comparatively which as a science is the creation of modern Western scholarship and in which noteworthy work from an Indian to whom Sanskrit is a national inheritance has so far been practically nil—with the possible exception of the late Dr. Gune's book; which however is of an elementary nature. Dr. Ghosh, who studied Indo-European Linguistics and the historical grammar of Sanskrit under some of the most distinguished masters of the science in Germany and France, is to be congratulated on being the first Indian scholar to write a book in which the problems of Sanskrit in the light of the modern study of the subject are so ably set forth, and in which some of the fundamentals of Sanskrit as an Indo-European speech are so clearly stated, for the benefit of the advanced student—and of the teacher as well.

Dr. Ghosh's work consists of Seven Chapters, the titles of which are as follows: I. Indo-European Origin of Sanskrit, pp. 1-25;

II. Veda and Avesta, pp. 26-47; III. Vedic Orthoepy, pp. 48-69; IV. Sanskrit Phonology, pp. 70-96; V. Sanskrit Word-Formation, pp. 95-115; VI. Sanskrit Noun-Inflexion, pp. 116-139; and VII. Sanskrit Verbal System, pp. 140-164.

In his Preface, Dr. Ghosh rightly deplores the medieval and scholastic methods that still act as a clog on Vedic studies in India, and he pleads for a direct study of the texts themselves, freed from the atmosphere of the commentaries. Not that the commentaries have no value: but to study the text in itself, to find out the sense and the implication irrespective of the later interpretations, the comparative method has certainly a very great value—in our opinion a greater value than the scholastic one. Dr. Ghosh has his views on the nature of language and on our methods of approach to it, but he has rightly abstained from a too radical change in the line of approach in a work which is meant primarily for the student.

The titles of the chapters indicate the scope of his work. The problem of the Primitive Indo-European speech is at once broached, and the author by means of suitable examples takes the student through Indo-European phonology as presented by Vedic. Dealing with the vowels of Indo-European and Sanskrit, one point calls for a little comment and explanation from the present reviewer. Dr. Ghosh is against the transliterations of the long diphthongs ऐ and औ of Sanskrit by *āi* and *āu* (with long *ā*, instead of *ai* and *au*) (p. 13). The present writer among others is guilty of writing *ē* and *ō* (with the long mark) for ए and ओ and, *āi* and *āu* instead of *ai* and *au*. In a work on linguistics of Sanskrit, *āi* and *āu* are certainly more reasonable than *ai* and *au* when the objective is to trace the sequence from pre-Sanskrit to Sanskrit. Why give too much weight to a later, post-Vedic tendency to pronounce *āi* and *āu* as *ayi* and *avu* (or even *aï* and *aü*), and obscure the nature of these long diphthongs? In the opinion of the present reviewer, to write *e* and *o* instead of *ē* and *ō* for ए and ओ on the face of the Greek and other Indo-European values of these symbols as short sounds, means to obscure the relationships improperly. We need not write *ei, oi, ai, eu, ou, au* for *e, o*, but for Vedic *an sich*, and certainly for pre-Vedic, we shall not be so very wrong if we write *ai* and *au* instead of *e, o*. Similarly, in transcribing

Greek words in a book on Greek or Indo-European linguistics, we should use *u*, and not *y*, thinking more of Attic than of Primitive Greek.

I need not set forth in detail all the topics discussed by Dr. Ghosh. I think the most important matters connected with the nature and origins of Vedic have been all discussed or touched upon. In the chapter on the Orthoepy of Vedic, Dr. Ghosh has examined the accuracy of our received texts in the matter of the exact representation of the Vedic language as it was—a living speech of some 3,000 years ago. This chapter should stimulate a desire to be *au courant* with modern methods among our students.

Chapters IV-VII indicate by their headings the subjects treated in them. One cannot but admire the erudition and the lucidity with which Dr. Ghosh has explained the position for Sanskrit, viewed in the light of its Indo-European origins. Suffice it to say that in this work, with its requisite illustrations, the English reader who is not familiar with German and French finds for the first time an introduction to the history of Sanskrit such as has been worked out bit by bit by some of the brightest intellects of the West during the last hundred years.

I have personally found the book exceedingly stimulating, and shall always regard it as a valuable friend and guide. I am sure others engaged in the study or teaching of Sanskrit Linguistics will also agree with me. I have one criticism to offer: this work, because of its concise character—the author is forced to be brief and to take much for granted, evidently in his anxiety not to produce a prolix or too elementary a book—will be found difficult by an ordinary student, who will require a good teacher to take him through it. Dr. Ghosh has already made his original contribution to the science of which he has shown himself in this little work to be such a competent and authoritative expositor; and possibly, the true scholar's impatience with the drudgery of writing a work of an elementary nature is responsible for giving us a book which the average student must supplement by further notes and tables—an unnecessary burden for the scholar, but so necessary for the learner.

Nevertheless, we have here a remarkable book, and students of Sanskrit Linguistics may well congratulate themselves that it has at

last come out. I fully agree with what Prof. Wackernagel of Basel, who can be described without flattery as the true *Abhinava-Pāṇini* for the Language of the Gods, has said of Dr. Batakrishna Ghosh's work

> Your work brings something entirely new into India and inaugurate a veritable epoch.

The general get-up of the work is very good: the printing is beautiful and clear—inaccuracies are rare, and a refreshing feature is the employment of proper diacritic types, not the hideous makeshifts or the culpable substitutions which usually disfigure books of this kind in our country. I only wish that Dr. Ghosh had used *kh* instead of *ch* for the Greek unvoiced guttural aspirate (he has very laudably given Greek words in a rigorous transliteration in the Roman scrips). This is however a small matter. I am glad that he has used *u* and not *y* for the Greek *upsilon*.

SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

Select Contents of Oriental Journals

Acta Orientalia, vol. XV, pars II

H. H. Johnston.—*The Buddha's Mission and Last Journey*: *Buddhacarita, XV to XXVIII*. As the latter half of Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita* is not available in original Sanskrit, an English translation of the same is being done on the basis of its Tibetan and Chinese versions. This instalment covers cantos XIX to XXII.

Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,
vol. XVII, part iv (July, 1936)

Bimala Churn Law.—*Countries and Peoples of India*. The paper continues the discussion about the divisions of countries and names of peoples mentioned in the Purāṇas and similar literature.

A. M. Ghatage.—*A Few Parallels in Jain and Buddhist Works.*

K. M. Shembavnekar.—*The Metamorphosis of Uṣas*. The object of the paper is to show that Uṣas of the Vedic pantheon has gradually been transformed into the goddess of splendour and wealth,—Lakṣmī of the later period.

P. A. Mankad.—*Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra and Yuktikalpataru*. From an examination of the opening verses, colophons, methods of treatment and styles of composition, the writer comes to the conclusion that the two works, the *Samarāṅgaṇasūtradhāra* and the *Yuktikalpataru* cannot be the productions of the same author. If one was king Bhoja of Dhārā, the other must have been some one else.

M. V. Kibe.—*Further Light on Rāvaṇa's Laṅkā located in Central India from Vālmīki's Rāmāyaṇa.*

Ibid., vol. XVIII, part i (October, 1936)

V. S. Sukthankar.—*Epic Studies*: *The Bhṛgus and the Bhārata*. Myths and legends relating to the Bhṛgus occurring in the *Mahābhārata* have been presented in the paper to show what an important part the Bhārgavas played in the Great Epic. It is inferred that the original poem of about 24,000 stanzas attributed to Vyāsa has received at the hands of the Bhṛgus much of its present shape.

HAR DUTT SHARMA.—*An Analysis of Authorities quoted in the Śārṅgadharapaddhati.*

Aryan Path, November, 1936

RADHA K. MOOKERJEE.—*The Mysticism of Yogācāra Buddhism.*

Calcutta Review, October, 1936

H. D. BHATTACHARYA.—*Mortuary Beliefs of the Hindus.*

Ibid., November, 1936

A. P. DASGUPTA.—*Nawab Nazimuddowla and the English.*

Djāwā, 16de Jaargang, July, 1936

W. F. STUTTERHEIM.—*Enkele Oudheiden van Bali.* Of the three items of antiquity discussed by the writer, one is a pillar inscription of king Śrī Keśarivarmadeva of Bali recording an expedition to Moluccas. It is interesting that the Sanskrit portion of this inscription of the early 10th century A.C. is written in Old Javanese script, while the Old Javanese portion is in Devanāgarī.

Epigraphia Indica, vol. XXII, part v (January, 1934)

R. R. HALDER.—*Mala Plates of Vīrasiṃhadeva-Vikrama Saṃvat 1343.*

B. N. REEN.—*Ropi Plates of Paramāra Devarāja—Vikrama Saṃvat 1509.* It is suggested that Devarāja was a Paramāra ruler of Abu.

D. R. BHANDARKAR.—*Hāthibāda Brāhmī Inscription at Nagari.* Gājāyana Parāśarīputra Sarvatāta mentioned in the record is inferred to have been a Kāṇva ruler. The inscription suggests that both Saṃkarṣaṇa and Vāsudeva were once worshipped with equal devotion.

K. A. NILAKANTHA SASTRI.—*A Chola Inscription from Uttiramerur.*

V. V. MIRASHI.—*An Unfinished Vākāṭaka Plate from Drug.*

D. R. BHANDARKAR.—*A List of the Inscriptions of Northern India written in Brāhmī and its Derivative Scripts from about A.C. 300.*

Hindusthan Review, November, 1936

BIMALA CHURN LAW.—*The Damiḷas of Ancient Ceylon.*

Indian Culture, vol. III, No. 2 (October, 1936)

S. K. DE.—*The Theology and Philosophy of Bengal Vaiṣṇavism.* The discourse on Jīva Gosvāmin's well-known *Sandarbhas* deals in its fourth instalment with the contents of the *Śrīkṛṣṇasandarbha*, the object of which is to show that Kṛṣṇa is the Bhagavat himself manifested in unsion with Rādhā in His perfect form.

M. LEDRUS.—*The Lost Āryā of the Sāṃkhya-kārikā.* The couplet in *āryā* metre found at the beginning of both the *Bhāṣya* of Gauḍapāda and the *Vṛtti* of Māṭhara on the *Sāṃkhya-kārikā* is considered by the writer of this note to have originally formed the opening lines of the *Kārikā* itself.

VISHESHWAR NATH REU.—*Rājpūts.* The theory that the Rājpūts of India are of non-Aryan origin is opposed in this paper. Even the Śakas, Kuṣāṇas and the Hūṇas are shown to have descended from the Aryans, who migrated to the north of India.

B. A. SALETORE.—*The Ancient Kingdom of Punnāṭa.* Remarks of foreign geographers, grants and records of kings, and the literature of the Jains have been utilised for preparing this account of the kingdom of Punnāṭa, the earliest Karṇāṭaka State.

ISHWAR SAHAI.—*The Crime of Thagi and its Suppression under Lord W. C. Bentinck.*

S. K. BANERJI.—*Bahadur Shah of Gujrat (1526-37).*

Jaina Gazette, November, 1936

JAGAT PRASAD.—*The Jaina Theory of Salvation.*

Journal of the Annamalai University, October, 1936

V. A. RAMASWAMI SASTRI.—*Was Bhartṛhari a Bauddha?*

Journal Asiatique, tome CCXXVII, no. 1

LIN LI-KOUNAG.—*Puṇyodaya (Na-ti), un propagateur du Tāntrisme en Chine et au Cambodge à l'époque de Hiuan-tsang.* The paper describes the activities of the Buddhist monk Puṇyodaya who took with him a large collection of Sanskrit mss. to China from 'Middle India' in 655 and left Chinese translations of two works called *Siṃhavyūharājabodhisattvaparipṛcchāsūtra* and *Vimalajñānabodhisattvaparipṛcchā.*

Journal of the Assam Research Society, vol. IV, no. 2 (July, 1936)

R. M. NATH.—*Saṅkarācārya and Buddhism in Assam.* The writer begins with a reference to the activities of Śaṅkara in Assam as mentioned in Mādhava's *Śaṅkaravijaya* and infers the existence of Buddhism in the country in old days in some form or other, of which traces are still available.

NALINI NATH DAS GUPTA.—*Tiṃgyadeva and Vaidyadeva.* It is contended that Tiṃgyadeva was an independent ruler of Kāmarūpa and not a vassal of Rāmapāla, the Gauḍa king, and that Vaidyadeva, a general of king Kumārapāla of Gauḍa overthrew Tiṃgyadeva and became eventually a full-fledged emperor of Kāmarūpa.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.—*Buddhism in Kāmarūpa and Sylhet.* Arguments are put forward against the view that Buddhism did not penetrate into Assam.

Ibid., vol. IV, no 3 (October, 1936)

PADMANATH BHATTACHARYA.—*Location of the Nidhanpur Grant of Bhāskaravarman of Kāmarūpa.* The writer maintains that the land granted by Bhāskaravarman belongs to a place in the district of Rangpur and is not related to Sylhet, the find spot of the grant.

RAMESWAR BARUA.—*The Nāmaghoṣa and its Place in Literature.* The *Nāmaghoṣa* dealt with in the paper is a Vaiṣṇava scripture by Mādhavadeva, a disciple of Śaṅkaradeva, the celebrated religious reformer of Assam. It was written with a view to establishing the superiority of the Bhakti cult.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,
vol. XXII, pt. iii (September, 1936)

K. P. JAYASWAL.—*Chronology and History of Nepal.*

K. K. BASU.—*An Account of Firoz Shāh Tughlaq.* It is a continuation of the English translation of a portion of the *Sīrāt-i-Fīrozshāhī*, a contemporary Persian record of the reign of Fīroz Shāh, the third Tughluq Sultan of Delhi.

DASARATHA SHARMA.—*Professor Winternitz on the Kaumudīmahotsava.* It is a rejoinder to Winternitz's opposition to the equation of Candragupta I with Caṇḍamahāsena of the *Kaumudīmahotsava* as inferred by Jayaswal.

Journal of the Burma Research Society, vol. XXVI, pt. I

PE MAUNG TIN.—*Buddhism in Inscriptions of Pagan.*

Journal of the Greater India Society, vol. III, no. 2 (July, 1936)

WILHELM GEIGER.—*Contributions from the Mahāvaṃsa to our Knowledge of the Mediaeval Culture of Ceylon.*

B. CH. CHHABRA.—*Kuñjarakuñjadeśa of the Changal Inscription.* Kuñarakuñjadeśa mentioned in the stone inscription of king Sañjaya discovered at Changal in Central Java is located on the slopes of the Agastyamalai along the river Tāmraparṇī. It is surmised that the people of that region went to Java by the 7th or the 8th century A.C.

BATAKRISHNA GHOSH.—*Veda and Avesta.*

Journal of Indian History, vol. XV, part 2

SOMA SUNDARA DESIKAR.—*Some Problems connected with Rājādhirāja.*

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.—*Ballapa Daṇṇayaka.* The contention of the writer of this note is that Ballapa-Daṇṇayaka described by others either as the son nephew or grandson of the Hoysala king Ballāla III was in fact only an officer in his service.'

RAMA SHANKAR AVASTHY and AMALANANDA GHOSH.—*References to Muhammadans in Sanskrit Inscriptions in Northern India—A.D. 730 to 1320.*

M. AKRAM MAKHDOOMEE.—*Gunpowder Artillery in the Region of Sultan Eltutmish of Delhi.*

—.—*Mechanical Artillery in Medieval India.*

ANILCHANDRA BANERJEE.—*Procedure of Succession to the Sultanate of Delhi.* In opposition to the view that the succession to the Turkish Sultanate of Delhi was regulated by royal nomination, the writer thinks that choice by the nobles was the decisive factor.

A. M. DAULA.—*The Contemporary view of the Court of Farrukh Syer.* A document called *Shahnama Munnawar Kalam* written in Persian by Siv Das of Lucknow, a court Munshi under Farrukh Syer, supplies valuable materials for the history of the Mughal court of that period.

PRAKASH CHANDRA.—*Appointments in the East India Company's Service.*

D. B. DISKALKAR.—*James Grant Duff's Private Correspondance with Mahārajā Pratāpsiṃha of Satara.*

ISHWAR SAHAI.—*The Educational Reform of Lord William Bentinck.*

P. SRINIVASHACHARI.—*The Chola Inscriptions of Renadu.*

RICHARD BURN.—*A Note on the Genealogy and Chronology of the Vākātakas.*

Journal of Oriental Research, vol. X, pt. II (April-June 1936)

V. RAGHAVAN.—*The Number of Rasas.* The position assigned to the *Śānta Rasa* in the works of poetics has beeen discussed in this instalment of the article.

A. VENKATASUBBIAH.—*Sāyaṇa, Mādhavabhaṭṭa and Veṅkaṭamādhava.* The writer adduces evidences to show that Mādhavabhaṭṭa mentioned by Sāyaṇa was different from Mādhavārya or Veṅkaṭamādhava, the author of the *Ṛgarthadīpikā* which is posterior to Sāyaṇa.

M. LAKSHMI NARASHIAMAYYA.—*Svarabhakti according to the Taittirīya Prātiśākhya.* The article treats of the meaning and nature of *Svarabhakti,* a phonetic phenomenon dealt with in the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* and the connected literature.

N. VENKATARAMAṆAYYA.—*Yavanarājya-sthāpanācārya.* After the successful invasion of the Bahmani dominions, Kṛṣṇadevarāya, king of Vijayanagara, placed Sultan Mahmūd II upon the throne of Bidar and thus helped to revive the Bahmani kingdom. By virtue of this act, it is surmised, Kṛṣṇadeva became *Yavanarājya-sthāpanācārya* i.e. instrumental in the establishment of a Yavana kingdom.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, October, 1936

M. S. RAMASWAMI AIYAR.—*The Question of Grāmas.* It is a discussion of the meaning and nature of the musical term *grāma.*

W. H. MORELAND.—*Rank (mansab) in the Mogul State Service.* The position held by the executive officers of the Mughul Empire has been pointed out in the paper.

Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society, vol. IX, part ii

V. S. Agrawala.—*Mathura Terracottas.*

Nandalal Chatterji.—*The 'Nawabi' Architecture of Lucknow.*

Nityananda Misra.—*A Note on Dhikuli and Ujhain Ruins.*

Nandalal Chatterji.—*Wazir Ali's Conspiracy against the English.*

V. S. Agrawala.—*A Sanskrit Inscription of the Reign of Sikandar Shah Lodhi.*

S. K. Banerji.—*Babur and the Hindus.*

Bimala Churn Law.—*Sacred Places of the Jains.*

Journal of the University of Bombay, vol. V, part i (July, 1936)

H. Heras.—*The Religion of the Mohenjo Daro People according to the Inscriptions.* The writer of this article claims to have deciphered the inscriptions found at Mohenjo Daro, and gives, on the basis of his readings, an outline of the principal tenets of the religion that he believes to have been prevalent among the people of the region,

Sridhar V. Sohoni.—*The Great Temple at Elephanta.* While reviewing the art of the rock-cut temple of Elephanta, the writer infers that the temple formed a private place of worship of the kings whose headquarters was in the island and that the art came under external influence as the result of contact with foreign traders.

Man in India, vol XVI, nos. 2 & 3 (April & September, 1936)

H. C. Chakladar.—*Problems of the Racial Composition of the Indian Peoples.*

N. Tripathi.—*A Few Fasts, Festivities and Observances in Orissa.*

New Review, November, 1936

S. Gnana Prakasar.—*Dravidian and Indo-European Languages.*

Philosophical Quarterly, vol. XII, no. 2 (July, 1936)

T. R. V. Murti.—*Types of Indian Realism.* In this instalment of the article on Realism in Indian philosophy the Nyāya-Vaiśiṣika system has been discussed.

Poona Orientalist, vol. I, no. 3 (October, 1936)

O. STEIN.—*The Numeral 18.* Data have been collected from Brāhmaṇic, Buddhist and Jain literature to show what an important rôle the number 18 plays in every sphere of life in India.

M. B. EMENEAU.—*Central Asiatic Versions of the Vetālapañcaviṃśati: Introductory Story.*

P. K. GODE.—*Notes on Indian Chronology: Date of Rasapaddhati by Bindu and its Commentary Mahādeva Paṇḍita—1st quarter of the 17th century.*

M. M. PATKAR.—*Sukhabodhikā, a Commentary on the Megahdūta by Megharāja Sādhu and his Date (Between 1172 and 1404 A.C.).*

GANGANATHA JHA.—*Nyāyasūtra of Gautama with the Bhāṣya of Vātsyāyana.* The edition of the text with Sanskrit notes continues.

—.—*English Translation of same.*

Prabuddha Bharata, July, 1936

H. GLASENAPP.—*Hinduism and Buddhism.*

Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, vol XXVII, nos. 1 & 2 (July & October, 1936)

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.—*The Nature of 'Folklore' and 'Popular Art'.* The writer cites texts to show that the distinction between 'popular' (*deśī*) art and 'refined' (*mārga*) art, and between 'folklore' (*deśī*) and 'learned' (*saṃskṛta*) literature is really one of the sacred from the profane.

M. A. VENKATA RAO.—*The Notion of Difference in Dvaita.* The paper summarises from the treatises of Dvaita philosophy the arguments in defence of the idea of Difference repudiated by the Advaitins.

BIMALA CHURN LAW.—*A Short Account of the Damiḷas:* This account of the Damiḷas (Tamils) has been supplied from Buddhist books.

N. K. VENKATESAM PANTULU.—*The Kathaka and the Aruṇa-Praśnas of the Yajurveda.* The contents of the two praśnas dealing with the manifestation of the universe are discussed.

L. V. RĀMASWAMI AIYAR.—*Dravidic Sandhi.*

S. SRIKANTAYA.—*Foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire and Vidyāraṇya's Part therein.*

M. YAMUNACHARYA.—*The Æsthetic Approach to God: A Study in the Æsthetic Elements in Bhakti.*

N. K. VENKATESAN.—*The Atharvaveda and the Mantraśāstra.* The writer's thesis is that the esoteric line of worship propagated in the Mantraśāstras with its conception of letters (*bījākṣaras*) as the basis of *upāsanā* is an outgrowth of the *Atharvaveda* in the age between the times of composition of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata.*

SARAT CHANDRA MITRA.—*On the Fire-walking Ceremony of the Dusādhs of Bihar.*

Sahitya Parisat Patrika, vol. XLIII, no 1

SIR JADUNATH SARKAR.—

(1) *Rise of the Marhattas,*

(2) *Sivāji,*

(3) *Course of Marhatta History after Sivāji.*

These papers which constituted the Adharchandra Mukherji Lectures trace the history of the rise and decline of the Marhatta Power giving an estimate of the contributions towards it of Sahji, Sivāji and Peshwas. C.C.

Shrine of Wisdom, vol. XVIII, nos. 69 & 70 (Autumn and Winter, 1936)

The Laws of Manu. The first chapter of the *Manusaṃhitā* is being translated into English with comments and elucidations by the editors of the *Shrine of Wisdom.* They propose to complete the first chapter and a part of the last with a view to expressing "the essential meaning which underlies the book as a whole."

Young East, vol. 6, no. 3 (Autumn, 1936)

S. TACHIBANA.—*Characteristic Features of Buddhism.*

BEATRICE LANE SUZUKI.—*The Ideal of the Bodhisattva in Mahāyāna Buddhism.*

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